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MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
ARABIA
Little Oasis
MAP of EGYPT,
Engraved for
THE MODERN TRAVELLER
By
Sidney Hall

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c

EGYPT.

A country of Africa, comprising the Valley of the Nile, between N. lat. 24° 6′ and 31° 35′: bounded, on the N., by the Mediterranean; on the E., by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea; on the S., by Nubia; and on the W., by the Libyan Desert.]

EGYPT is in many points of view one of the most interesting regions in the world. Its antiquities are of the most curious and impressive character, for the most part unique, and carrying us back for their origin to the earliest annals of history. It belongs at once to classic and to sacred geography. Egypt was the parent of Grecian wisdom, the inventress of science, the oracle of nations, the fountain-head of philosophy, in whose schools Moses, and Pythagoras, and Plato exhausted the treasures of human learning. It was, in ancient times, the connecting link between India and Greece, as it is now between the African and the Asiatic countries, forming one of the portals to that hitherto impenetrable portion of the Old Continent. Its ancient monuments, its physical features, its geographical position, its proverbial fertility, its commercial importance, combine to render the "land

of Egypt," in the eyes of the scientific traveller, the statesman, and the philanthropist, the most attractive portion of the eastern world.

The name by which this country is known to Europeans, comes to us from the Greeks, whose historians affirm, that a certain king Ægyptus, the son of Belus and brother of Danaus, gave his name to his dominions, which, before that time, were called Aëria. In the Hebrew Scriptures, Egypt is denominated the land of Mizraim or Mitsraim;* and the Arabians and other Orientals still know it by the name of Mesr or Mizr. By its ancient inhabitants, it was called Chemia;† the appellation which it retains to the present day among the Copts. This name, which seems to correspond to the Hebrew Ham or Cham, and the Malay *Syama*, is stated by Plutarch to have been given to the country on account of the blackness of the soil;‡ and the same reason is assigned for its

* Mizraim is enumerated (Gen. x. 6) among the sons of Ham. As the word is in the plural number, Calmet supposes that it denotes the people of the country, rather than the father of the people. In Micah, vii. 12, and other places, the word occurs in the singular, Masor or Mezr, which corresponds to the modern appellation. Josephus calls Egypt Mestra; the Septuagint Translators, Mestraim; Eusebius and Suidas, Mestraia. Mezr appears to have been the name both of the capital, afterwards called Memphis, and of the territory; and Mizraim, Calmet thinks, may have denoted the Upper and the Lower Mezr. The word is of uncertain derivation, but may plausibly be conjectured to imply a plain or valley bounded by mountains.—See CALMET's *Dict.*, art. *Mizor* and *Mizraim*. The Coptic name of Old Cairo is still Mistraim: the Syrians and Arabs call it Masra or Nassera.

† See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 364. Shaw's Travels, fol., p. 232. Calmet's Dict., art. *Ham*. Psochemmis and Psitta-chemmis were districts of Egypt.

‡ Plutarch's words are remarkable: Την Αιγυπτον υπο των μαλιστα μελαγγειον ουσαν, ωσπερ το μελαν του οφθαλμου, Χημια καλουσιν. The coincidence of name between the valley

bearing the name of Aëria, which has a similar signification, and seems to have been a translation of the native word.* Egypt (Αιγυπτος) is a name of very doubtful etymology.† Homer, Diodorus Siculus, and Xenophon speak of the Nile under this appellation. ‡ Eusebius, who is supposed to have followed Manetho, the Egyptian historian, states, that Rameses or Ra-

of the Nile and that of the Meinam, or, as it has b . nomi-nated, the Siamese Nile, is the more remarkable on acc . of the similar character of the two countries as regards the soil, productions, and other phenomena.

* From Αηρ, darkness, blackness—παρα το μελαιναν ειναι την γην, says the Scholiast on Apollonius. Bryant, who cites this passage, represents it as a vulgar error; but his reasoning is, as usual, unsatisfactory. He supposes the Greeks to have ignorantly confounded *Aur*, fire, with Aër, the atmosphere. Aur or Ur, he tells us, signifies light or heat, which is one of the senses attributed to the Hebrew Cham. But if Cham signifies "heat and the consequence of heat," blackness, Aëria would still be a legitimate rendering of Chemia, or the land of Cham, in the acceptation ascribed to it by the Scholiast.—See BRYANT'S *Mythol.*, vol. vi. p. 149; i. 3. Egypt is referred to in the Old Testament (Psalm cv. 23,) as "the land of Ham." If the word be correctly rendered in that place as a proper name, it only implies that it was peopled by his descendants. Africa, however, was by no means peculiarly distinguished by this circumstance. The Asiatic Cush or Ethiopia, Shinar or Sennaar, Sabæa, and Canaan or Palestine, were also possessed by the Chamitic tribes, while Egypt was for ages under the dominion of Semitic princes. If Aëria had any reference to the air, as Bryant supposes, it was probably only a poetical designation of Egypt as the supposed kingdom of Ham, the same as Zeus or Jupiter. Aëria was an appellation also given to Thessaly.

† Some writers, seeking for its etymology in Greek, have derived it from Αια, country, and γυψος, burned earth; or from γυψ, or αιγυπιον, the black vulture, the colour of that bird (whence the Latin *subvulturius*, blackish,) being considered as characteristic of the soil or its inhabitants.—See REES'S *Cyclop.*, and *Ency. Britan.*

‡ Hesychius, accordingly, derives the name of the country from the river. Eustathius translates it μελας, black; and renders Αιγυπτιασαι by Επικαυσαι.

messes, who reigned in Egypt (according to Usher) B.C. 1577, was also called Ægyptus, and that he gave his name to his territories. The version of the story given by Apollodorus is, that Belus sent Danaus to Libya, and Ægyptus to Arabia, and that the latter, having laid waste the land of the *Melampodes* (Negroes), called it Egypt, after his own name.* The probability is, that Gyptos or Kûbtos was originally, like Mizr, the name of an ancient city, which took its name either from its founder, or from a dedicatory appellation.† *Aia-Guptos* will then be the land of Guptos, the prefix answering to the Hebrew *aretz* and the Persian *sthan*; and in those early times, we find the territory almost uniformly receiving its name from the city. That Ægyptus was really the surname of an individual, it may have been adopted from that of the country, as Scipio assumed that of Africanus; but it could never have been applied to the river, otherwise than by ellipsis or through mistake. It is remarkable, that the ancient Chronicle makes a distinction between the Mestræan race of princes and the Egyptian; the latter appellation being applied to the new dynasty of sovereigns commencing with Sethos I., the Ægyptus of Manetho.

The name by which the Nile was known to the Hebrews, is the *Sihor* (or *Sichor*), answering to the

* The ancients included all the country on the eastern side of the Nile in Arabia, and that on the western bank in Libya. Thus Ægyptus is by Leo the grammarian called Chibth; and the Turks are said to call the Copts *Kibs*.

† Dr. Wells supposes, that the name is composed of the Greek *Aia*, a land or country, and *Coptus*, the name of a city in Egypt. Hist. Geogr., vol. i. p. 200. Mede conceives it to be *Aia Cuphti*, the land of Cuphti. Bruce says, that *Y Gypt*, the name given to Egypt in Ethiopia, means the country of canals.

Greek *Melas* and the Latin *Niger*;* and this name it is stated to have borne on account of its black and turbid waters, or rather the black slime which it deposited.† The Greeks are said to have known it both under the name of *Melas*, and that of *Siris*, which is supposed to have been a corruption of Sihor.‡ The name which it now bears, is of very ancient date; and the Greeks, ignorant of its meaning, pretended that it was derived from a king Nileus, as they supposed the Red Sea to be so named from a king Erythros. It appears, however, to have been given by the Arabians, *Bahr el Nil* signifying in Arabic, the Blue River; §

* Josh. xiii. 3. Jer. ii. 18. "SICHOR, *fluvius Ægypti* NILUS, *Græcis* μέλας, *niger, ob turbidas limo aquas; Latinis Melo.*" (Schindl. Lex. in Shaw.) So Calmet. May not this explain how the Nile and the Niger have been confounded? Pliny states, on the authority of king Juba, that the Nile was called Niger in Mauritania; and such, it appears, was its ancient name. Little stress can be laid on the names of rivers. There is no end to Black Rivers under the names of *Niger*, *Rio Negro*, *Rio Preto*, *Kara-su*, &c. &c. And we have almost as many black countries; Ethiopia, Mauritania, Nigritia, Karamania, Siam, &c.

† So Virgil, (Georg. iv. 291):

"*Et viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fecundat arenâ.*"

One of the epithets applied to Egypt was μελανοσυρμαιος, black-flooded. (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 864).

‡ Mr. Bruce affirms that this name (*Siris*), in the country of Beja, imports the River of the Dog-star, on the vertical appearance of which this river overflows. He states, moreover, that by the Gongas, on the south of Mounts Dyre and Tagli, the Abyssinian Nile is called *Dahli*, and by those on the northern side *Kowass*, both which words imply the dog-star. By the Agows, it is named Gzeir, Geesa, or Seir. In Gojam, it is said to be called Gihon; also *Abay*, the overflowing, and the father of rivers. The river to which these various names are said to be applied, is the eastern branch of the Nile, the *Bahr-el-Azrek*, supposed to be the ancient Astapus.

§ *Nil* is the Arabic for blue, and *nileh* is indigo: hence, the Spanish *anil*, by which word indigo is known in Mexico and Colombia. Shaw, following Calmet, derives *Nilus* from the Hebrew

and this name they seem to have transferred to the Egyptian river from the *Bahr el Azrek*, or Blue River of Abyssinia, the confluence of which with the *Bahr el Abiad*, or White River, forms the stream properly denominated the Nile.

The waters of the Nile itself vary exceedingly in colour as well as in volume and quality according to the season. When the waters begin to rise in Egypt, the river first assumes a green colour, and it is then corrupt and unwholesome. In thirty or forty days, it changes to a brownish red, and becomes very turbid. This continues till the waters subside, when it resumes its natural muddy appearance. Its various names are easily accounted for. Those who knew it only in the lower part of its course, where its periodical inundation covers so wide an extent with its fertilizing slime, called it the Black River. The name of Nile has travelled downwards from Ethiopia.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE land of Egypt may be described as an immense valley or longitudinal basin, terminating in a *delta*, or triangular plain, of alluvial formation; being, altogether, from the heights of Syene to the shores of the Mediterranean, about 600 miles in length and of various width. From Syene to Cairo, a distance of about 500 miles, the valley is about eight miles

Nahhal, a brook, which refutes itself. The prophet Nahum is supposed to refer to it as a sea (ch. iii. 8). And, in fact, the word *bahr* or *nahr* is applied indifferently to a sea and a large river; as *bahr el Nil*, and *bahr Souf*, the Red Sea. Shaw was misled by his confounding the *Nachal Mitzraim*, or Egyptian stream of Rhinocorura, the boundary of Palestine, with the Nile. See on this subject, Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. art. 29. The Egyptian name for the Nile seems to have been simply, *Phiaro*, the River.

bread, hemmed in by two mountain ridges, the one extending eastward to the Red Sea, and the other terminating westward in the Libyan deserts. The following general description of the country is given by M. Malte Brun.

"From Syene, as far as the strait called *Djebel Silsili*, a distance of about forty miles, the river occupies the middle of the valley, having very little arable land on its banks; but there are some islands, which, from their low level, easily admit of irrigation. Beyond the mouth of the *Djebel Silsili*, the Nile runs along the right side of the valley, which, in several places, has the appearance of a steep line of rocks cut into peaks; while the ridge of hills on the left side, is always accessible by a slope of various degrees of steepness. These western mountains begin near Siout, and extend southward to Fayoom, diverging gradually to the west; so that between them and the cultivated valley, there is a desert space, gradually becoming wider, and bordered in several places, on the valley side, by a line of sandy downs lying nearly north and south.

"The mountains which confine the upper part of the basin, are intersected by defiles, leading, on the one side, to the Red Sea, and on the other, to the Oases. These narrow passes might be habitable, since the winter rains maintain for a time a degree of vegetation, and form springs, which the Arabs use for themselves and their flocks. The stripe of desert land which generally extends along each side of the valley, parallel to the course of the Nile, (and which must not be confounded with the ocean of barren sand which lies on each side of Egypt,) now contains two very distinct kinds of land. The one, immediately at the

bottom of the mountains, consists of sand and round pebbles; the other, composed of light drifting sand, covers an extent of ground formerly arable. The surface on both sides declines from the margin of the river to the foot of the hills; a circumstance remarked also on the banks of the Mississippi, the Po, part of the Borysthenes, and some other rivers. Near Beni-Sooef, the valley, already much widened on the west, has on that side an opening, through which is obtained a view of the fertile plains of Fayoom. These plains are, properly speaking, a sort of table-land, separated from the mountains on the north and west by a wide valley, a part of which, being always laid under water, forms what the inhabitants call *Birket-el-Karoon*.

"" Near Cairo, the mountains diverge on both sides; the one ridge, under the name of *Djebel-el-Nairon*, running in a north-westerly direction to the Mediterranean; the other, called *Djebel-el-Attaka*, running due east to Suez. In front of these chains, extends a vast plain composed of sands covered with the mud of the Nile. At the place called *Bahr-el-Bakara*, the river divides into two branches, the one flowing to Rosetta, the other to Damietta, and containing between them the present Delta. This triangular piece of insulated land was in former times much larger, being bounded, on the east, by the Pelusian branch, which is now choked up with sand, or converted into marshy pools. On the west, it was bounded by the Canopic branch, which is now partly confounded with the canal of Alexandria, and partly lost in Lake Etko. The correspondence of the level of the surface to that of the present Delta, and its depression as compared with the level of the adjoining desert, together with its greater verdure and fertility

still mark the limits of the ancient Delta; although irregular encroachments are made by shifting banks of drifting sand, which are on the increase." *

For a more particular description of the geological structure and character of this wonderful country, we shall avail ourselves of a very able article in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

"The mountains which form the natural boundaries of the Egyptian valley, are, on many accounts, highly deserving of attention. From them, under the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Antonines, were drawn the materials, not only of the stupendous monuments which still make Egypt a land of wonders, but also for many of the public buildings in Italy, the remains of which attest the genius of the Roman artists, and the munificence of the emperors. About the 24th degree of N. latitude, a granitic chain closes in on each side of the river, so as to wear the appearance of having been rent by the stream, which forces its way through fragments of rock. Hence, the almost innumerable islands to the north of Philœ, as far as Aswan (Assouan). The cataracts a little to the south of that town, are nothing more than rapids, which might arise from a contraction of the bed of the stream; there is, however, most probably, in that tract of country, a considerable change in the level of the soil. The bold, but wild and gloomy precipices which here overhang the stream, as well as the roar of its waters rushing through a multitude of channels, (for even when the inundation is at its height, there are twenty large islands in the midst of the river,) were well calculated to work upon the imagination of the early inhabitants; and their belief that Osiris re-

* Malte Brun's Geog., vol. iv pp. 21—23.

mained buried in those abysses as long as the stream was confined within its banks, but rose from the grave, to scatter his blessings over the land, as soon as the accumulated waters were poured forth on all sides, was fostered, if not created, by the physical peculiarities of this overawing though desolate region. The granite or southern district extends from Philœ to Aswan, (in lat. 24° 8′ 6″ N.; long. 33° 4′ E.,) and is formed, for the most part, by rocks of Syenite or Oriental granite, in which the quarries may yet be seen, from which the ancients drew the stupendous masses required for their colossal statues and obelisks. Between Aswan and Esna (in lat. 25° 19′ 39″ N.,) is the sandstone, or middle district, which supplied slabs for most of the temples; and beyond it, the northern or calcareous district stretches to the southern angle of the Delta. This last chain of hills furnished not only the solid part of the pyramids, but materials also for many public buildings long since destroyed, because they proved excellent stores of lime and stone for the Arabs and other barbarians by whom Egypt has been desolated for so many centuries. The steep, perpendicular cliffs of this calcareous rock give a monotonous and unpicturesque aspect to this part of Egypt; while the boldness and grotesque forms of the mountains in the south, offer new points of view in continual succession, even when the inundation is at its greatest height.

"On each side of the river below Aswan (Syene), steep, abrupt sandstone cliffs, presenting a continued line of ancient quarries, hem in the stream; and the valley, which opens gradually, closes again at the distance of 12 leagues (about 36 geographical miles), where it is reduced to one-fourth of its former width, and lofty walls of rock on each side barely leave a

passage for the water. This is now called *Jebel-el-Silsileh* (Mountain of the Chain); and from its quarries, the materials used in the temples at Thebes were drawn. Below these narrows, the valley gradually widens, but the eastern bank continues to present one uninterrupted perpendicular wall, while, on the west, there is a gradual, and generally an easy ascent, to the Desert. Another contraction of the valley occurs about 56 geographical miles lower down, ten miles to the north of Esna, where the rock does not leave even a footpath near the river, and the traveller by land must make a considerable circuit in order to reach the place where the hills for the third time recede. This passage, called *Jebelein* (the two hills), leads to the plains of Ermont and Thebes (in lat. 25° 44′ N.); for here, the land on each side of the river spreads out into so wide a level as really to form a plain in comparison with the rugged banks of the stream higher up. It is at this place that the sandstone terminates, and the freestone begins. The banks are no longer straight and parallel, but diverge in various directions, forming many bays and creeks; while the country, rising on each side almost imperceptibly towards the hills, presents a nearly even surface of cultivable soil about two leagues in width. This, which is the first level of any extent below the Cataracts, is the site of the most ancient and celebrated capital of Egypt, Thebes; the ruins of which cover a large proportion of the valley. It is remarkable, that the distance from Thebes to the Cataracts, one extremity of the country, is exactly the same as that between Memphis, the subsequent capital, and the sea, the other extremity; namely, 40 leagues, or 120 geographical miles. The calcareous chain continues from this point, on each side of the valley, to the head of the Delta

where the hills open to the east and west, uniting with the Libyan chain on one side, and bending towards the mountains of Arabia Petræa on the other. This chain, though generally calcareous, is occasionally, especially near the Desert, broken by isolated rocks of sandstone.

"At Denderah (Tentyris), 12 leagues N. of Thebes, the Nile, again hemmed in by the hills, turns nearly at right angles, and runs directly from east to west as far as the site of Abydus (*Medfun* or *El Birba*), where it resumes its northerly direction, and, entering another spacious and fertile valley, passes by Jirjeh and Osyut (or Siout). Near the latter place, the Libyan chain begins to bend towards the west; and the descent from the Desert becomes so gradual, that the country is on that side much exposed to clouds of sand, by which it would have been overwhelmed long since, but for the canal called *Bahr Yusuf* (Joseph's River), which secures the irrigation of the land between itself and the Nile, and thus prevents the further encroachment of the Desert. Here, the *Said*, or upper division of Egypt terminates, and the *Wustani*, or middle region, extending as far as the fork of the Delta, commences. The more the valley of the Nile gains in width, and the western mountains lose in height, the greater is the danger from its proximity to the Libyan Desert. That remarkable portion of Africa (*El Sahra*) is, for the most part, covered with sand or very fine gravel, the minuter particles of which are, at certain seasons, carried by tempestuous gales over a great extent of country. It is manifest, that, the less the ground is elevated, the fewer the trees and shrubs it bears; and the more its irrigation is neglected, the more rapidly will the sand from the Desert encroach on the plains or valleys near the river. The cultivable tracts,

therefore, in the middle and lower Egypt, have long been daily decreasing; and were it not for the canal just mentioned, few spots uncovered by sand would have remained on the western bank of the Nile.

" Beyond Beni-Suweif (in lat. 29° 9′ 12″ N.), the Libyan chain of hills again closes in towards the N.E., and forms the northern boundary of the large basin between *Derut-el-Sherif* and *Atfih*; but, at *El Ilahun*, to the N.W. of the former, it is broken by one of the many transverse valleys, and thus opens a passage into the province of Fayyum (or Fayoum). Beyond that vale, which is merely a large bay or sinuosity in the border of these mountains, they approach the river with a steeper declivity, and have a nearly level summit overlooking the country below. This table-land, between the Nile and Fayyum, was chosen for the site of the Pyramids. On its north-western side, the hills shelve off in that direction, and terminate in the cliffs and promontories which mark the coast of ancient Cyrenaica. The eastern or Arabian chain has generally more transverse breaks and ravines, is more lofty and rugged, and comes closer to the river, than the hills on the opposite side. The northern part of it is called *El Mokattam* (the hewn), probably from the quarries formed in its sides, and is connected by several inferior ranges with the mountains of Arabia Petræa.

" Of the transverse valleys leading to the Red Sea, the best known are, the Valley of Cosseir, and that of the Wanderings of the Children of Israel: the former is the most frequented road between the Upper Egypt and the sea; and the latter, the route probably followed by the Israelites on their return to the promised land. But, besides these, there are five or six others at present known, and several, probably, unex-

plored. Some were much frequented anciently, which are now rarely, if ever visited: such have been the ruinous consequences of misgovernment, by which the commerce of Egypt has dwindled to almost nothing. Towns upon the Red Sea, once flourishing emporiums, have ceased to exist; and Berenice, anciently celebrated for its wealth and commerce, is now so completely forgotten, that even the road to it was unknown till traced a few years ago by MM. Cailliaud and Belzoni. The narrow ravines between the hills on the western side were, till very lately, equally unknown, though the Oases, and the roads leading to them, were described by the Greeks and Arabs. Two lead from Jirjeh and Esna into the Greater Oasis (*El Wah-el-kharijeh*), and one from Fayyum into the smaller (*El Wah-el-dakhileh*). On the western side of the Delta, the direction of the valleys is nearly from S.E. to N.W.; and *Siyah*, or *Shantariyyeh*, the Oasis of Ammon, is connected with Egypt by branches which diverge more towards the west, from the *Bahr Bilama* (Waterless Sea), *i. e.* the celebrated desert called *Scete*, or the Valley of Natron." *

The tract comprehended in the *Bahr Bilama* (more properly *Bahr-bela-mayeh*) and the basin of the Natron lakes, is one of the most remarkable features in the geography of the country. These two valleys are parallel to each other, being separated by a low ridge. The mountain of Natron skirts the whole length of the valley of the same name: it contains none of the rocks which are found scattered about in the valleys, such as quartz, jasper, and petro-silex; and this circumstance has given rise to the opinion that the stones must have been conveyed thither by a branch of the

* Ency. Metrop. part xix., art. *Egypt*.

Nile, which is supposed to have found its way formerly in this direction through the Waterless Valley, to the Mediterranean. There is now a series of six lakes in the Valley of Natron, the banks of which, as well as the surface of the waters, are covered with crystallizations both of muriate of soda and carbonate of soda or natron. The muriate of soda is the first to crystallize, and the natron is subsequently deposited in a separate layer. This singular valley contains four Greek monasteries, the inmates of which subsist on a small quantity of leguminous seeds. The vegetation in these valleys has a wild and dreary aspect: the palms are mere bushes, and bear no fruit. Caravans occasionally visit it in quest of natron. The Valley of *Bahr-bela-mayeh* has, for the most part, a breadth of eight miles. In the sand with which the surface is every where covered, trunks of trees have been found in a state of complete petrifaction, together with a vertebral bone. That these countries have undergone violent revolutions, is certain; but at what period or periods the changes took place, can only be conjectured. With regard to the extent of the modern encroachments of the Desert, authorities are much at variance, and M. Malte Brun contends, that they have been greatly exaggerated. The Delta, however, has evidently undergone a considerable reduction of arable land, both on the south-east and south-west, where the Desert has gained upon it, and on the north, where the sea has reduced a large tract to the same state by throwing up the sand.

The Valley of Cosseir is covered with a sand partly calcareous, partly quartzose: the mountains are of limestone and sandstone. On approaching Cosseir, three different formations successively present themselves: the first, a fine-grained granite; the second, a peculiar

sort of pudding-stone, known by the name of *breccia di verde;* the third, a rock of a slaty texture, containing rounded masses of the same breccia, and connected with it by gradual transitions. This extends for about thirty miles. "At the fountains of *El Aoosh-Lambageh*, there is a leading chain of schistose mountains, enclosing rock-crystal and steatitic rocks; but, within eight miles of Cosseir, the mountains suddenly change their character, a great part of them consisting of limestone or alabaster in strata, lying almost always north and south. Here are found the *debris* of the *ostrea diluviana*. The bottom of the valley, covered with immense rocky fragments, presents a numberless variety of materials; sometimes serpentines, sometimes compound rocks, or a particular kind of steatite, with nodules of schistose spar. Towards the valley of Suez, the mountains are calcareous, and, in several places, are composed of concreted shells. In the valley of the wilderness, sea salt is found in thin compact layers, supported by strata of gypsum. In many of the surrounding deserts, this salt is very common, sometimes crystallized under the sand, sometimes on the surface."

In Upper Egypt, the mountains near Edfou are composed of slate, sandstone, white and rose-coloured quartz, and brown pebbles, mixed with white cornelians. Near the ruins of Silsilis, the granitic rocks contain cornelian, jasper, and serpentine. A little higher up the river, the granite alternates with decomposed sandstone, forming on the surface a friable crust, giving the appearance of ruins. The quarries of Philœ, Elephantine, and Syene produce the beautiful Oriental or rose-coloured granite, called by Pliny

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 28.

Syenites, from the city near which it abounds, and Thebaic-stone, from its being so much used in the edifices of Thebes, but differing from the Syenite of modern geologists. Two thirds of its mass are formed by felspar, varying in colour from a pale pink to a brick red: the other third consists of mica with a metallic lustre, and translucent quartz. The rose-coloured variety is confined, apparently, to the vicinity of Elephantine, though it is found unmixed for some distance on both sides of the Nile. It is connected, by numerous shades and variations, with the common granite and the succeeding species of rock.* Its extreme hardness, together with the uniform dryness of the air, accounts for the wonderfully perfect state in which monuments of remote antiquity are found in this country.

In the neighbourhood of the pyramids are found the Ethiopian jasper, the quartz rock with amphibole, and the coarsely-veined quartzose agate, commonly called the Egyptian pebble. In the Borgian Museum at Velletri, there is a fine collection of mineralogical specimens obtained from Egypt. They comprise, besides the varieties above enumerated, a dark-brown micaceous schist, potstone, marble with veins of silvery mica, swinestone, porphyry, (composed of petro-silex with crystals of felspar,) jaspers of all varieties, the

* Among these varieties are, the fine-grained *granitello* of lapidaries; grey syenite, when the felspar is grey; black and white granite (*nero-e-bianco*), when the felspar is white and the mica black; Egyptian or oriental basalt (*basalte antico*), in which the mica and hornblende prevail in black, homogeneous masses, with scarcely any mixture of felspar: the oriental granite sometimes contains a small quantity of hornblende, and then becomes the syenite of Werner. Malte Brun remarks, that the syenite which forms the coating of the pyramid of Mycerinus, is believed to be the *pyropœcylon* of Pliny

topaz or chrysolite of the ancients, amethyst, rock-crystal, chalcedony, onyx, heliotrope, obsidian, and lapis-lazuli, but no emeralds; together with numerous specimens of basalt, the Ethiopian stone of Herodotus and Strabo.*

Almost the whole of the productive soil of Egypt consists of mud deposited by the Nile; and the Delta, as in all similar tracts of country, is entirely composed of alluvial earth and sand. To ascertain the depth of this bed, the French *savans* who accompanied the military expedition into Egypt, sank several wells at distant intervals; and from their observations have been obtained the following results. First, that the surface of the soil, as already mentioned, descends more or less rapidly towards the foot of the hills, which is the reverse of what occurs in most valleys; secondly, that the depth of the bed of mud is unequal, being, in general, about five feet near the river, and increasing gradually as it recedes from it; thirdly, that, beneath the mud, there is a bed of sand similar to that always brought down by the river. The first-mentioned peculiarity is satisfactorily explained by the absence of rain, which, in other countries, washes down the soil from the hills, and carrying it to the stream in the bottom of the valley, forms a basin, the sides of which have a concave surface; whereas, in Egypt, the soil is conveyed by the inundation from the river into the valley, and the deposites therefore will be greatest near its banks. The more rapid the current, also, the smaller will be the quantity of mud deposited. The bed of quartzose sand upon which it rests, is about thirty-six feet in depth, and is super-

* See, for authorities, Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 27, &c., and Ency Metrop. art. Egypt.

posed on the calcareous rock which forms the basis of the lower country. The waters of the river filter through this bed of sand, and springs are found as soon as the borer has reached any considerable depth.

The line of coast which bounds the Delta on the north, and forms the base of the triangle, is about 150 miles in length: its height, or the length of the plain up the Nile, is about 100. Its irregular shape, however, by no means corresponds to the figure of the Greek *delta*. Scylax, the Geographer, compares it to that of an axe or hatchet (πελεκυς); but the natives, deeming it more like the section of a pear, called it *Rab* or *Rib*, and *Airib*, a name which, softened into Rif and Erif, it bears to the present day.* It is also called *Bahari*, or the Maritime Country. Assigning to Upper Egypt an average breadth of ten miles, and allowing for the lateral valleys stretching out from the Delta, it is supposed that the portion of territory capable of cultivation, may amount to about 16,000 square miles, or, in round numbers, ten millions of acres, which is nearly one-half that of Ireland.† The total population of

* This appears to be the meaning of the word Rahab, Rehib, or Erib, applied to Egypt, Psal. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, Isa. xxx. 7, and Isa. li. 9, which has so much perplexed many commentators, and which some have confounded with Rachab. At Malta, there is a conical hill called *Djebel al Rahab* for a similar reason. See Bryant's Mythology, vol. vi. p. 128; Calmet's Dict. art. *Rahab*. Abulfeda and Ebn Haukal divide Egypt into the *Rif* and the *Said*, i.e. the coast and the high country. Leo Africanus calls the former *Erif* or *Errifia*; i.e. *tellus pyriformis*, the pear-shaped land. So the Peloponnesus received the name of Morea from its imagined resemblance to the figure of a mulberry-leaf; and the city of Granada is supposed to have been so named from a fanciful resemblance to a split pomegranate.

† See Quart. Rev. vol. xxx. p. 495. M. Girard, however, estimates the mean width of the valley between Syene and Cairo at not more than nine miles, and the whole area of cultivable soil (not including the oases and lateral valleys) at about 11,000 square miles.

Egypt is estimated at about two millions and a half, which would give about 156 to every square mile. Its relative population, therefore, though not equal to that of Ireland, almost comes up to that of France, and far exceeds that of Austria, Prussia, or Spain.* Nearly one half of this territory, it is supposed, is either periodically inundated, or capable of artificial irrigation. The remaining part requires a more laborious cultivation, and yields a more scanty produce. The inundated lands, though they have successively borne one crop, and frequently two, year after year, without intermission, for more than 3000 years, still retain their ancient fertility, without any perceptible impoverishment, and without any further tillage than the adventitious top-dressing of black, slimy mould by the overflowing of the river.† Where the inundation does not reach, the crops are very scanty: wheat does not yield above five or six for one; but, for maize and millet, the soil is particularly adapted, and these, with

* See Humboldt's Pers. Nar., vol. vi. part 1, note B. The population of Egypt is stated by the learned Author, at 2,489,000, and 1777 by the square league in the cultivated part. That of Ireland, by the square league, is 2545; that of France, 1790; that of Prussia, 1311; that of Spain, 763. Palestine comprised, in the time of David, upwards of five millions, or between 6 and 7000 to the square league. (See Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. art. 26.) Egypt must have been capable of affording subsistence to a still larger proportion; and if so, its population would not be in excess under a wise administration, at 10,000,000.

† The analysis of the mud of the Nile gives nearly one-half of argillaceous earth, about one-fourth carbonate of lime, the remainder consisting of oxyde of iron, carbonate of magnesia, and water. On the banks, the mud is mixed with much sand, which it loses in proportion as it is carried further from the river, so that, at a certain distance, it consists of almost pure argil, which forms excellent bricks, tobacco-pipes, terra-cotta, and stucco. The cultivators consider it as sufficient manure.—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 26.

rice, lentils, and pulse, constitute the principal food of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, allowing of the exportation of the greater part of the wheat produced. Taking, then, into consideration, the quantity of land once arable, which is now covered with sand, the double harvest, and, of some productions, more than semi-annual crops,* the smaller quantity of food which is requisite to sustain life in southern latitudes, and the extent to which the more barren soil was formerly rendered available by the cultivation of the olive, the fig-tree, the vine, and the date-palm; we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the immense fertility and populousness of ancient Egypt.†

The whole space lying between the Red Sea and the Libyan Oasis, comprehends, according to Humboldt, 11,000 square marine leagues, of which seven-eighths are now desert. The present pasha has reclaimed some long-neglected tracts of country, by clearing out the ancient canals, and digging others, for the purpose of extending the culture of the cotton plant, to which the soil appears to be particularly adapted. He has also established a colony of Syrians in the valley of Toumlaut, for the cultivation of the mulberry and the rearing of silk-worms. Indigo, safflower (*carthamus*),

Michaelis remarks, in reference to Palestine, that "in the 32d parallel of latitude, the same ground, treated as a garden, may be cropped oftener within the year than with us; an advantage for which Moses expressly celebrates Palestine in Deut. xxxiii. 14." (Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 105.) By "the precious productions of the sun" and "the precious fruits of the moon," it is supposed that we are to understand annual and monthly productions; the former consisting of such as wheat, barley, grapes; the latter, figs, olives, &c. of which they had many crops in a year. See Rev. xxii. 2.

† Egypt is stated to have contained anciently 7,500,000 souls, which is not incredible; but some authors have carried the estimate as high as twenty millions, an obvious exaggeration.

and hinneh, for dyes, are extensively cultivated in the irrigated lands. The best wheat grows at Maraga, in Upper Egypt; the district of Akmin yields the largest crops. Barley, with six rows of grains in the ear, forms a large proportion of the food given to cattle and horses. The best rice grows in the province of Damietta, and a little is grown in some other districts. The melons and cucumbers grow "almost visibly:" in twenty-four hours, they gain twenty-four inches in bulk, but are generally watery and insipid. The tobacco is weak, but reckoned much pleasanter than that of America. Besides these productions, the inundated lands are cultivated with flax, anise, sesamum, mustard, beans, lupins, lentils, vetches, Egyptian trefoil, and lettuce. The irrigated lands of Upper Egypt are sown chiefly with the *holcus doura* or millet, which is sometimes eaten, like maize, in a green state, being previously roasted on the fire, and its stalk is eaten green, like sugar-cane. The grain is ground into meal, of which are made thin cakes like muffins; the dried pith of the stalk is used as starch; the leaf is the food of cattle; and the stalk itself is used as fuel for heating ovens. Upper Egypt produces also, in the irrigated lands, (chiefly in the province of Minyeh,) the sugar-cane, the growth of which is completed in a single season, as at Mazanderan on the shores of the Caspian; and a little sugar-cane, as well as indigo, cotton, *doura*, and maize, is produced in the *Sharkiyeh*, to the east of the ancient Delta. A few pot-herbs are cultivated in the neighbourhood of the towns. Fayoom is distinguished for the cultivation of rose-bushes, from which is obtained the rose-water which is in so great request all over the East.* There are also some

* This is the *rosa alba*. The flower is double, of a pale colour, not quite white, but tinged with red, and extremely fragrant. The

olive-plantations in this province, and some Christians manufacture an indifferent wine. The vine is no longer cultivated in any other part of Egypt, except for the sake of its shade and its grapes,* and the olive-tree is only to be met with in gardens.

The almond, the walnut, and the cherry will not grow in Egypt, and neither the pear, the apple, the peach, nor the plum comes to any perfection; but the citron, the lemon, the pomegranate, the apricot, and the banana or plantain flourish luxuriantly. The sycamore or Pharaoh's fig-tree, (less valued for its fruit than for its deep, broad shade,) the carob-tree, the jujube, the tamarind, and other trees are also found here. But, in point of usefulness as well as number, the date-palm is pre-eminent. It is cultivated both in the inundated and the irrigated lands, and groves of it are to be seen consisting, sometimes, of several thousands, valued at a piaster each. In Upper Egypt, Hasselquist says, many families subsist almost entirely on dates: in Lower Egypt, they do not eat so many, preferring to sell them.

A large and beautiful fruit-tree, the *persea* of the Greeks, and the *lebakh* of the Arabians, has either

shrubs, Hasselquist says, live to a great age. The *rosa gallica*, or red officinal rose, is common in the gardens at Rosetta and Damietta, and is used for making rose-water, but it has a feeble scent, and is not much valued. The *rosa cinnamomea* is cultivated for its beauty, but is somewhat scarce. Other varieties are found in Upper Egypt, where the name indiscriminately given to every species of rose, is *ward*, which comes very near the Chaldee *jardeh*.

* "The vine, in ancient times, formed an important branch of culture in Egypt. Antony and Cleopatra inflamed their voluptuous imaginations by drinking the juice of the Mareotic grapes. In the days of Pliny, Sebennytus furnished the Roman tables with their choicest wines. The vines of Foua, mentioned by travellers of the last century, are no longer in existence."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 42.

disappeared from the Egyptian soil, or has not hitherto been recognised in any of the existing species. It is stated to have been introduced from Persia, where its fruit was crude and bitter, and to have acquired from culture the qualities for which it was so celebrated among the ancients; but it gradually became rare, and had disappeared before A.D. 700. The name *lebakh* is now given to a species of acacia (the *mimosa 'ebbek* of Hasselquist). But the *persea* of the ancients, or the true *hejlij-lebbakh*, must have been a different tree.*

Another celebrated production of Egypt is the lotus. The plant usually so denominated is a species of waterlily (*nymphæa lotus*), called by the Arabs *nuphar*, which, on the disappearance of the inundation, covers all the canals and pools with its broad, round leaves, amid which the flowers, in the form of cups of bright white or azure, expand on the surface, and have a most elegant appearance. Sonnini says, that its roots form a tubercle, which is gathered when the waters of the Nile subside, and is boiled and eaten like potatoes, which it somewhat resembles in taste. Herodotus states, that the Egyptians not only ate the root, but made a sort of bread of the seed, which resembled that of the poppy. He adds, that there is a second species, the root of which is very grateful, either fresh or dried.† The plant which was chiefly eaten

* The persea has been supposed to be the peach-tree, which is a native of Persia. Some persons have imagined the tree in question to be the *aguacate*, to which, in consequence of this conjecture, botanists have given the name of *laurus persea*. Others have attempted to identify it with the *sebesten*; "but the differences," remarks M. Malte Brun, "are too glaring to allow this hypothesis to be tenable." Latterly it has been designated as the *Balanites Egyptiaca*.

† See Herodotus. *Euterpe*, § 92. Alpinus (*de Plantis Egypti*),

by the ancient Egyptians, and which is so frequently carved on the ancient monuments, is supposed to be the *nymphæa nelumbo*, or *nelumbium speciosum*, the "sacred bean" of India, now found only in that country. Its seeds, which are about the size of a bean, have a delicate flavour resembling almonds, and its roots also are edible. The lotus of Homer, however, the fruits of which so much delighted the companions of Ulysses, is a very different plant; namely, the *zizyphus lotus* (*rhamnus*), or jujube, which bears a fruit the size of a sloe, with a large stone, and is one of the many plants which have been mistakenly fixed on by learned commentators as the *dudaim* (mandrakes) of the sacred writings.

The *papyrus*, not less celebrated in ancient times than the lotus, and which is believed to have disappeared from the banks of the Nile, has been re-discovered in the *cyperus papyrus* of Linnæus. The *colocasium* is still cultivated in Egypt for its large esculent roots. The banks of the river and of the canals sometimes present coppices of acacia and mimosa, and there are groves of rose-laurel, willow, cassia, and other shrubs. Fayoom contains impenetrable hedges of *cactus* or Indian fig. But, though so rich in plants, Egypt is destitute of timber, and all the fire-wood used is imported from Caramania.

M. Malte Brun has drawn up, from original authorities, a brief Economical Calendar of Egypt, which

speaking of the lotus, says: "This is the white *nenuphar*. The Egyptians, during the heats of summer, eat the whole stalk raw, with the upper parts: they are watery, proper to refresh, and are called *razelnil*."—p. 103. Some have supposed the lotus to be intended in Numb. xi. 5, Isa. xix. 6, by the word translated "leeks" and "flags." The *faba Græca* or *lotus* of Pliny is the *diospyrus lotus*, a sort of guayacana or ebony.

we shall give as we find it, subjoining, in the form of notes, observations which seem considerably to affect its accuracy.

"In January, lupins, the dolichoes, and cummin are sown in Upper Egypt, while the wheat shoots into ear; and in Lower Egypt, the beans and flax are in flower. The vine, the apricot, and the palm-tree are now pruned. Towards the end of the month, the orange, the citron, and the pomegranate trees begin to be covered with blossoms; and the sugar-cane, senna-leaves, and various kinds of pulse and trefoil are cut.—In February, all the fields are verdant: the sowing of rice begins;* the first barley crop is harvested; cabbages, cucumbers, and melons ripen. The month of March is the blossoming season for the greater part of plants and shrubs: the corn sown in October and November is now gathered.† The first half of April is the time for gathering roses. Almost every sort of corn is cut down and sown at the same time; spelt (maize) and wheat are ripe, as well as the greater part of the leguminous crops; and the Alexandrian trefoil yields a second crop.—The harvest of the winter grain continues during the month of May; *cassia fistula* and *hinneh* are in flower;‡ and the early fruits, grapes, Pharaoh's figs, carobs, and dates,

* "Rice (*oryza sativa*) is sown in April, after having been well soaked in water and dried in straw till it shoots. It is reaped in November."—*Ency. Metrop.*

† "The seed-time for wheat (*hhontah*) is over by the end of November, and the harvest is finished in May in Lower, and in April in Upper, Egypt. The straw is never more than two feet and a half, but strong, and is pulled up, not reaped."—*Ibid.*

‡ The shrub called *thamar-hhinna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) is supposed to be the gopher of the Scriptures and the cyprus of the Greeks. It is planted from suckers in April, and in a year its leaves are fit for gathering. The flower is extremely fragrant.

are gathered.—In June, Upper Egypt has its sugar-cane harvest:* the plants of the sandy grounds now begin to wither and die.—In July, rice, maize, and canes are planted; flax and cotton are pulled;† ripe grapes are abundant in the neighbourhood of Cairo; and there is a third crop of trefoil.—The *nenuphar* and jessamine flower in August, while the palm-tree and the vine are loaded with ripe fruit: the melons have now become too watery.—Towards the end of September, oranges, citrons, tamarinds, and olives are gathered, and a second crop of rice is cut down. In this month, and still more in October, all sorts of grain and leguminous seeds are sown. In the latter month, the grass becomes so high as to conceal the cattle: the acacias and other thorny shrubs are now covered with odoriferous flowers.—The sowing continues more or less late in November, according to the degree to which the waters of the Nile have retired. The corn begins to spring before the end of the month. The narcissus, the violet, and the *colocasia* flower on the dried land; the *nenuphar* disappears from the surface of the waters; dates and the sebesten-fruit are gathered.—In December, the trees gradually lose their foliage, but this symptom of autumn is compensated by other appearances: the corn, the long grass,

* "The inferior canes are cut in October, to be used green. Those kept for the press are not cut till January or February."—*Ency. Metrop.* They are planted in March and April.

† The flax-seed "ripens in March: the plants are then pulled up and carefully dried."...."Cotton is sown immediately after the vernal equinox...the harvest begins in September." Tobacco is sown in December; the young plants are planted out in February; the leaves are gathered in April, and a second, but inferior crop is gathered in May. Sometimes, "a third, but still worse, is obtained when the inundation does not reach the tobacco-fields."—*Ency. Metrop.*

and the flowers every where display the spectacle of a new spring. Thus, in Egypt, the land is never at rest.* Every month has its flowers, and every season its fruits."†

THE NILE.

THE parent of all this exhaustless fertility is the Nile, and every thing in Egypt depends upon the precise height to which the inundation rises. If it does not reach a certain medium, famine is the result; and the consequence of its exceeding its usual *maximum* is scarcely less calamitous: whole villages are then liable to be swept away, with all the corn, cattle, and inhabitants. The rise of the Nile, in common with that of all the rivers of the torrid zone, is caused by the heavy periodical rains which fall between the tropics. This phenomenon is thus explained by Mr. Bruce. "The air is so much rarefied by the sun, during the time he remains almost stationary over the tropic of Capricorn, that the winds, loaded with vapours, rush in upon the land from the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Indian Ocean on the east, and the cold Southern Ocean beyond the Cape. Thus, a great quantity of vapour is gathered as it were into a

* "The soil is so rich that fallows are unnecessary; some attention to rotation of crops is all that is requisite. Wheat is succeeded by barley, millet, beans, or lentils; clover by wheat; carthamus by tobacco, lupins, fenugreek, or chick-peas; sugar-canes by millet or maize; maize by flax, and that by indigo, which occupies the soil for three years."—*Ency. Metrop.*

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 43—45. The authorities cited are Nordmeier (*Calend. Ægypt.*), and Forskal, Hasselquist, Pococke, Norden, and Niebuhr, &c. as quoted by Nordmeier, whom this Geographer appears to have chiefly followed. Further observations on the economy and productions of this country will occur in the topographical description.

focus; and, as the same causes continue to operate during the progress of the sun northward, a vast train of clouds proceeds from south to north, which are sometimes extended much further than at other times. In April, all the rivers in the south of Abyssinia begin to swell; in the beginning of June, they are all full, and continue so while the sun remains stationary in the tropic of Cancer. This excessive rain, which would sweep off the whole soil of Egypt into the sea, were it to continue without intermission, begins to abate as the sun turns southward; and, on his arrival at the zenith of each place, on his passage towards that quarter, they cease entirely. Immediately after the sun has passed the line, he begins the rainy season to the southward."

The rise of the Nile at Cairo does not commence till June, the green colour produced, either by the influx of corrupt or stagnant water, or by the action of the hot south winds on the sluggish stream, appearing about the 12th of that month.* The red appearance,

* "The day on which it begins to increase, is yearly the 12th day of June, on which day they observe the feast of St. Michael the Archangel: on this day the drops fall. Now these drops are nothing else, according to the judgement of the inhabitants, than the mercies and blessings of God. As soon as this dew is fallen, the water begins to be corrupt, and assumes a *greenish* colour, which increaseth more and more, till the river appears as a lake covered all over with moss. This colour is to be seen not only in its great channel, but also in all the ponds and branches that come from thence: only the cisterns keep the water pure. Some years, this green colour continues about twenty days, and sometimes more, but never above forty. The Egyptians call this time, when the river is green, *il chad raiat;* for they suffer much because the water is corrupt, tasteless, and unwholesome, and good water is very rare. As soon as the green colour is gone, the river Nilus begins to become *red* and very muddy. It is then, no doubt, that the fermentation is passed, and that the waters of Ethiopia are arrived in Egypt, which are of that colour because of the red earth

occasioned by the arrival of the Abyssinian waters, takes place early in July, from which the rise of the river may properly be dated, as it then begins to increase rapidly. By the middle of August, it reaches half its greatest height, and it attains its *maximum* towards the end of September. From the 24th of that month, the waters are supposed to decline, but maintain nearly the same level till the middle of October. By the 10th of November, they have sunk about half, and from that period, continue to subside very slowly till they reach their *minimum* in April. The regularity with which these phenomena occur, will appear the more remarkable when taken in connexion with all the circumstances which distinguish this wonderful stream.

The Nile is the largest river of the Old Continent, and it is the only river in the world that flows more than a thousand miles* without receiving a single tributary stream. The first confluence that is met with in ascending its course, is the Tacazze or Astaboras, which, having been previously joined by the Mareb, enters the Nile in lat. 17° 35′, 450 miles S. of Philœ.† The confluence of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* (Blue River) and the *Bahr-el-Abiad* (White River), which, properly speaking, forms the Nile, is in about lat.

that the furious torrents from the mountains carry into the river. In the year 1673, in the beginning of July, the water began to be red, and so continued till the end of December, the time when the river returns to its ordinary dimensions. The Egyptians believe that the river Nilus decreaseth also at a certain day, Sept. 24."—Father Vansleb in Calmet's Dict. by Taylor, art. Nile.

* "The distance from the mouth of the Tacazze to the Delta, is nearly 1350 nautical miles.... The Nile receives no river below this, either on the east or on the west; a solitary instance in the hydrographic history of the globe."—HUMBOLDT'S *Pers. Nar.*, vol. v. p. 744.

16° N. Which of these two great streams has the better claim to be regarded as the head or main branch of the Egyptian river, is still a question among geographers. The ancients appear to have regarded both the Tacazze and the Abyssinian river as tributaries of the great western stream.* And yet, the name of the Nile is evidently derived from the Blue River, and by no means corresponds to the character of the white waters of the *Bahr-el-Abiad*. The latter is, at their junction, the wider river of the two;† but whether its sources are the more distant, appears to be still problematical. The rise of its waters precedes that of the Blue River nearly a month. These rivers, at their junction, form nearly a right angle; but such is the volume or the force of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* at the time of its rise, that, for many miles below its mouth, the waters of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* cannot mingle with it; so that the eastern part of the Nile is black, and the western white, the latter colour being occasioned by a very fine white clay with which its waters are impregnated. The rise of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* appears

* Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, states, that the Nile receives two rivers which surround the great island of Meroe. One is the Astaboras. If the latter be, as is supposed, the Tacazze, the other must be the Bahr-el-Azrek. See Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 163, and Colonel Leake's map. Pliny relates the opinion of King Juba, that the Nile had its source in Mauritania; that it appeared and disappeared in different places, first hiding itself under ground, and then shewing itself again; that, in this country, it was called Niger, and in Ethiopia, had the name of *Astapus*; that about Meroe, it was divided into two arms, of which the right was called Astusapes, and the left Astaboras; and lastly, that it obtained the name of Nile only below Meroe."—CALMET'S *Dict.*, art. Nile.

† "The Nile is not half so broad as the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, which is, from bank to bank, one mile higher than where the Nile joins it, about a mile and a quarter in breadth."—*English's Narr. of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, 8vo. p. 147.

to take place in April, when its sudden influx occasions a rise of the Nile in that part, of about two feet, and an inundation of the sandy flats on the western bank.*

At this period, the Nile at Cairo is at its lowest; and it would seem that these white waters contribute this copious supply at the very season when it is most needed, and when otherwise, in such a climate, the river would probably become dry before it could reach Egypt. As it is, they produce no sensible rise in the lower country, but only prevent the waters from subsiding, by counteracting the waste of evaporation. The water of the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, though "troubled and whitish," has a peculiar sweetness, and is more agreeable than that of the *Bahr-el-Azrek*. The banks of the former river have never been explored. It appears to come from the W.S.W., but is stated, on the doubtful testimony of the natives, to have, for some distance, a course nearly parallel to the Abyssinian river, and to receive "three other rivers, one from the S.W., and two from the east, running from the mountains south of Sennaar."† The peculiar colour of its waters proves that it flows through a tract differing essentially, in the qualities of the soil, from the basin of the

* English's Narrative, p. 144. It is remarkable, that the Nile is stated to have "risen a little shortly after the equinox," but "it afterwards subsided more than it had risen."

† English, p. 179. By the expression, from the east, must be meant, that the river receives them on its eastern bank. The tract of country included between the *Adit (Bahr-el-Azrek)* and the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, is called *El Jeziva*, the Island; "because, in the season of the rains, many rivers running from the mountains in the south towards the *Bahr-el-Abiad* and the *Adit*, occasion this tract to be included by rivers."—*Ibid.* p. 182. The river from the S.W., which joins the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, is probably the *Bahr-el-Ada* of Browne, which is said to join that river about eight days' journey to the S. of Heilet Allais.

Blue River. About fifteen days' march above its junction with the latter, there is said to be a rapid *(shallal)*; and its source is much further off (further south-westward probably) than that of the Sennaar River, in the *Jebel-el-Gumara* or *Kamar* (mountains of the moon). According to the report of a negro, the country from which it proceeds, is called *Dar-el-Abiad*, the white country, and lies to the south of Dar-Foor. That it communicates in some way with the Niger, would seem to be more than probable, if it be true, that travellers have passed by water from Tombuctoo to Cairo; but if so, it is, most likely, by intermediate streams, or by lakes at the period of inundation.*

"The sources of the Blue River," remarks Malte Brun, "were found and described by the Jesuits, Paez and Tellez, two centuries before the pretended discovery of Bruce." Recent information, however, seems to render it doubtful whether the real source of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* be yet discovered. Mr. English was informed at Sennaar, that the source of this river is in the *Jebel-el-Gumara*, about sixty days' camel-march from Sennaar, in a direction nearly south; and that, at various parts of its course, it receives several smaller streams from Abyssinia, and from the mountains south of Sennaar. M. Calliaud states, that two

* See Quart. Rev. vol. xxviii. p. 92. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 20. According to Mr. Browne, the *Misselad* and the *Bahr-Koolla* run from S. to N.; and this fact, M. Malte Brun remarks, "does not allow us to suppose any other communication between the Nile and the Niger, than one which might be formed by canals winding along a table land, where the sources of the *Misselad* and *Bahr-Koolla* are at a short distance from each other, and from those of the Nile. Some of our readers may, perhaps, content themselves with supposing, that the sources of all these rivers are sufficiently near *to communicate by means of temporary lakes during the rainy season.*"

considerable rivers, the *Tournat* and the *Jabousse*, flow from Abyssinia into the *Bahr-el-Azrek;* the latter at the distance of two days and a half southward of Fazoele; a circumstance, it has justly been remarked, which renders it impossible, "notwithstanding the fine circular sweep which Bruce has given to the upper part of the Azrek, (and which he borrowed from the Portuguese Jesuit Tellez,) that it should have its rise in any part of Abyssinia, and proves that it must proceed from the mountains far to the westward." This, again, would necessarily throw the line and source of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* to a much greater distance westward than has hitherto been assigned to it, and increases the probability of its communicating with the Niger.*

The waters of the Nile, it seems at all events certain, have their most distant sources in the *Jebel-el-Kamra;* but, whichever be the more remote, whether the *Bahr-el-Azrek* or the *Bahr-el-Abiad* has the longer course, the Nile appears to be chiefly fed by the rivers of Abyssinia. To these, its inundations are chiefly owing; and both its name and character, and the general direction of its course, warrant our considering the central branch, that is, the Abyssinian Nile or Blue River, as the true head of the Egyptian stream. At the same time, it seems proper to restrict the name of Nile to the united waters of the Blue and White Rivers.

One circumstance which favours the supposition that the sources of the Nile are more remote than has been supposed, is the remarkable retardation of its periodical rise as compared with that of other tropical rivers in northern latitudes. The Ganges, the Niger, and the Gambia reach their *maximum* in August; the

* See Narr. of an Expedition, &c., p. 179; and Quart. Rev. vol. xxiv. p. 91.

Orinoco, which begins to increase immediately after the vernal equinox, attains its greatest height in July. The Nile, which does not reach its *maximum* till about the autumnal equinox, is at its *minimum* in April and May, when the rivers of Guyana begin to swell anew.* It appears, however, that the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, in fact, begins to rise very soon after the vernal equinox; and the Abyssinian rivers, according to Bruce, begin to swell in April, and are full in June. It would seem to follow, that the great body of water which is subsequently poured into the Nile, must be occasioned by the copious rains which fall in lower latitudes as the sun travels southward; but for which, owing to the length of its course after having received its last confluent, the rainy season would be nearly over before the Nile had received a sufficient supply to produce the requisite inundation.† The swellings of the Nile in Upper Egypt are from thirty to thirty-five feet; at Cairo, they are twenty-three feet;‡ in the northern part of the Delta, owing to the breadth of the inundation and the artificial channels, only four feet. And when it is considered that this comparatively small rise, on which the fertility of the Delta wholly depends, is oc-

* See Humboldt's Pers. Narr. vol. iv. p. 745. Taking the mean velocity of the Nile to be (according to Girard) four feet in a second, or two miles and a half in an hour, the learned Traveller assigns twenty-two days and a half for the descent of a particle of water from the mouth of the Tacazze to the Delta (1350 nautical miles). At Siout, however, the rate of the current is found to be more than five feet in a second, when the inundation is at its height, and four feet when the river is lowest. The quantity of water brought down varies also from 679 cubic metres to 10,247.—*Ency. Metrop.*

† The rains in Dar-Four last, according to Browne, from the middle of June to the end of September. They are brought by winds from the S.E.—*Browne's Trav. in Africa*, p. 254.

‡ According to Girard, 7.419 metres, nearly twenty-four feet and a half. We have followed Humboldt.

casioned by the rains which fall in countries nearly 2000 miles distant, and altogether depends on the regular occurrence and duration of the rainy season within the tropics, who can fail to be struck with admiration at the wonderful character of this mighty phenomenon! Well might the Egyptians deify the Nile, looking no higher than to second causes or imaginary powers as the sources of all their blessings.

"We know by the testimony of antiquity," remarks Humboldt, "that the oscillations of the Nile have been sensibly the same with respect to their height and duration for thousands of years; which is a proof well worthy of attention, that the mean state of the humidity and the temperature does not vary in that vast basin."* But this astonishing constancy in the hydraulic phenomena, would have been in danger of being defeated, had the basin of the Nile been of a different formation. The narrow, rocky bed of granite which imprisons its waters, and resists their action, has prevented their forming a wider channel as their bed became more shallow, and by presenting a wider surface to the action of the burning climate, becoming diminished by evaporation. "How wonderful soever this large conflux of water may have been accounted in all ages," remarks Dr. Shaw, "the great quantity of mud that hath from time to time been brought down with it, will appear to be not less strange and surprising. Surely the soil in Ethiopia (*provided the Nile reacheth no further*) must be of an extraordinary depth, in having not only bestowed upon Egypt so many thousand annual strata, but laid the foundation likewise of a future addition to it in the sea, to the distance of twenty leagues; so far, at least, by sound-

* Pers. Nar., vol. v. p. 351.

ing, this mud is found to extend."* The extreme lightness of the soil with which the river is as it were saturated, is another remarkable circumstance, since otherwise it must be deposited, notwithstanding the rapidity of the current, long before reaching the Delta. As it is, the accumulation of the soil in the course of centuries, is considerable enough to have affected the standard which determines the height of the inundation requisite to produce an abundant harvest. We learn from Herodotus, that, unless the river rose 15 or 16 cubits, it did not overflow its banks: in such cases, therefore, a dearth ensued, and no contributions were levied, because there was nothing produced to afford the means of paying them. The same rule was observed by the Arabs; whence 16 cubits, the lowest elevation which would allow of an assessment, was called *Má-el-Sultán*, the Sultan's Water. But in 1799, the water rose, according to the Nilometer or *Mikyas* at Cairo, to 16 cubits 2 inches; yet, it was a very bad year. In 1800, it reached 18 cubits 3 inches. "Supposing this height to be now equivalent to the standard of 16 cubits, fixed at the time when the *Mikyas* was erected (A.D. 847), the difference between the two numbers (*i. e.* 2 cubits 3 inches) will give the increase in the elevation of the bed of the river since that period: so that we have 3·77 feet for the accumulation of the soil near Cairo, in nine centuries and a half, or nearly four inches in a century. At Elephantine, near the southern extremity of Egypt, the ancient Nilometer mentioned by Strabo is still remaining; and the highest measure marked upon its scale is 24 cubits; but the water now rises, when at its greatest elevation, nearly eight feet above that

* Shaw's Travels, folio, p. 432.

mark; while, as appears from an inscription on the wall, at the beginning of the third century of our era, it rose only one foot above that level. The difference between these numbers makes the accumulation of the soil in the bed of the Nile at that place, during 1600 years, rather more than five inches in every hundred years. The proximity of these results," adds the Writer from whom we have borrowed this statement,* "thus derived from independent data, affords a strong presumption in favour of their truth."

Little stress, however, as Dr. Shaw remarks, can be laid upon the nominal measures, since the cubit itself (πηχυς, or *peek*, as it is still called,) has not remained the same. In the time of Herodotus, the Egyptian cubit appears to have been the same as the Attic, being equal to about one foot and a half. Three or four centuries afterwards, it seems to have been about twenty inches; "for such," remarks the learned Author, "according to the exactest measure that could be taken, is the height of one or other of the sixteen little children that are placed upon the famous statue of the Nile at Rome, and which represented, according to Philostratus, so many cubits."† The present cubit is of a still greater extent; and Dr. Shaw concludes, after citing various authorities, that it may be taken at 25 inches, the "great

* Ency. Metrop.

† That "no addition was made during the space of 500 years to the number of cubits mentioned by Herodotus, we learn," it is added, "not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue above mentioned, but also from a medal of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number ις (16). This account we have confirmed by Pliny: *In duodecim cubitis famem sentit; in tredecim etiamnum esurit; quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt; quindecim securitatem; sexdecim delicias.—Nat. Hist.*, lib. v. c. 9."—SHAW, p. 436.

cubit" of Constantinople. "At present," he continues, "notwithstanding the great accumulation of soil that has been made since those times, yet, when the river riseth to 16 cubits, (though 19 or 20 are requisite to prepare the whole land for cultivation,) the Egyptians make great rejoicings, and call out *Wafaq Allah*—God has given all they wanted. At this time also is performed the ceremony of cutting the Nile.....Now, Herodotus acquaints us, that, in the reign of Myris, if the Nile rose to the height of 8 (Grecian) cubits, all the lands of Egypt were sufficiently watered; but that, in his time, (which was not quite 900 years after Myris,) the country was not covered with less than 15 or 16 cubits of water. The addition of soil, therefore, by supposing them to have been 15 only, will be 7 Grecian cubits, or 126 inches, in the space of 900 years. But, at present, the river must rise to the height of 20 (Stamboline) cubits, (and it usually rises to 24,) before the whole country is overflowed. Since the time, therefore, of Herodotus, Egypt has gained 230 inches depth of new soil. And if we look back from the reign of Myris to the time of the deluge, and reckon that interval by the same proportion, we shall find, that the whole perpendicular accession of the soil, from the deluge to A.D. 1721, must be 500 inches: that is, the land of Egypt has gained 41 feet 8 inches of soil in 4072 years (more than a foot in a hundred years). Thus, in process of time, this whole country may be raised to such a height that the river will not be able to overflow its banks; and Egypt, consequently, from being the most fertile, will for want of the annual inundation, become one of the most barren parts of the universe." *

M. Savary, the French traveller, arguing in a similar

* Shaw, pp. 432—41.

manner, concludes that, in the space of 3284 years, the Delta has risen fourteen cubits. This opinion has been violently contested by Volney, Pococke, and Bruce. The first of these attempts to explain all the variations by the change in the measure. He supposes that, between the time of Mœris and that of Herodotus, an alteration took place in the measures of the country, by which one cubit was made into two. The Egyptian cubit, however, he contends with D'Anville and Baillie, has invariably consisted of 24 digits, equal to 20½ inches French; while the *Draa Stamboule* is 28 digits, or 24 inches. The rise of 24 feet, therefore, which is stated to be the maximum at Cairo, reduced to Egyptian cubits, will give precisely 14 cubits 1 inch, which, he adds, corresponds exactly to the ancient calculation. Reduced to Grecian cubits, if Shaw be correct, it will give 16, which is stated by Pliny to be the measure of delight *(delicias)*. The question, however, seems to be yet undetermined, what *is* really the present standard of abundance. The *Mikyas*, it is evident, cannot be depended upon, except as shewing the comparative height *in* different years; and the real state of the river is even said to be purposely concealed or misrepresented at times, for political purposes. In the year 1818, Mr. Belzoni witnessed a deplorable scene. The Nile rose with uncommon rapidity three feet and a half above the highest mark left by the former inundation, which, however, had been remarkably low, and carried off several villages with some hundreds of their inhabitants. It is much to be regretted, that the measurements of those years have not been ascertained; but it appears certain, that a greater rise is in fact required, and must in the nature of things be necessary, now, than in the time of Herodotus and Pliny, although it will be very difficult to

ascertain the difference with sufficient precision to make the basis of such nice calculation.

One of Bruce's arguments in opposing M. Savary's hypothesis, is, that the Nile does not now bring down any great quantity of mud, and that it is absurd to suppose that it can at present bring down as much as it did soon after the creation, or in the ages immediately succeeding the deluge. M. Maillet, on the contrary, makes the mud and sand annually left by the Nile, equal to a tenth part of its volume. Shaw admits this to be an obvious exaggeration; and he gives, as the result of experiment, a 30th part of wet mud, and a 120th part of mud when perfectly dry, as the *residuum*. It is obvious, that the quantity of mud brought down by the river, must depend chiefly on the rapidity of the current and the specific lightness of the soil; and it does not seem likely that it should at any period have held in solution a much larger proportion. The redness of the waters has not undergone, apparently, any diminution. Bruce represents the soil throughout Abyssinia, in all the water-channels, as almost entirely washed away; and he contends that the principal part of the sediment at Syene is sand. His statements, however, are not to be implicitly received. Both the colour of the river at the time of inundation, and the fertilizing effects of its deposite, oppose his hypothesis. If ever there was a period at which the Nile rolled down a larger volume of water with greater impetuosity, then, indeed, it would bring down with it a larger quantity of soil; and it is just possible that, in the thousand years prior to the time of Herodotus, this was the case, which would serve to account for the alleged difference in the standard.*

* See Volney's Travels, vol. i. c. 3. Ency. Brit. art. Egypt, and

That the soil of Egypt has been raised by the deposites of the river, is, indeed, unquestionable. Shaw had already remarked as a proof of this, what has since been fully verified by the observations of the French *savans*, that the depth of the soil varies in proportion to the distance from the river, "being sometimes, near the banks, more than thirty feet high, while, at the utmost extremity of the inundation, it is not a quarter part of so many inches. The method of raising mounds," he adds, "in order to secure their cities from the violence of the inundation, is another argument. For, as it may be presumed, that all the cities of Egypt were originally built upon artificial eminences raised for the purpose, so, when the circumjacent soil came to be so far increased, as to lie nearly upon a level with these cities, the inhabitants were then obliged either to mound them round, or else to rebuild them. The former experiment seems to have been often repeated at Memphis, the want whereof hath been the reason, no doubt, why we are not sure, at present, even of the place where this famous city was founded. The situation likewise of the temple in the city of Bubastis, is another circumstance in favour of the hypothesis. For, when the city was rebuilt and raised higher, to secure it from inundation, the temple, for the beauty of it, was left standing in its

Shaw's Supplement to his Travels, folio, c. 5. In this chapter, the learned Author meets the objections somewhat rudely brought against his representations by the author of the Description of the East, &c. (Dr. Pococke). The latter attempts to explain the difference between the eight and the sixteen cubits of Herodotus, by supposing "that the canals were cut after Myris's time, and so made a greater rise of the Nile necessary." But this conjecture, Shaw proves to be wholly unsatisfactory. At the same time, the number of canals may be the cause of variation in the degrees of the inundation.

primitive situation; and being therefore much lower than the new buildings, they looked down upon it from every part of the city. In like manner, Heliopolis, which, Strabo tells us, was built upon an eminence, is now in one of the plains of Egypt, and annually overflowed with six or eight feet of water. Neither is there any descent, as formerly, from Babylon to the river; but the interjacent space is all of it upon the same level. Upon the skirts likewise of the inundation, where the Sphinx is erected, the soil even there is so far accumulated that, if the sand had not already done it, very little is wanting to cover its whole body. With regard also to the exclusion of the sea, (the expelling of Typhon, as it was named in their ancient mythology,) we are told, that Damietta lies now ten miles distant from the sea, which, in the time of St. Lewis, A.D. 1243, was a sea-port town; that Fooah, which, three hundred years ago, was at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the river, is now seven miles above it; and again, that the land between Rosetta and the sea, hath in forty years gained half a league. Such large accessions being continually made to the soil, would occasion several of the more ancient cities, such as Damietta, Tineh, &c. (for Grand Cairo is of a later date, and built in a higher situation) to be in the same condition with Memphis, were they not, in a great measure, secured by some neighbouring mounds.* At the same time, the stream itself is diminished, by being carried in so convenient a manner through a number of channels, that every part of the country receives the benefit of the inundation." †

* "It was by the pulling down such mounds as these by Sultan Melladine, that the Christian army, then encamped near Cairo, were drowned A.D. 1199."

† Shaw's Travels, pp. 439, 40.

Volney, while he opposes the hypotheses of those writers who "supposed they could fix the precise limits of the enlargement and rise of the Delta," admits that the increase of the land manifests itself in a striking manner by the form of Egypt along the Mediterranean. "When we consider," he says, "its figure on the map, we perceive, that the country, which is in the line of the river, and evidently formed of foreign materials, has assumed a semi-circular shape, and that the shores of Arabia and Africa, on each side, have a direction towards the bottom of the Delta, which manifestly discovers that this country was formerly a gulf, which, in time, has been filled up. This accumulation is common to all rivers, and is to be accounted for in the same manner in all. The rain-water and the snow descending from the mountains into the valleys, hurry incessantly along with them the earth they wash away in their descent. The heavier parts, such as pebbles and sands, soon stop, unless forced along by a rapid current. But when the waters meet only with a fine and light earth, they carry away large quantities with the greatest facility. The Nile meeting with such a kind of earth in Abyssinia and the interior parts of Africa, its waters are loaded, and its bed is filled with it; nay, it is frequently so embarrassed with this sediment as to be straightened in its course. But, when the inundation restores to it its natural force, it drives the mud that has accumulated towards the sea, at the same time that it brings down more for the ensuing season; and this, arrived at its mouth, heaps up, and forms shoals, where the declivity does not allow sufficient action to the current, and where the sea produces an equilibrium of resistance. The stagnation that follows, occasions the grosser particles which till then had floated, to sink; and

this takes place more particularly in those places where there is least motion, as towards the shores, till the sides become gradually enriched with the spoils of the upper country, and of the Delta itself; for, if the Nile takes from Abyssinia to add to the Thebais, it likewise takes from the Thebais to give to the Delta, and from the Delta, to carry to the sea. Wherever its waters have a current, it despoils the same territory it enriches. As we ascend towards Cairo, when the river is low, we may observe on each side the banks worn steep, and crumbling in large flakes. The Nile, which undermines them, depriving their light earth of support, it falls into the bed of the river; for, when the water is high, the earth imbibes it; and when the sun and drought return, cracks and moulders away in great flakes, which are hurried along by the Nile. Thus are several canals choked up, and others enlarged, while the bed of the river continually rises. This is the case with the most frequented of these at present; I mean that which runs from Nadir to the branch of Damietta. This canal, at first dug by the hand of man, is in several places become as wide as the Seine. It supplies even the mother branch, which runs from *Bahr-el-Bakara* to Nadir, and which is filling up so fast, that, if it be not speedily cleansed, it will soon become firm ground. The reason of this is, that the river tends perpetually to the right line, in which it has the greatest force; wherefore it has preferred the Bolbitine, which was at first but an artificial canal, to the Canopic branch.

"From this mechanism of the river, it further results, that the principal encroachment must be formed in the line of the most considerable mouths, and of the strongest current; and the aspect of the country is conformable with this theory. If we cast

our eye on the map, we shall perceive that the projection of the lands is chiefly in the direction of the branches of Rosetta and Damietta. The lateral and intermediate country entirely consists of lakes and morasses between the continent and the sea, because the small canals which terminate there, have only been able to produce an imperfect accumulation; for this mud and sediment cause a very slow rise.* Nor would this indeed ever suffice to elevate them above the water, without the intervention of a more powerful agent, which is the sea, that perpetually raises the level of the low banks above its own waters. For the waves, beating on the shore, repel the sand and mud which they meet. Their dashing afterwards accumulates that slender bank, and gives an elevation which it never would have attained in still waters.* *

If the observations of the French academicians might be relied upon, the rise of the soil is capable of being so accurately ascertained, as to be made the basis of chronological calculations. The mean of several observations made in the valley of the Lower Egypt gives, we are told, 0.126 of a metre (or between four and five inches) as the rate of accumulation in a century. Taking this as the divisor, and applying it to the sum of the metres or inches which the soil has been raised, it is supposed that the quotient will give the number of years which have elapsed since the erection of any public monument. Thus, the basis of the statue of Memnon, it is said, was certainly raised above the level of the inundation by being placed on an artificial mound; and excavations made near it shew that the height of that terrace was six metres,

* Volney's Travels, vol. i. pp. 47—50.

or rather more than nineteen feet and a half. A similar result arises on examining the foundations of the palace at El Oksor or Luxor. It is therefore estimated, that 4760 years must have elapsed since the foundation of Thebes, which date would carry the origin of that metropolis as far back as 2960 years B.C., and consequently 612 years before the deluge, according to the reckoning in the Hebrew text, or 760 years after the deluge according to the Samaritan text.* The rubbish collected at the foot of the obelisk of Luxor, indicates that it was erected 1400 years B.C.; the causeway which crosses the plain of Siout, furnishes data for supposing it must have been formed 1200 years B.C.; and the obelisk at Heliopolis appears to have been erected about the same time. As the waters drain off more slowly in the Delta, the accumulation of alluvial soil must, however, be more rapid there, than higher up the stream; and the foundations of ancient buildings will there be at as great a depth below the surface, as those of greater antiquity in the Middle and Upper Egypt. Dr. Shaw's estimate of a foot in a century, which would make the difference as 12 to 4½, will probably be thought excessive. Yet, if he be correct in stating the depth of the soil

* The numbers in the Samaritan text and Septuagint version carry back the deluge to the year 3716 B.C. "The grounds which may be alleged for giving a preference, on this point, to the Samaritan text, or even to the Septuagint, and the singular approximation to the former, resulting from a mean taken between it, the Hindû, and the Chinese epochs, are ably stated by M. Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, 25, 29. The dates thus obtained," adds the Author of the able article from which we have cited the above, "(and which can only be considered as a very imperfect approximation to the truth,) are as remote from the extravagant chronology of the ancient Egyptians, as they are consistent with the testimony of both sacred and profane history with regard to the early civilization of that country."—*Ency. Metrop.*, art. Egypt.

near the banks in some places at thirty feet, while, at the remotest part of the inundated land, it does not exceed seven inches, we may suppose that the accumulation near the mouths of the river would be very considerable.

The different *bogaz* or mouths of the Nile have often changed their position, and are still changing it; and this has been another fruitful source of long discussion among geographers. Seven mouths were known to the ancients, of which, according to Herodotus, two were artificial; and it is remarkable that these are now the only channels which are not obstructed. The Rosetta branch is the Bolbitic or Bolbitinic; so called from Bolbitine, a town near its banks, and formed by a canal drawn in a straight line from the Canopic, or great western arm, to the sea. The Damietta branch, which, running almost due N., divides the Delta into two nearly equal parts, was anciently the Phatnitic, Pathmetic, or Bucolic. The five natural channels were, the Canopic on the west, the Pelusiac on the east, and the Sebennytic nearly in the middle, with two smaller arms issuing from the latter; the Saitic or Tanitic on the west, and the Mendesian on the east. The Canopic flowed into the sea near Canopus, a town situated fifteen miles E. of Alexandria, and not far from the site of Aboukir. It was also called the Heracleotic and the Naucratic mouth, from a *Heracleum* or temple of Hercules near its afflux into the sea, and Naucratis, a town on its banks. It is now lost in Lake Etko; but part of its bed may still be traced a little to the west of the Rosetta branch.* The Sebennytic took its name from

* "The Canopic mouth corresponds to the present mouth of Lake Etko, or, according to others, to that of the Lake of Aboukir

Sebennytus, an appellation still perhaps to be traced in *Sheibin-el-Koom* (Shibin of the Mound,—alluding to the heaps of rubbish in the neighbourhood); and the course of the ancient branch is supposed to be still marked by the canal which, near that town, divides into two arms; one joins the Rosetta stream at Farestak, and the other, called *Meligh*, taking a northerly direction, passes by *Mehallet-el-Kebir* (Cynopolis); fifteen miles below which, it falls into the great canal of *Thâbaniyeh*. The latter stream, issuing from the Damietta branch at *Thabaniyeh* (Place of Dragons), loses itself at the distance of thirty-six geographical miles in the Lake Burullos. The opening into this lake is supposed to be the ancient Sebennytic mouth. Of the Saitic mouth, some traces are supposed to exist, to the east of Lake Menzaleh, under the appellation of *Om-Faredge*: the branch itself corresponds to the canal of Moez, which now loses itself in that lake. The Mendesian branch of the Sebennytic, which took its name from a town sacred to Mendes, the Egyptian Pan, is now called the Canal of Ashmun: after a course of thirty miles, it loses itself in the Lake Menzaleh. Lastly, the easternmost arm of the Nile, which flowed into the sea near Pelusium, is now the canal of *Abu Muneji*, the second branch of the Damietta stream, which it leaves about six miles below Cairo, and after passing by *Bilbeis* and *Tel Basteh* (Bubastis), at length reaches

or Maadée; but it is probable that, at one time, it had communications with the sea at both of these places. In that case, it is probable that these lakes existed nearly in their present state, except that the Nile flowed through them, and gave them a large proportion of fresh water, instead of the sea-water with which they are now filled."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 23.

the sea, much contracted in width, and almost choked up with mud.*

The maritime lakes or lagoons which border the Delta, have undergone considerable changes at different periods. To the south of Alexandria is Lake Mareotis, now called *Sabakah*, or *Birket Mariyut*, which for many ages was dried up; for, though the bed is lower than the surface of the ocean, there is not sufficient rain to keep up any lake in this climate by counteracting the waste by evaporation. But, in 1801, the English cut the walls of the old canal, which had formed a dike, separating this low ground from the lake of Aboukir, or of Mâdiyeh, on the east, when the Mareotic lake was re-produced, the water in the former basin falling six feet. † The lake of Aboukir also had been dry for two centuries, when, in 1778, an irruption of the sea broke through the embankment by which the inundation had been excluded. Lake Etko, to the S.E., has a similar character, communicating with the sea by a narrow mouth, which would admit of being closed up, so as to convert the lake into a dry, or a marshy salt plain. One extremity of this lake or morass, which is a part of the Canopic arm, comes within a few miles of Rosetta. Between the Rosetta and Damietta streams is the lake of *Burullos* (the ancient Paralos), which takes its name from a town situated on the narrow neck of land that separates it

* Ency. Metrop. According to Malte Brun, the Pelusiac mouth is represented by what is now the most easterly mouth of Lake Menzaleh, where the ruins of Pelusium are still visible; distant from the mouth of Dibeh 95,920 yards.

† "By that oppressive but perhaps unavoidable act, more than forty villages, with all the lands surrounding them, were overwhelmed by a flood of salt water rushing in from the sea."—*Ency. Metrop.*

from the sea. It receives, directly or indirectly, the waters of the four great canals of the Delta, *Menuff*, *Sheïbin-el-Koum*, *Melij*, and *El Thabaniyeh*, which it discharges through a channel which was anciently the Sebennytic or Phermuthiac mouth of the Nile. Its greatest length from S.W. to N.E. is 36 miles, and its greatest breadth 18. It contains a great number of islands, the refuge of fishermen, and will probably, before many years have elapsed, be united with the sea on its north-western side. Between the Pathmetic (or Middle) and the Pelusiac arm, is another large lake, formed by the waters of the canal of Ashmun, which answers to the Mendesian arm, and of the canal of Moez, the Tanitic arm. These formerly flowed into two distinct lakes: the more westerly was called the lake of *Tennis*; the other, the lake of *Baheiret-el-Zar*. The sea first broke in upon the luxuriant district which afterwards formed the lake of Tennis, A.D. 543; just a century before the not less destructive irruption of the Mussulmans. Both these lakes are now united in the lake of Menzaleh, which begins half a league to the E. of Damietta, and ends at the castle of Tineh, the ancient Pelusium; extending 22 leagues from E. to W., and five or six in breadth. Its bottom is muddy and full of weeds; and it is seldom more than four feet in depth. In summer, during the inundation, its waters are sweet: during the rest of the year they are salt. It is separated from the sea by a strip of sand not exceeding a league in width, and communicates with it by three mouths, that of *Dibeh*, or *Peschiera*, (the *Mendesian* mouth,) *Om-me-ferrej* (the Tanitic), both which are navigable, and that of *Tineh*, answering to the Pelusiac mouth. There are also two smaller inlets, closed by dams. This lake contains many islands, most of them uncultivated:

those of Matariyeh near El Menzaleh are the most inhabited. Two others are covered with the ruins of ancient towns.

The coast of Egypt to the E. of Alexandria, as far as Aboukir, is a continuation of the calcareous rock which composes the western boundary of Egypt, and which, stretching out to the N.E., terminates in the projections forming the harbour of Alexandria, with the peninsula and island of the ancient Pharos. Twelve miles to the eastward, just beyond Aboukir, the last spit of this rock runs out to the N.E. Beyond that point, the coast consists entirely of sand-banks thrown up by the sea; and from Cape Burullos, the northernmost point of the Egyptian coast, continually increase in height, expanding into level, uncultivated downs, which stretch along the coast to the confines of Syria.

The depth and rapidity of the Nile vary in different places and at different seasons. In its ordinary state, no vessels exceeding sixty tons burden can ascend as high as the Cataracts. The *bogas* of Damietta is between 7 and 8 feet deep when the waters are low; that of Rosetta does not exceed 4 or 5; but when the waters are high, each has 41 feet more, and caravels of 24 guns can sail up to Cairo. During the floods, the navigation of the river is facilitated in a singular manner; for, while the stream rapidly carries down the vessels from the Cataracts to the Mouths, the strong northerly winds, which prevail for nine months of the year, allow them to ascend the river by means of set sails, with equal rapidity. When the waters are low and the stream less rapid, the wind blowing upward is so much more powerful than the current, that the vessels often cannot make their way downward even with furled sails. The regular practice at such seasons is, to row down with the stream during

the night, when the wind subsides, and to lay by during the day; while the upward-bound vessels sail by day, and cast anchor by night. The passage from Cairo to the Mediterranean occupies eight or ten days.

From the nature of the surface, and the universal aridity of the surrounding desert, Egypt is much hotter than most other countries under the same parallel. From March to November, the atmosphere is inflamed by a scorching sun and a cloudless sky, the average height of the thermometer being about 90°: during the other six months, it is about 60°; the nights are generally cool, and the dews heavy. Except along the sea-shores, rain is a phenomenon in Egypt. At Cairo, there are, on an average, four or five showers in the year; in Upper Egypt, one or two at most. Nor are they considered as beneficial to the agriculture of the country.

Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon of Bonaparte's medical staff in Egypt, divides the year in this climate into what he calls four constitutional seasons. The first is the "humid season," which commences about the 20th of August, when the Nile begins to overflow its banks. Lower Egypt is then like a sea, in which the towns and villages appear as so many islands, till, towards the end of September, the waters retire, and the general seed-time commences. The west winds and fogs then prevail, and produce ophthalmia, fever, diarrhœa, and catarrh. The second season begins with December, and ends with the first of March. The winds during this period blow mostly from the east. The nights are cold, but, during the day, the temperature is that of June in France. The various productions of the earth are vigorously on the increase; its surface is tinted with the liveliest verdure; and all nature, reanimated by the moderate tempera-

ture and the fertilising effects of the river, seems to grow young again. This season is healthy, if the night airs are avoided, and is termed by M. Larrey the season of fecundity (*la saison fécondante*). The unhealthy season (*morbide*) lasts from the beginning of March to the end of May. The east winds, which tempered the air during the spring, pass to the south about the vernal equinox, and seldom quit this quarter before the end of May or the beginning of June. These are the hot winds blowing over the desert, which are called *simoom* by the Arabs, *samiel* by the Turks, and in Egypt, *khamseen*, and the wind of fifty days. Although it prevails more or less during that period, it seldom lasts more than three days at a time. When it begins to blow, the atmosphere becomes troubled, sometimes acquiring a purple tinge; the air seems to lose its property of sustaining life; a dry, burning heat reigns universally, and the whirlwinds which sweep along the country, resemble the blasts from a furnace. They bring with them clouds of a fine, impalpable sand, which darken the air, depriving the sun of its splendour, and giving to his orb, "shorn of its beams," a dull violet hue. Sometimes small stones are raised to a considerable height, and deposited with large heaps of sand, while the finer particles are forced into the houses through every cranny.* The furniture warps, cracks, and splits; the foliage is shrivelled up; the streets are deserted; and the plague makes its appearance in all its dreadful power.

The fourth season, which M. Larrey designates by

* This circumstance presents an insurmountable objection to the introduction of fine machinery into Egypt, as the fine sand, penetrating the wheel-work, impedes and sometimes stops the movements; all the wood-work splits or warps, and the extreme

the name of the Etesian season, from the winds which then prevail, * commences about the middle of June, or just before the solstice, and lasts till the inundation. The winds are at first variable, but at length fix themselves in the north, when they become regular, rising and falling with the sun. In the day, the sky is clear, without either clouds or winds; but, as the atmosphere becomes cool after the withdrawment of the sun, the body of condensed vapour from the Mediterranean may be observed passing with a hurried motion southward, towards the mountains of Abyssinia, where they are precipitated in torrents of rain. This movement continues till sunrise, when the solar heat rarefies them anew, and renders them invisible. Although the heat is now excessive, it is deemed by far the healthiest season of the Egyptian year. †

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

THE natural divisions of Egypt are so distinctly marked, that they have always regulated its artificial or political ones. The *Thebais*, extending from the Cataracts to the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, corresponds to the *Said* or Highlands of the Arabs; the *Heptanomis*, or Seven Governments, answers to the *Wustani* (*Vostani*) or Midlands, extending to the bifurcation of the river; while the Delta answers to

heat and dryness of the climate cause the cotton threads to snap asunder. The south wind sometimes blows in December and January, but its character is then altogether different, being accompanied with intense and penetrating cold.—*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxx. pp. 496, 501.

* Called Etesian (*i. e.* yearly) by the ancients.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 36, 37. Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. pp. 496—7.

the *Rif* or *Bahari*. The general designation of Upper or Southern Egypt, as well as that of Said, was anciently applied to all the country above Fostat; while Lower or Northern Egypt, or the Rif, comprehended all below it. Under the Ptolemies, and probably at an earlier period, the whole country was subdivided into thirty-six nomes and provinces, which the Mamlouk sultans, in the fourteenth century, reduced to twelve, viz. :*

I. THE SAID.

1. Province of Thebes.
2. ——— Djirjeh.
3. ——— Siout.

II. THE VOSTANI.

4. Province of Fayoum.
5. ——— Beni Suweif.
6. ——— Minyet.

III. THE BAHARI.

7. Province of Bahyreh.
8. ——— Raschid (Rosetta).
9. ——— Gharbiyeh.
10. ——— Menoof.
11. ——— Massoora.
12. ——— Sharkiyeh.

The following table is given in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, as exhibiting the Greek, Egyptian, and Arabian names of the ancient and modern divisions, in the order in which they occur in descending the Nile from Nubia :—

* The above table is taken from Malte Brun; but he adds to the last division, "the Cairo district, consisting of the subdivisions of Kelioobeh and Atfhieh." These, at all events, form no part of the *Bahari*.

UPPER EGYPT.

Greek.	*Egyptian.*	*Arabic.*	*Present Name of the Province.*
1. Ombos.	.....	Kum-Ombo.	
2. Apollonopolis Magna.	Atbō.	Odfù.	
3. Letopolis.	Snē.	Isna or Esne.	
4. Hermontis.	Ermont.	Erment.	
5. Diospolis or Thebæ.	.....	Medinet Abù.	Cús.
6. Pathures, or Pathros.	.....	El Ocsorein.	
7. Coptos.	Keft.	Kift.	
8. Tentyris.	Tentore or Kentore.	Denderà.	
9. DiospolisParva.	Hù or Ho.	Huw.	
10. Abydus.			
11. Oasis Major.	Wahe.	El Wah.	
12. Ptolemais.	Psoi.	Ibsai.	
13. Panopolis or Chemmis.	Khmim or Shmim.	Ikhmim.	Ikhmim.
14. Aphroditopolis.	.....	Idfeh.	
15. Antæopolis.	Tkōù	Cáú.	
16. Hypselis.	Shōtp	Shōtb.	Osyut.
17. Lycopolis.	Siout.	Osyut.	
18. Hermopolis.	Shmun.	Oshmunein.	Oshmùnein
19. Theodosiopolis.	Tuhō.	Tahà.	
20. Cynopolis.	Kais.	El Kais.	
21. Oxyrrhynchus.	Pemje.	Behensa or Behnesa.	Behnesa.
22. Oasis Minor.	Wahe.	El Wah.	
23. Heracleopolis.	Hnēs.	Ehnas.	
24. Arsinoë or Crocodilopolis.	Phiom.	Fayyum.	Fayyum.
25. Aphrodriopolis.	Tpeh.	Atfih.	Atfih.
26. Memphis.	Memfi.	Menf.	Jizeh.

LOWER EGYPT.

1. Pharbæthus.	Pharbäit.	Horbēit.	Sharkiyyeh.
2. Tanis.	Jani.	San.	Dacahliiyyeh.
3. Mendes.	Shmun Anerman.	Oshmum.	
4. Prosopis.	Pshati.	Ibshadeh.	Gharbiyyeh.
5. Sais.	Sai.	Sa-el-hajar.	
6. Busiris.	Pusiri.	Busir.	

Greek.	*Egyptian.*	*Arabic.*	*Present Name of the Province.*
7. Sebennytus.	Shemnuti.	Semennud.	
8. Onuphis.			
9. Buto or Butus.	Pteneto.		
10. Cabasa.	Khbehs.	Kabas.	

EASTERN OR ARABIAN PREFECT. *Ti-Arabia.**

1. Heliopolis.	On.	Matariyyeh or Ain Shems.	Calyubiyyeh.
2. Athribis.	Athrebi.	Athrib.	Sharkiyyeh.
3. Bubastis.	Pubasti.	Tel Basteh.	
4. Arabia.	rabia.	Tarabiyah.	Calyubbiyeh.
5. Sethrum.	Psariom.		Dacahliyyeh.

WESTERN OR LIBYAN PREFECT.

1. Alexandria.	Racoti.	Al Iskanderiyyeh.	Iskanderiyyeh. Bahireh.
2. Menelaus.			
3. Andropolis.			

Another Table, calculated from the number of houses in each district, as reported by the collectors of the *miri* recently imposed by the present Pasha, will give a view of the manner in which the population are distributed. Four persons are allowed to each house in the country, and eight in Cairo. †

Provinces and Cities.	*Villages.*	*Persons.*
1. Cairo, Bulac, and Misr-el-Ateek		213,560
2. Kelyubiyyeh	140	177,488
3. Sharkiyyeh	310	189,668
4. Mansuriyyeh (or Dacahliyyeh)	315	197,000
5. Damietta		13,600
Carried over	765	796,316

* These nomes, comprehending the territory on each side of the Delta beyond the Canopic and Pelusiac arms of the Nile, are not comprehended in the thirty-six mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo, and are supposed to have been subsequently formed.

† Ency. Metrop. We have adhered to the orthography adopted in this work, although we are not aware of any sufficient reason for offending the eye with the double y and some other unusual peculiarities.

Provinces and Cities.	*Villages.*	*Persons.*
Brought over	765	796,316
6. Gharbiyyeh (or Abyar)	366	239,456
7. Menufiyyeh	312	224,490
8. Bahhireh	280	89,526
9. Rashid (Rosetta)		13,440
10. Iskanderiyyeh (Alexandria)		12,528
11. Jiziyyeh	120	101,920
12. Atfihhiyyeh	80	45,928
13. Fayyumiyyeh	66	58,490
14. Beni Suweif (or Behnesawiyyeh)	367	184,120
15. Menyeh-beni-Khasib (Oshmunein)	250	154,256
16. Suyut (or Osyutiyyeh)	306	189,900
17. Jirjeh (or Ikhmimiyyeh)	374	326,160
18. Esneh (or Cusiyyeh)	195	96,896
	3475	2,514,400

To complete this sketch of the physical and political geography of Egypt, we ought now to take a survey of its motley population; but we must first cast a retrospective glance at the history and varying fortunes of this ancient country.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

At the very commencement of the Jewish history, we find Abraham, a Chaldean shepherd, emigrating into the fertile land of Egypt, when a famine prevailed in Canaan, and honourably received by its monarch. The date of this event is fixed by chronologists about 1918 years before the Christian era, and 430 years after the deluge, according to the received computation. At that time, the kingdom of Thebes is supposed to have existed above a thousand years:* it was probably founded, at all events, soon after the dispersion of the Noachite family. When Menes, the first king of mortal race whom the Egyptians acknow-

* See note at p. 47.

ledge, took possession of the country, the whole of Egypt, south of the Thebaid, is said to have been a morass. Menes diverted the course of the Nile, which, before that period, washed the foot of Mount Psammius, a part of the Libyan chain, and having, by means of mounds, secured the area against inundation, founded the city of Memphis. Thebes was still, in the time of Homer, however, the glory of Egypt; nor was it till the reign of Uchoreus, the last of the race of Osymandias, or Ismendes, that the seat of the monarchy was transferred from Thebes to Memphis,* which continued to be the royal residence till destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, about 567 B.C. On the other hand, Sais is stated to have been the abode and burial-place of a powerful dynasty of native monarchs, and this city, the birth-place of Cecrops, sent forth the colonies which founded Athens about 1556 B.C. The ruins of this ancient capital, which was still flourishing in the time of Marcus Aurelius, are found on the eastern bank of the Rosetta stream, below the mouth of the canal of Damanhur, and are called *Sa-el-hajar*.

The fact appears to be, that, in early times, every great city was the capital of a more or less extended empire, and had its dynasty of petty sovereigns; that these cities or their kings not unfrequently contended with their neighbours for a supremacy which was sometimes of a purely political, sometimes of an

* "As 331 of the successors of Menes are recorded in the Egyptian annals, if those documents could be trusted, the period elapsed between the beginning of his reign and the time of Herodotus, would amount to 3320 years, allowing only ten years to each reign; and the foundation of Memphis would be carried back to the thirty-eighth century before the Christian era! Diodorus, however, ascribes the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus, eighth successor to Busiris II."—*Ency. Metrop.*

ecclesiastical nature; but that, whether tributary or supreme, these monarchies were contemporaneous, not successive, except when any of them became extinguished by foreign conquest, and the site of the city itself was deserted for another settlement. Thus, we find mentioned in the book of Genesis, no fewer than five territorial sovereigns, whose domains were situated in Arabia Petræa, viz., the kings of Sodom, Gomorrha, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, or Zoar, who had for twelve years acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Elam, when they confederated against him. Chedorlaomer had for his allies, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goim, who appear to have possessed territories lying between Palestine and the Euphrates. Salem, afterwards the capital of Judæa, was then the capital of Melchi Zedek, who united in his person the pontifical and regal characters, and Gerar, a city of the Philistines, between the deserts of Kadesh and Shur, was the kingdom of Abi-Melek, the friend and ally of Abraham and his son. It is not to be supposed that the whole of Egypt, any more than Palestine, Arabia, and Syria, was in the possession of one monarch; and, indeed, the existence of several rival cities may be held as almost equivalent to that of so many kingdoms, as every city had its king.* There are seven districts in which the various dynasties of Egyptian monarchs are said to have subsisted; Diospolis or Thebes, Memphis, Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Sethron, and Elephantine. Some of these dynasties at least were collateral, although national vanity or ignorance has made them all successive; and this will alone explain the perplexed and contradictory chronology of the ancient catalogues.

* See Gen. xxxvi. 32, 35, 39. "*Quot urbes, tot regna,*" is the remark of the learned Marsham.

It has often been remarked as not a little surprising, that the name of Thebes should not occur in the Old Testament. But, if the word be derived from the Egyptian word *Thbaki*, the city, as M. Champollion states, it may be, as D'Herbelot suggests, the No-Ammon of the Prophet Nahum.* That city, however, it is clear, was not in Mizraim or the Egypt of Scripture, since Ethiopia and Egypt, Phut and Libya were its tributaries or allies; and in fact, the Thebais or Said was a distinct country from Mizraim. The Ammonians are described by Herodotus as a mixed race, bordering on the Egyptians on the south and the Ethiopians on the north, and speaking a dialect composed of words taken from both those nations: he supposes them to have taken their name from their patron deity; but it was, most probably, derived from their city, and if so, they were Thebans. All the transactions relating to Egypt recorded in the sacred history, are generally admitted to have taken place in Lower Egypt. Subsequently, the whole country was reduced under one yoke; and it is, in most cases, from foreign conquests, that we may date the consolidation of the minor kingdoms or principalities into an extended empire. The Greeks, who mistook Ægyptus for a name of the Nile, naturally comprehended the whole country which it waters, as high as the stream was considered navigable, under the same name. But while the nomade tribes, the dwellers in tents, took their national appellative from some great chieftain or primeval ancestor,—as is still the case with the Arabs of the wilderness,—the commercial tribes, who gloried in the privilege of citizens,

* *Nah.* iii. 8. The No-Ammon of the Hebrews and the Diospolis of the Greeks, are, according to Champollion, mere translations of the *Thbaki-artepi-Amoun* of the Egyptians, that is, City of the Most High. But he supposes No-Ammon to be *Diospolis Parva*.

were nationally distinguished by their metropolis. It was thus with the Phenicians of Tyre and Carthage, the Greeks of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta; and the practice still prevails among the oriental nations.

Another circumstance is of great importance in order to obtain any thing approaching to a clear or consistent view of Egyptian history. Not only was the country thus distributed, originally, into collateral kingdoms, but the colonists who successively planted themselves on the banks of the Nile, consisted of several very distinct races, differing widely in their physiological characteristics, as well as in their rites and customs. The proper Egyptians, who were black, were a nation very different from the yellow race who are represented by the modern Bedjahs, and not less so from the Macrobian Ethiopians, and the dwarfish race of Troglodyte negroes; besides which, the Ammonians, we have seen, were a mixed people. Not less striking is the contrast presented by the modern natives of Egypt, Nubia, and the adjacent territories. The respective origin and filiation of these various tribes form one of the most curious problems in ancient history.

There are two directions in which we may suppose that Egypt received its aboriginal population from the common central source; by the Isthmus of Suez, and through Ethiopia by the Indian Ocean. The former route would be that by which a pastoral tribe would reach the banks of the Nile, while the merchant, the fugitive, and the conqueror, would more readily cross over to Africa from some part of the Arabian coast, or reach it by means of the monsoon.* There are

* As vessels coming with the monsoon for the Gulf of Persia make Muscat, so, those bound for Hadramaut or Aden, run down their longitude to the coast of Africa. Here, therefore, from the

proofs, in fact, of a very early intercourse by this means, between not only the Arabian Saba and Abyssinia, but also between Egypt and India. The remarks of the learned Translator of the Periplus of Nearchus, on the subject of the early intercourse with India, throw considerable light on the true origin of the Egyptian greatness.

In the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis, it is related, that the brethren of Joseph, when about to leave him to perish, saw a company of Ishmaelite or Midianite merchants approach, to whom they resolved to sell their brother as a slave. "Here," remarks Dr. Vincent, "upon opening the oldest history in the world, we find the Ishmaelites from Gilead conducting a caravan of camels loaded with the spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut, and, in the regular course of their traffic, proceeding to Egypt for a market. The date of this transaction is more than seventeen centuries prior to the Christian era; and notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the Desert at the present hour." The received chronology fixes this event about 1729 B.C., in the reign, according to Manetho, of the Diospolitan king, Amenophis (or Pharmenoph) I., the third monarch of the eighteenth dynasty; that is, very near the commencement of any thing approaching to authentic history in the Egyptian annals. The intrusive dynasty of the Phenician shepherd-kings is the seventeenth of Manetho's catalogue, and, if not collateral, terminated about 145 years before Joseph was sold to the Midianites. The Pharaoh who made the Hebrew Mamlouk his vizier, must have

earliest period that the monsoons were known to the Arabians, there would be marts established.

reigned between B.C. 1720 and 1680; but, as we believe that he never reigned at Thebes, we do not look for his name in the Diospolitan dynasty.* The vocal Colossus in the plain of Thebes bears a hieroglyphical inscription, which shews, according to M. Champollion, that it represents Amenophis II., who reigned nearly 1700 years B.C. He seems, therefore, to have been the contemporary of the Egyptian sovereign who had Joseph for his prime minister. But to return to the subject of the Indian trade.

"In the thirtieth chapter of Exodus," † observes Dr. Vincent, "we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onycha, and galbanum, all which are the produce either of India or of Arabia. Moses speaks of these as precious and appropriate to religious uses, but at the same time in such quantities as to shew that they were neither very rare nor very difficult to be obtained. Now it happens, that cinnamon and cassia are two species of the same spice, and that spice is not to be found nearer Egypt or Palestine, than Ceylon or the coast of Malabar. If, then, they were found in Egypt, they must have been imported; there must have been intermediate carriers; and a communication of some kind, even in that age, must have been open between India and Egypt. That the Egyptians themselves might have been ignorant of this, is possible; for, that the Greeks and Romans, so late as the time of Augustus, thought cinnamon the produce of Arabia, is manifest from their writings. But it has been proved from Agatharchides, that the

* The names which follow Amenophthis I., in the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho, are, Amessis (sister), 1717 B.C.; Mesphres (son), 1699; Misphragmuthosis, 1683; Thmosis II., 1660; Amenophis II. (Memnon), 1651.—See *Ency. Brit. Sup.*, art. *Egypt.*

† About 1491 B.C.

merchants of Sabæa traded to India, and that at the time when Alexandria possessed the monopoly of this trade in regard to Europe, the Sabeans enjoyed a similar advantage in regard to Egypt.

"There are but two possible ways of conveying the commodities of India to the West; one by land through Persia, or the provinces on the north; the other by sea; and if by sea, Arabia must in all ages have been the medium through which this commerce passed, whether the Arabians went to Malabar itself, or obtained these articles in Carmania, or at the mouths of the Indus.....In no age were the Persians, Indians, and Egyptians, navigators;* and, if we exclude these, we have no other choice but to fix on the Arabians as the only nation which could furnish mariners, carriers, or merchants on the Indian Ocean. It is not meant to assert, that the above-mentioned nations never used the sea; they certainly did upon their own coasts; but there are not now, nor does history prove that there ever were, any navigators, properly so called, in the Eastern seas, except the Arabians, Malays, and Chinese. The Chinese, probably, never passed the Straits of Malacca: the Malays seem in all ages to have traded with India, and probably with the coast of Africa.†.....The Arabians have a sea-coast round three sides of their vast peninsula; they had no prejudices against navigation either from habit or reli-

* The Malay language is a mixture of Coptic, Sanscrit, and Arabic.

† "The religion of India forbids the natives to pass the Attock: it is the forbidden river (from *Atak*, limit). And if their religion was the same formerly that it is now, they could not go to sea, for even those who navigate the rivers, must always eat on land. The Persians, if their religion was that of Zoroaster, could not go to sea, for the Guebres (Parsees), who build the finest ships in the world at Bombay, must never navigate them. The Egyptians did

gion. There is no history which treats of them, which does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea, as robbers or traders by land. We scarcely touch upon them in any author, without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian Ocean.

" These considerations induce a belief, that, in the very earliest ages, even prior to Moses, the communication with India was open; that the intercourse with that continent was in the hands of the Arabians; that Thebes owed its splendour to that commerce; and that Memphis rose from the same cause to the same pre-eminence. Cairo succeeded to both in wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, all which it must have maintained to the present hour, if the discoveries of the Portuguese had not changed the commerce of the world. The essential difference between these three capitals and Alexandria, proves, past contradiction, the different spirit and superior system of the Greeks. These three capitals were inland, for the sake of security; a proof that the natives were never navigators or sovereigns of the sea. The Greeks were both, and therefore the capital of the Ptolemies was Alexandria. Their fleets were superior to all that had ever appeared on the Mediterranean; and the power of their kingdom was such, that nothing but a succession of weak and wicked princes could have destroyed it. While Egypt was under the power of native sovereigns, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, and Carthage, were all enriched by the trade carried on in its ports, and by the articles of commerce which could be obtained there, and there only.

not only abhor the sea themselves, but all those likewise who used it. Linschotin in Purchas writes: ' The Abexiins (Abyssinians, and Arabians, such as are free, do serve in all India for saylers or seafaring men.' "—VINCENT, vol. ii. pp. 232, 3.

The Egyptians themselves were hardly known in the Mediterranean as the exporters of their own commodities: they were the Chinese of the ancient world, and the ships of all nations, except their own, laded in their harbours.* The system of the Ptolemies was exactly the reverse. Alexandria grew up to be the first mart of the world; and the Greeks of Egypt were the carriers of the Mediterranean, as well as the agents, factors, and importers of Oriental produce. The cities which had risen under the former system, silently sank into insignificance; and so wise was the new policy, and so deep had it taken root, that the Romans, upon the subjection of Egypt, found it more expedient to leave Alexandria in possession of its privileges, than to alter the course of trade, or to occupy it themselves, contenting themselves with the revenue, rather than the property of the country. This revenue, amounting to more than three millions sterling, they enjoyed for more than 600 years; and, till the moment of the Arabian conquest, Alexandria continued the second city in the empire in rank, and the first, perhaps, in wealth, commerce, and prosperity."†

The preceding paragraphs contain, in fact, an outline of the ancient history of Egypt, taking that appellation in the extended sense in which it was understood by the Greeks and Romans. The Mitzraim of the Old Testament, however, does not appear to have been marked by any of the characteristics of a commercial state. The subjects of Pharaoh were a nation of cultivators, and their country was the granary of the East: they had also horses, flocks, herds,

* "As subject to the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, indeed, Egypt furnished large fleets; but it never appeared as a naval power under its native sovereigns."

† Vincent's Periplus. Prel. Disq., vol. i.

and asses. This account corresponds only to Lower Egypt. Much learned discussion has been employed in ascertaining what part of modern Egypt answers to the land of Goshen or of Rameses, which is described as "the best of the land," and affording pasture for their herds. In Macrizi's time, the nome of Pharbaït,* a part of the eastern province (*El Sharkiyyeh*), bordering on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, was considered to be the land of Goshen. But that word, M. Quatremère has observed, is rendered Sedir in the earliest Arabic versions of the Old Testament; and by comparing several passages collected from different writers, he is led to infer, that the *Wadi Toumilat*, in which the canal of Cairo terminates, is the land of Goshen.† The Seventy call it Γεσσεμ της Αραβιας, which renders it probable that it was at all events on the Arabian side of the Nile. The original word might properly be read Gushan, and by an ancient Syrian lexicographer, is always written with a caph—Cushan or Cusan. Ptolemy writes it Φακουσα, which is supposed to have been the name both of a

* Bryant's derivation of this word from *Phar-beit* or *beth*, Pharaoh's house, if admissible, would give plausibility to this opinion. Bryant, vol. vi. p. 356.

† Ency. Metrop. On the eastern side of the river, the first two canals derived from it are above the present fork of the Delta. The canal of Heliopolis or Cairo, called *El Khalij el kebir* (the great canal), issuing from the Nile near Cairo, passes by Matarriyeh, which occupies the site of Heliopolis, into the *Birket el Hajji* (Pilgrim's Pool); thence turns northward, and after a course of twenty-one miles, falls into the *Bahr Abu'l Munejja*. The latter, which is the second canal issuing from the eastern side of the Nile, begins six miles below Cairo, runs for twelve miles to Bilbeis, and passes thence into the *Wady Tumilat*, a transverse valley containing the ancient *Lacus Amarus*, a part of the canal made by the Pharaohs to unite the Red Sea with the Nile, the course of which is probably marked by this canal. In the extraordinary inundation of 1800, its waters advanced within forty miles of Suez.

city and its province, which he terms the Arabian nome; while Strabo places Phaccusa on "the Arabian canal" on the eastern side of the Nile. Now, adjoining the nome of Heliopolis in the Eastern prefect, is that of *Ti-arabia*, which, if Gushan be allowed to have reference to the Cushite Arabs, would seem to be merely a translation of the original word. The full discussion of this point belongs rather to our topographical section; but there can be little doubt, on the whole, that in this part of the modern province of Calyubiyeh, the land of Goshen, afterwards called Rameses, was situated; while Matarîyeh, about six miles to the N.E. of Memphis, near a spring of excellent water, which still bears the name of *Ain Shems* (fountain of the sun), marks the site of the ancient metropolis of Lower Egypt.* The *Beth-Shemesh* of the Prophet Jeremiah† is supposed to be the same city, and is translated by the Seventy, Heliopolis. As the Hebrews increased, Dr. Shaw supposes with great probability, that they would spread themselves further towards Phibeseth (Bubastis) northward, and Latopolis southward. Phithom, one of the treasure-cities which the Hebrews are said to have been employed in building, is apparently the Pathumos of Herodotus, which was upon the Arabian canal lead-

* See Ency. Metrop., art. Egypt. Shaw's Travels, pp. 341—4. Bryant's Mythology, vol. vi. pp. 120—135; 155—61. "It seems pretty plain," Bryant justly remarks, "from the tenor of Scripture, that they came into a vacant, unoccupied district; and, as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied, but by the secession of the Cuseans, whose property it had lately been." The learned writer is strangely misled by his etymological fancies, when he places the Arabian nome to the west of the Sebennytic arm, making Cercasura its chief city.

† Jer. xliii. 13. Aven or Aun, Ezek. xxx. 17, is also On or Heliopolis.

ing from Phaccusa towards the Red Sea. The situation of Rameses is doubtful, but it is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and must at all events have been within the Arabian nome.* The metropolis of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, however, which gave its name to Lower Egypt, was doubtless Misr (the name by which Fostat or Old Cairo is still known); and it was here, we may suppose, that the Mizraite kings resided. As to the statement that the Delta, prior to the achievement of the Diospolitan monarch, was a morass, it is not irreconcileable with the high antiquity of the Mizraite kingdom, which seems to have been chiefly confined to the Arabian side of the Pelusiac arm; and if the lower land was marshy, the higher land was probably fertile at a greater distance from the river. Another explanation, however, may be given. When the kingdom of Lower Egypt became blended with that of Thebes, under the common name of Egypt, the annals of the Mizraite dynasty were lost in the fabulous annals of the Diospolitan race of kings. †

We are told by Syncellus, that Egypt had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings, the *Auritæ*, the *Mestræi*, and the Egyptian. The *Mestræi* were undoubtedly the genuine descendants of Mizraim, who gave name to the country of Lower Egypt. The *Auritæ* are supposed to be the foreign dynasty of shepherd-kings, who, according to Josephus, main-

* There is a town called Rumasi, not far from Memphis.

† Bryant's remark seems deserving of attention, whatever may be thought of the reasoning in connexion with which it occurs. "It is extremely remarkable, that among the many dynasties of Egyptian kings who reigned at different places, there is no list transmitted to us of any Heliopolitan princes. Yet, Heliopolis was a seat of royalty, and kings did certainly reign there, of whom there are many memorials."—*Analysis*, vol. vi. p. 372.

tained themselves in Egypt five hundred and eleven years, terminating about 1874 B.C. But, according to Manetho, they were only six in number, and the sum of their reigns was only 260 years. They are said to have come from the East; to have set fire to the towns, and overturned the temples of the Egyptians; and to have been in a state of constant hostility with the natives. At length, the people of Upper Egypt, alarmed at the incursion of such formidable neighbours, attacked and defeated them; and they ultimately retired into Syria. There is reason to doubt, however, that the Thebaid was ever subject to these foreigners. Indeed, they are expressly said to have been contemporary with as many kings of Thebes.* The *Auritæ* are supposed to have been worshippers of fire, as all the ancient Arabians were; and their chief city, which Josephus writes Αυαρις, from which their name seems to be derived, is supposed by Bryant to be the same word as the Hebrew Ur or Aur, signifying light and fire.† To this same

* Bryant, vol. iv. p. 420.

† The chief God of the Arabians was Alorus, supposed to be the Hephæstus of the Greeks, and the Mulciber or Vulcan of the Latins. The meaning of *Al Orus* is the god of fire. "The Shepherds were called Auritæ, from the chief object of their worship; and their kings were styled priests of Alorus; according to the Greeks, the priests of Vulcan; which title often occurs in the annals of Egypt. From these particulars, we may infer that they came from Babylonia, a country that lay due east from Egypt, and which was the original seat of the genuine Arabians, and the true source whence their religion flowed. The two principal cities of that country were Ur (or, as it is otherwise written, Aur, and Ουρια) and Babylon. In memory of which they built two of the same name in Egypt. The place of residence, where their kings held their court, was Memphis; but the provinces that they were particularly seised of were Phaccusa and Heliopolis. In all these places they introduced the *Tzeba Schamaim* or Zabian worship, together with the worship of fire. Hence we learn from Herodotus

people, or to sovereigns of the same race, though probably at a later period, the erection of the pyramids is with great plausibility ascribed. The alleged absence of hieroglyphics in these stupendous structures, together with their peculiar character and form, has been thought to prove that they were erected by foreign tyrants. "The Cheops (or Chemmis), Chephren, and Mycerinus of Herodotus and Diodorus," remarks Dr. Young, "supposed to be the builders of the pyramids, are no where found in Manetho, who attributes some of these edifices to the fourth dynasty, in which we have Suphis, Suphis, and Mencheres, each supposed to have reigned more than sixty years; the names having so much of general resemblance to those of Herodotus, that they may easily have been corruptions of the same originals. It is impossible to conjecture what date we must assign to this dynasty, although it is remarkable, that the names and characters of several

that Vulcan was particularly honoured at Heliopolis and Memphis. Both these places they are said to have built, and to the latter they gave the name of *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh*. . . . Pliny tells us, that Juba, in his history, particularly maintained that Heliopolis was built by Arabians; and Diodorus Siculus alludes to the same circumstance, when he says that Uchoreus, or the prince Orus, was the founder of Memphis; for Orus is a name of Chaldean origin, by which their chief deity was signified, as well as some of their kings, who assumed the name themselves, or had it bestowed upon them by their subjects."—Bryant's Mythol. vol. vi. pp. 119-20. A curious passage is cited by this learned though fanciful writer from Eusebius, which he thus interprets: "When Acherres was king in Egypt, there likewise reigned there a foreign prince, who was descended from Orus, and of the shepherd race, the seventh from Inachus (Noah)." He infers from this reading, that the migration of shepherds must have been about the time of Serug or Nahor; which is the time fixed upon by Usher. "A.M. 1920. *Ex vicina Arabia irrumpens gens eorum quos Hyc-sos, id est Reges Pastores, Egyptii vocant, Memphim ceperant &c.*"—Usserii *Annal.* p. 3. Bishop Cumberland fixes it at A.M. 1937. See Bryant, vol. vi. pp. 151, 15, 3.

of the kings agree sufficiently well with those of Sesostris and his immediate predecessors which occur much later in the catalogue."* Bryant contends, that the *Auritæ* preceded the Mizraim; that there was no antecedent dynasty; and that with them commences the real history of Egypt.† It is evident, however, that the Egyptians both existed as a people, and had temples and cities, prior to their irruption; and the opinion open to the fewest objections is, that they were collateral and bordering nations, sometimes at war, sometimes in amity; that the Nile was the original boundary which separated the Phenician (or Arabian) and Mizraite races; that about the time of Joseph, the former had either deserted the territory they had occupied, or had ceded it to the latter people; and that, owing to these circumstances in the history

* Ency. Brit. Sup., art. Egypt. "The third pyramid," it is added, "in Africanus's extract from Manetho, is attributed to Nitocris, who is referred to the sixth dynasty." These contradictory statements favour the opinion, that their history does not belong to that of the native dynasties of Egypt.

† "Syncellus, having mentioned from the ancient Chronicle the imaginary reigns of the gods, comes at last to those who really reigned, and places them in this order: 'The first series of princes was that of the *Auritæ;* the second was that of the Mestræans (or Mizraim); the third of Egyptians.' However high the later Egyptians may have carried their antiquity, I cannot admit of any dynasty prior to the fifteenth, *counting back from the last.* Both Manetho and Africanus place the *Auritæ* or shepherds in the fifteenth dynasty, but count from the first. Eusebius also places them in the fifteenth if we count from the last. The words of Africanus are very remarkable. 'The fifteenth is the dynasty of the shepherds (Ποιμενων). These were foreign princes styled *Phœnices.* They first built themselves a city in the Sethroite region, whence they made their invasion and conquered all Egypt.... The shepherd-kings, and those of Thebes, reigned the same number of years, which amount to one hundred and fifty-one.'"—BRYANT'S *Anal.* vol. iv. pp. 409, 419. See also pp. 427, and 461. The Sethroite nome is now part of Dacahliyeh.

of the country, the annals of two kingdoms, at once contemporaneous and successive, have been blended.

The Diospolitan monarchs were certainly contemporary both with the Phenician shepherd-kings of Abaris, or the Arabian Ur, and with the Pharaohs of Mizraim; and we cannot but believe that, collaterally with the reign of the *Auritæ* or shepherd-kings, and during the time that they retained possession of the Arabian nome up to the very apex of the Delta, there existed a kingdom of Mizraim or Lower Egypt, distinct from that of Thebes, which ultimately extended itself over the whole country.*

The Israelites resided in Egypt about 215 years, and departed, according to Manetho, in the reign of Amenophis, the third king of the nineteenth Diospolitan dynasty. He is said to have been the son of Rampses or Rameses, (in honour of whom, possibly, one of the treasure-cities was named,) and the grandson of Sethos Ægyptus, with whom the dynasty commenced. This personage, Bryant supposes to be the prince alluded to by the sacred historian, Exod. i. 3, where it is said, that "there arose up a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph." "He was not acquainted with the merits of Joseph, because he was the first king of a new dynasty, and of a different family from those who had been under such immediate obligations to the Patriarch. In the ancient histories,

* Our reasons for this opinion are, 1. That as Thebes certainly existed in the time of Joseph and Moses, yet was not the capital of the Pharaohs, it must have been that of a distinct kingdom; 2. That there is no reason to think that the shepherd-kings ever crossed the Nile, or even the Pelusiac arm; 3. That it is much more probable that the Mizraim retired before the Arabians, than that they submitted so early to a foreign dynasty; and 4. That they must have had kings, or at least some form of government from the earliest times.

there is a distinction between the Mizraim and the Egyptians; and the former were looked upon as prior in time. Thus, in the Old Chronicle (preserved by Syncellus), the reigns of the kings are divided into three classes; the first of which is the Auritæ, the next of the Mizraïm, and the third of the Egyptians... We find," adds the learned Writer, "that the genuine race of Egyptian monarchs did not commence before Sethos." *

This remark will probably be correct, if we understand the word Ægyptian as originally limited, like Mizraim, to Lower Egypt; and this Sethos might seem to be the Ægyptus who, according to the Greek historians, gave his name to the country. According to Suidas, however, it was Ramesses, the son of Belus, who bore this surname. But who Ægyptus really was, and whence he derived that appellation, whether from the land or city he came from, or from the country he conquered, it is impossible to ascertain. The assertion that he changed the name of the country, favours the supposition that he was a foreign conqueror, and that the appellation of Egypt originated with foreign nations. †

The name of Sethos or Sethosis would lead us to identify this monarch with the Sesostris of the Greeks, the most extraordinary personage in Egyptian history, and the first great warrior whose achievements are recorded with any degree of distinctness. He is said to have been the immediate successor of Mœris, whose name is preserved in that of the lake which he constructed, but of whom no other record has been preserved. In what age of the world Sesostris lived,

* Bryant, vol. iv. p. 470.

† See p. 4; also, Bryant's Anal., vol. iv. p. 300.

chronologists have hitherto in vain attempted to ascertain. By Sir Isaac Newton and Sir John Marsham, he is supposed to be the Sesac or Shishak who took Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam;* while Mr. Whiston supposes him to be the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea. Bryant considers him to have been altogether an ideal hero, but remarks, that, if such a person ever existed, his reign must have been of the earliest date, and be referred to the era of the demigods of Egypt. The fact appears to be, that the name refers to two personages, whose history has been confounded; the one fabulous, the same, probably, as Osiris, and ranked among the deities; the other, a real historical personage, whatever portion of fable may be mingled with the narrative of his exploits. Nothing was more common than for the kings and heroes of India and Egypt to assume or to be invested with the names of their deities; and hence, real history and mythological allegory are often blended and confused in the accounts transmitted to us.† It may relieve the dullness of these chronological inves-

* Bryant remarks, that every circumstance of their history is repugnant to this notion; and Josephus expressly says, that they were two different persons. There seems good reason to believe, that Shishak is the Sesonchis of Manetho, the first king of the 22nd or Bubastite dynasty, whose name, as well as that of his successor Osorchon, has been discovered by M. Champollion on one of the colonnades at Karnak; written, "*The beloved of Amon, Sheschonk.*" Osorchon is probably the Asychis of Herodotus.

† Eusebius, in reckoning up the dynasty of kings who reigned after Hephaistus or Vulcan, mentions them in the following order: "Then succeeded his son Helius; after him, Sosis; then Osiris; then Thoules, who conquered the whole earth to the ocean; and last of all, Sesostris." The Scholiast upon Apollonius Rhodius calls him Sesonchosis, and places him immediately after Orus, and the third from Osiris. Another ancient authority makes him the

tigations, to insert the outline of the exploits of this famous monarch.

Among the various writers who have given us an account of this extraordinary personage, Diodorus Siculus is the most uniform and full. He informs us, that when this prince was a youth, he was entrusted by his father with a great army, at the head of which he invaded Arabia; and though he was obliged to encounter hunger and thirst in the wilds which he traversed, yet he subdued the whole of that large tract of country. He was afterwards sent for into the west, where he conquered all the regions of Libya, and annexed great part of that country to the kingdom of Egypt. After the death of his father, he formed a resolution to subdue all the nations upon earth. Accordingly, having settled every thing at home, and appointed governors to each of the thirty-six nomes or provinces into which he had divided the country, he set out with an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 armed chariots. With these he invaded the Ethiopians to the south, whom he defeated, and made tributaries to Egypt. He then built a fleet of ships upon the Red Sea; and he is recorded as the first person who constructed vessels fit for distant navigation. With these, by means of his generals, he subdued all the sea-coast of Arabia, and all the coast upon the ocean as far as India. In the mean time, he marched in person with a puissant army by land, and conquered the whole continent of Asia. He not only overran the countries which Alexander after-

first of the line of Ham who reigned in Egypt. Manetho makes him the son of Sesonchosis, and the second of the 12th dynasty. Herodotus calls him (or his son) Pheron, corrupted probably from Pharaoh. Others write his name Sesoosis, Sostris, Sethosis, and Ζωστρησις.—See BRYANT, vol. iv. pp. 364—8, 426.

wards invaded, but crossed both the Indus and the Ganges, and from thence penetrated to the Eastern Ocean. He then turned to the north, and attacked the nations of Scythia, till he at last arrived at the Tanaïs, which divides Europe from Asia. Here he founded a colony, leaving behind him some of his people, as he had just before done at Colchis. These nations are said to have retained to the last, memorials of their origin from Egypt. About the same time, Asia Minor and most of the islands near it, fell into his hands. He at last passed into Thrace, where he is said to have been brought into some difficulties from the scarcity of provisions. He, however, persevered, and subdued all the regions of Europe. In most of these countries, he erected pillars with hieroglyphical inscriptions, denoting that these parts of the world had been subdued by the great Sesostris, or, as Diodorus expresses his name, Sesoosis. He likewise erected statues of himself, formed of stone, with a bow and a lance, which statues were in length four cubits and four palms, according to the dimensions of his own height and stature. Having thus finished his career of victory, he returned to Egypt, laden with spoils, and dragging after him innumerable captives. This expedition is stated to have occupied nine years, which is one year less than is attributed to the expeditions of Hercules.

Sesostris now laid aside all thoughts of war, and applied himself wholly to works of national utility and beneficence. In order to prevent the incursions of the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified the east side of Egypt with a wall, which ran from Pelusium through the desert to Heliopolis, for 187½ miles. He raised also an incredible number of vast and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed such towns as had before

been situated too low, in order to secure them from the inundation of the Nile. All the way from Memphis to the sea, he dug canals which branched out from the Nile, and not only made an easier communication between different places, but rendered the country in a great measure impassable to an enemy. He erected a temple in every city in Egypt, and dedicated it to the supreme deity of the place; but in these mighty works, he made it his glory not to employ any of his Egyptian subjects.* Thus he secured their affection, and employed the vast multitude of captives he had brought along with him; and to perpetuate the memory of a transaction so remarkable, he caused to be inscribed on all these temples, "No one native laboured hereon." In the city of Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he raised six gigantic statues, each of one stone. Two of them were thirty cubits high, representing himself and his wife; the other four were twenty cubits each, and represented his four sons. These he dedicated to Vulcan. He raised also two obelisks of marble, 120 cubits high, with inscriptions denoting the greatness of his power and revenues

The captives taken by Sesostris are said to have been treated with the greatest barbarity; so that, at last, they resolved, at all events, to deliver themselves from a servitude so intolerable. The Babylonians particularly were concerned in this revolt, and laid waste the country to some extent; but, being offered a pardon, and a place to dwell in, they were pacified, and built for themselves a city, which they called Babylon. Towards the conquered princes who waited

* A similar remark occurs, 2 Chron. viii. 9, relative to the works of Solomon.

on him with their tribute, the Egyptian monarch behaved with unparalleled insolence. On certain occasions he is said to have unharnessed his horses, and yoking kings together, to have made them draw his chariot. One day, however, observing one of the kings who drew his chariot to look back upon the wheels with great earnestness, he asked what made him look so attentively at them. The unhappy prince replied: "O king, the going round of the wheel puts me in mind of the vicissitudes of fortune." This answer is said to have brought the insulting conqueror to his senses, so that he thenceforth treated his captives with great humanity. At length, having grown blind in his old age, he laid violent hands on himself, after having reigned thirty-three years.

Upon the whole, there seems as little room to doubt, on the one hand, that such a monarch really existed, as, on the other, that the actions of various individuals, heightened by fiction, are blended with his real history.

According to Josephus, Sethos Ægyptus (the first of the nineteenth dynasty) was succeeded by Rampses (Rapsaces, Rhameses), to whom succeeded the Amenophis in whose reign the Israelites departed from Egypt; and after him reigned Rhameses Sethon. This last, distinguished as Rhameses the Great, is the monarch whose name occurs so frequently on almost every monument of the ancient style, written *Rémses*, *Ramses*, *Amon-mai-Ramses*, &c.; and it is this person whom M. Champollion determines, by a laborious investigation, to be the Sethosis of Manetho, the Sesoosis of Diodorus, and the Sesostris of Herodotus and Strabo. If this be ascertained, the era of this monarch will be fixed about 1300 B.C., during that interval in

which the lights of sacred and profane history alike fail us.

After the death of Sesostris, another chasm of indeterminate length occurs in the Egyptian history, concluding with the reign of a king Amasis or Ammosis (a name which repeatedly occurs in the Chronicle), who, on account of his tyranny, was deposed by his subjects, with the aid of Actisanes, a king of Ethiopia, or an adventurer of that nation, who seized the throne of Amasis. After another long interval, we meet with the name of Cetes, the Proteus of the Greeks,* who is said to have reigned in Egypt when Paris, the son of Priam, having eloped with Helen, was driven by a storm on that coast. In all probability, he was not the sovereign of the country, but only a provincial governor. His son and successor is stated to have been Rhampsinitus, or Remphis, concerning whom Herodotus has a curious and improbable legend; and then, after another gap, occur the names of Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, the impious builders of the pyramids. To them succeeded Gnephactus, a

* The priests reported that he was a magician, and that he could assume any shape he pleased, even that of fire. This fable, as told by the Greeks, has been supposed to derive its origin from the custom of adorning the heads of their kings with the representations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incense;—a somewhat far-fetched conjecture. A more probable explanation is, that his dexterity in the art of deception and supposed enchantments, gave rise to the representation of his having power to change his form. From his dwelling upon the sea-shore, or perhaps from his encouraging commercial affairs, he was said to be a sea-god. In Manetho's Chronicle, the fourth monarch of the 23rd, or Tanite dynasty, is called Zet, which seems to be the same name as Cetes, although the assigned date (806 B.C.) does not correspond by a few hundred years. He was probably lord or governor of Tanis, (now called *Jani* and *San*,) on the eastern side of the Tanitic arm of the Nile, near its mouth.

sovereign of primitive simplicity of manners. His son, Bocchoris, or Nechus, is stated to have been a wise legislator and beneficent promoter of commerce; but, in the midst of his plans for the happiness of his people, he was attacked and overcome by Sabacon, an Ethiopian prince, by whom he was inhumanly burned alive. Sabacon is supposed to have been the So (or Soos) who entered into a league with Hoshea, king of Israel, on his revolting from his liege lord, the Assyrian emperor.* Although he commenced his reign with an act of barbarous cruelty, he is highly extolled for the clemency and wisdom which he subsequently displayed. The Chronicles represent him as having been excited to invade Egypt by a dream or vision, in which he was assured that he should hold that kingdom fifty years. The priesthood, however, were never reconciled to his yoke; and at the close of that period, he had another dream, in which the tutelar god of Thebes acquainted him that he could no longer maintain himself on the throne unless he destroyed all the priests. Abhorring to hold the kingdom on such terms, or fearful to hazard so desperate an experiment, he abdicated the throne, and retired to Ethiopia.

He was succeeded by a person of the sacerdotal order, a priest of Vulcan, named Sethon, who is said to have given himself up to religious contemplation, and not only to have neglected the military class, but to have deprived them of their lands. In consequence of this, they refused to serve him, and the kingdom was left defenceless, when Sennacherib, king of As-

* See 2 Kings, xvii. 4. Usher supposes Sous or Sua to have begun to reign about 715 B.C. The name of Sabacon is literally Saba-Khan or king Saba. If he reigned 50 years, he must have begun his reign much earlier.

syria, arrived before Pelusium with a mighty army. Being destitute of all human aid, it is said, he invoked the interposition of his god Vulcan, who appeared to him in a dream, and promised him a complete victory. Accordingly, at the head of an undisciplined body of artificers and labourers hastily collected, he marched towards Pelusium; and the very night after his arrival, an innumerable multitude of rats, entering the enemy's camp, gnawed to pieces their quivers, bow-strings, and shield-straps. In the morning, Sethon found the enemy disarmed and beginning to flee, and he pursued them to a great distance, making a terrible slaughter. In memory of this extraordinary event, a statue of Sethon was erected in the temple of Vulcan, holding in one hand a rat, and with this inscription: "Let whosoever beholdeth me be pious."

The striking resemblance of this story to the account given in the Book of Kings,* of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army in the reign of Hezekiah (B.C. 710), leaves little room for doubt that it is the same story somewhat disguised in the obscure annals of Egypt. It appears from the scriptural narrative, that Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, was at war with Sennacherib, and had come forth to meet him. The Assyrians had already advanced as far southward as the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis, and were threatening Egypt. Their sudden and mysterious retreat, therefore, must have excited the greatest surprise; and the priests would be at no loss to frame a legend in unison with the superstition of the country. Tirhakah was probably a king of Thebes,

* 2 Kings xix. Isa. xxxvii. The Babylonish Talmud ascribes their destruction to lightning; but from Isa. xxxvii. 7, it has been supposed that the instrument employed was the simoom.

and he is evidently the Tarachus of Manetho, the next but one to Sabacon, and the third monarch of the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty. Sevechus, who is placed between them as the second of that race, may possibly be (as Usher conjectures) the Sethon of Herodotus: if so, their reigns were collateral, not successive. But it may be questioned whether Lower Egypt was at this time under any other government than that of a powerful hierocracy, of which Sethon might be the head. According to Diodorus, the abdication of Sabacon was immediately followed by the *dodecarchia*, or government of twelve, into which Herodotus represents the kingdom of Egypt to have been divided on the death of Sethon. This interregnum is said to have lasted twelve years, at the close of which, Psammetichus, the son of the Nechus* whom Sabacon had dethroned, was raised to the throne of his father, about 679 B.C.

And now the history of Egypt begins to be divested of fable. Up to this time, Lower Egypt had been alternately in the hands of foreign conquerors, of Ethiopian or Theban princes, and of a native priesthood; sometimes annexed to the Diospolitan kingdom, sometimes independent or detached from it; sharing in this respect the usual fate of countries lying between more powerful neighbours. But whatever may have been the greatness and power attained by some of the Pharaohs of Heliopolis, Mizr, or Zoan, it is very clear, we think, that the monarchy was seldom long together in the hands of native princes,

* The word Nechus, like Pharaoh, is not a proper name, but an appellative. Hence, Bocchoris is also said to have borne this title, which signifies prince. The king of Abyssinia is styled the *Negus* to the present day. It is the *Nagud* of the Hebrews. See BRYANT'S *Anal.*, vol. iv. p. 441.

and that the rival kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis were rarely united. Hence, the contradictions and confusion arising from the attempt to blend into one succession their contemporary annals. The Greeks, who were most directly in communication with Lower Egypt, have preserved the names and history of powerful monarchs of that country, which it has excited surprise not to find mentioned in the native annals of the Diospolitan sovereigns as given by Manetho. The omission of their names might indeed be accounted for in the same way as that of Mithridates and his immediate predecessors of the Parthian dynasty, which occasions a chasm of 200 years in the native annals of the Persian monarchy; or that of several Jewish kings in the genealogical tables supposed to have been copied by St. Matthew. The public records being in the hands of the priests, the omission or erasure of the obnoxious names was dictated by national jealousy, or by a sort of retributive justice. But in the case of Cheops and his successors, it is probable that they belong to annals of the lower kingdom which have perished, and that they were contemporary with the twentieth and two following dynasties.*

* Cheops is supposed to have flourished 1032 years B.C., and Asychis is thought to have succeeded Mycerinus 815 B.C., an interval of 215 years, occupied by three reigns! During this period, according to Manetho, there reigned three Tanite monarchs of the 21st dynasty, nine Bubastites of the 22d, and three Tanites of the 23d, ending with Psammus, the predecessor of Zet or Cetes. Probably, while Memphis was in the possession of Cheops and his successors, there might exist a petty dynasty at Tanis or Bubastis. The Proteus of Herodotus, however, was the predecessor of Cheops, who is the Chemmis of Diodorus. Supposing Proteus to have flourished about the time of the Trojan war, he must have been contemporary with Thuoris, the last of the 19th (Diospolitan) dynasty. The 20th dynasty of twelve Diospolitans is *anonymous*,

Psammetichus is enumerated by Manetho as the fifth sovereign of the Saite dynasty. He was probably lord of Sais, or that was the province which he held during the dodecarchy. He appears to have required the aid of foreign auxiliaries, either to place him on the throne or to maintain his pretensions; and his reign was distinguished by an intercourse and amity with Greece. By calling in these foreigners, however, he is said to have so disgusted his own subjects, that upwards of 200,000 fighting men emigrated in a body to Ethiopia. Whether this emigration was altogether voluntary seems very questionable: they might consist of the adherents of the eleven governors whom Psammetichus had deprived of their power, or they may have been Ethiopian aliens or heretics, whom it was deemed advisable to banish. However this may have been, the Egyptian monarch, in order to be more secure against invasion from his neighbours in Upper Egypt, or the dangers of intestine commotion, fixed his capital at Bubastis, on the Pelusian arm of the Nile, where he opened his ports to foreigners, and by encouraging commerce, greatly enriched the nation. He is said to have been the first prince who introduced the use of wine into Egypt; and to him is ascribed the honour of having sent out the first expedition to discover the source of the Nile. He appears to have been of a pacific character: his only military enterprise was laying siege to Azotus in Palestine, which

extending from 1226 to 1101 B.C.; to this succeeds the Tanite (21st), extending to 1006; and then comes the reign of Sesonchosis, or Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, about 971 B.C. Upon the whole, Cheops may be supposed to have reigned at Memphis about 1030 B.C., and if so, he was the contemporary of Amenophthis, King of Tanis, and David, King of Judah, as well as, probably, with some Diospolitan monarch of the 20th dynasty whose name is unknown.

held out for twenty-nine years against the whole force of his kingdom. He was succeeded (about B.C. 617) by his son Nechus, the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture.

Nechus II. was a prince of an enterprising and warlike genius. He prosecuted with vigour the system of navigation which had been begun by his predecessors, and, by the assistance of Phenician sailors, not only investigated the coasts of the Mediterranean, but fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This voyage, the first of the kind ever accomplished, occupied the Egyptian fleet three years.* Nechus attempted also to cut through the Isthmus of Suez; but, after expending much money, and sacrificing 12,000 men in the undertaking, he was compelled to abandon the project as impracticable. The most remarkable war in which this monarch was engaged, is that which is referred to in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. He made war upon the King of Assyria, as he told King Josiah, by Divine command. The latter, however, being in alliance with Assyria, refused to let the Egyptian monarch pass through his kingdom; a battle consequently ensued in the valley of Megiddo, in which the King of Judah was mortally wounded. Necho then marched to the banks of the Euphrates, took the great city of Carchemish, and leaving a garrison there, returned to Jerusalem. Here he deposed

* "Notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, there is no reason to doubt the authority of Herodotus, who mentions this navigation; for, in those early times, the Phenicians sailed to Britain for tin; Hanno established colonies on the western coast of Africa; Scylax came from the Indus to the Red Sea; Nearchus passed from the Indus to the Euphrates; and the fleets of Solomon made long voyages in search of gold and precious merchandize."—BREWSTER'S *Encyclop.*, art. Egypt.

Jehoahaz, who had assumed the royal dignity upon the death of his father, and sent him in chains to Egypt; while his brother Eliakim was raised by the conqueror to a tributary government under the name of Jehoiakim. In the mean time, however, the Babylonian conqueror, having made himself master of Assyria, retook Carchemish, and proceeded to deprive Nechus of his other conquests. The Egyptian monarch ventured to dispute the field, but was overthrown with great slaughter, and Nebuchadnezzar overran the whole country to the very gates of Pelusium. After a reign of sixteen years, this active and accomplished prince terminated his career about 600 years B.C. He was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned only six years, and left nothing for the historian to record.

The next sovereign, Apries or Vaphres, is the Pharaoh Hophra of the Old Testament. He appears to have been active and warlike, and, in the beginning of his reign, was fortunate. He took by storm the rich city of Sidon, and having overcome the Phenicians in a sea-fight, returned to Egypt, laden with spoil. This success probably incited Zedekiah, king of Judea, to enter into an alliance with him against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The Jews had been admonished by the prophet Jeremiah to put no trust in a confederacy with Egypt, and their infatuation in disregarding the Divine warning was awfully punished.* The king of Babylon invested Jerusalem with a powerful army; and though Apries marched to their relief, he soon retreated before the enemy, leaving the Jews exposed to the rage of the merciless victor, by whom they were treated as Jeremiah had foretold.

* Jer. xlii. 7–18; xliii. 8–13

By this step, Apries brought upon himself the vengeance denounced by the same prophet. Soon after, the Cyreneans, a Grecian colony, under their third king Battus, having made war upon their Libyan neighbours, the king of Libya implored the succour of Apries, who marched to his relief; but the Egyptians and Libyans were defeated with great slaughter. The army of Apries complained, that they were sent to Libya only to be destroyed. A rebellion among his discontented subjects was the result; and the envoy, Amasis, whom Apries sent to quell the insurrection, proved a traitor, and was declared king in his room. A civil war ensued. Apries collected an army of Ionians, Carians, and other mercenaries, about 30,000 men, at the head of which he advanced with confidence to punish the usurper; but, in a sanguinary engagement near Memphis, he was defeated and taken prisoner. For some time, Amasis treated his captive with respect and indulgence; but the Egyptians, instigated, probably, by their priests, demanded that he should be delivered into their hands. Thus the prediction of Jeremiah received its full accomplishment. Apries was delivered to those who sought his life,* and who no sooner had him in their power, than they strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors. During these intestine commotions, the king of Babylon made inroads into Egypt, but contented himself with plundering the open country.

The reign of Amasis is celebrated as the happiest period in the Egyptian annals, and the kingdom is stated to have contained at this period no fewer than 20,000 populous towns. This monarch was the author of the remarkable ordinance which enjoined every

* Jer. xliv. 30; xlvi. 2–26.

inhabitant, on pain of death, to give in his name to the provincial governor once a year, stating by what means he obtained his livelihood. Amasis was a great favourer of the Greeks, his queen being a native of Cyrene, and of Grecian descent. He invited traders of that nation to come to Egypt, and to settle at Naucratis, where he allowed them to erect temples to their own deities. In his reign, Pythagoras came into Egypt, and under the patronage of Amasis, was initiated into all the sacred mysteries and symbolical learning of the country. This monarch is stated also to have received a visit from Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator. He was the only king of Egypt who succeeded in subduing Cyprus, and making it tributary. But the close of his reign was overshadowed by the cloud which burst with overwhelming fury on his successor. Phanes of Halicarnassus, commander of the Grecian auxiliaries in the pay of Amasis, having taken some private disgust, fled to the court of Cambyses, the Persian emperor, to whom he tendered his services in the invasion of Egypt. At the same time, Polycrates, the lord of Samos, renouncing his alliance with Amasis, offered to assist the Persian with his fleet. The real cause, both of the hostility of Cambyses, and the desertion of Amasis by his allies, is very uncertain.* He did not live, however, to see the calamities of his country, but died, after a reign of forty-four years (B.C. 525), while the Persians were approaching the frontier.

Scarcely had Psammenitus seated himself on the

Rollin suggests, that Egypt had probably, as Xenophon intimates in the beginning of his Cyropædia, acknowledged the supremacy of Cyrus; that Amasis had shaken off the yoke; and that, therefore, one of the first cares of Cambyses, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt.

throne of his father, than Cambyses appeared before Pelusium, of which he is said to have gained possession by the following stratagem. Taking advantage of the Egyptian superstition, he placed in front of his army, a great number of cats, dogs, and other animals held sacred by the besieged, who were deterred from making any defence, lest they should commit a sacrilegious injury on some of the holy animals; and thus the Persians entered the city without resistance. The army of Psammenitus, on advancing to repel the invader, was routed with great slaughter; Memphis was taken shortly after; and the whole country, with the adjacent dependencies, readily submitted to the ruthless conqueror. Not content with their submission, he satiated his revenge by the massacre, in cold blood, of the son of Psammenitus, with 2000 Egyptians of the best families. The life of Psammenitus himself was spared for some time, from a very doubtful clemency; but a pretence was soon found for putting him to death. The body of Amasis was disinterred, and after being shamefully mangled, was burned. With such studied insult and refined cruelty did the conqueror trample on all the prejudices, and outrage the feelings of the nation he had reduced to slavery. The immediate occasion of his wrath against the priests, is said to have been this. He had despatched an army from Thebes to seize upon the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the Oasis, but lost nearly half his army in attempting to traverse the desert. On his return to Memphis, he found the priests engaged in celebrating a religious festival, which he imputed to their joy at his defeat; and, irritated to madness, he put the magistrates to death, scourged the priests of Apis, and slew the animated idol they were worshipping. Soon after, an insurrection in Persia recalled the tyrant to his own

dominions, and assassination or accidental death terminated his cruelties and his life.*

During the continuance of the Persian monarchy, the Egyptians made repeated efforts to throw off the hated yoke, but always without success. On the overthrow of that empire, Alexander the Great was received by the Egyptians with open arms as a deliverer, rather than a conqueror. His vanity led him to visit the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, where the artful priests declared him to be the son of that deity. Before he left Egypt, he is said to have founded the city called after his name. On the premature death of this mighty conqueror, Egypt and Libya were entrusted to the government of Ptolemy Lagus, who for nineteen years contented himself with the title of a viceroy; but at length, on the final division of the Macedonian empire, he assumed the sovereign authority with the name of *Soter*. Having added to his dominions Palestine, Syria, and Phenicia, he proceeded to take possession of Cyprus, but received a check from the arms of Antigonus, who, entering his dominions from Babylon, captured Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza. After a long struggle, Antigonus was slain in battle, and his son Demetrius was taken prisoner, and died a captive. Ptolemy Soter is celebrated as a skilful and intrepid general, a munificent patron of learning, and a model to his successors for justice and clemency. He founded at Alexandria a college or museum, which attracted learned men from all quarters. Among these was Demetrius Phalerius, the ex-governor of Athens, to whom he committed the custody and superintendence of the royal library.

* Psammenitus was the last *native* sovereign of Egypt, and the prophecy of Ezekiel has been wonderfully fulfilled (ch. xxx. 13), that "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Besides embellishing his capital with the splendid buildings of the Museum, Ptolemy erected a magnificent temple for Serapis, and constructed the famous Pharos. He composed a life of Alexander, which has unhappily been lost: from comments and references still extant, it appears to have been elegantly written. He closed an illustrious reign in the 84th year of his age, about 284 years before the Christian era, and was succeeded by his second son, Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The reign of the second Ptolemy was disturbed by civil and domestic troubles, the details of which claim no place in this brief outline, but, upon the whole, was fortunate. His court was the seat of learning and politeness. He embellished still further the new capital, and founded other cities; completed the canal of Suez, which his father had begun; and watered the deserts of Libya by canals and reservoirs. The most remarkable circumstance in his reign was, the close alliance which he formed with the Romans. He died at an advanced age, 246 B.C., having survived but a few months his queen Arsinoë.

His son and successor, Ptolemy III., surnamed *Euergetes* (the Beneficent), extended still further the glory of the Egyptian arms. In the beginning of his reign, he found himself involved in a war with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which he was completely victorious. After receiving the submission of the Syrians, he crossed the Euphrates, and pursued his conquests as far as Bactria, recovering many of the statues, idols, and other treasures which had been carried off by Cambyses. On returning from this expedition, he visited Jerusalem, which was then tributary to Egypt, and offered up sacrifices to the God of Israel, expressing a great regard for the Jewish nation. By sea, he was equally successful, extending his conquests

on both sides of the Red Sea as far as the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; and he had thus raised the Egyptian monarchy to its greatest splendour, when he expired in the 27th year of his reign,* and was succeeded (B.C. 221) by his son Ptolemy Philopater.

The fourth Ptolemy was a feeble-minded and licentious tyrant. He began his inglorious reign by the murder of his brother Magas; and he either authorised or connived at that of his mother Berenice and his noble-minded queen. During an expedition into Syria, he visited Jerusalem, and attempted by force to penetrate into the most holy place. On being prevented, he became frantic with rage, and thenceforth vowed vengeance on the Jewish nation. In the history of the Maccabees, there is a most remarkable story of his ordering a general massacre of the Alexandrian Jews in the hippodrome, which was prevented only by a signal interposition of Divine Providence. This execrable despot sank at last under a ruined constitution, in the 37th year of his age, leaving an infant son.

During the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the Egyptian monarchy was preserved from dismemberment and ruin by the vigorous measures of the Roman general M. Æmilius Lepidus. After the young king had assumed the reins of government, his reign was a series of disasters, and he was at length taken off by poison. Another minority ensued, during which

* It was the queen of this monarch whose hair had the honour of being translated to the firmament. During one of his expeditions, she had vowed, in case of his safe return, to consecrate her hair as a votive offering in the temple of Zephyrium. The sacrifice was made, but, through some accident, this precious memorial of conjugal affection was lost, and the priests trembled for the consequences, when Conon, the celebrated mathematician of Samos, delivered them from their fears, by discovering the tresses of Berenice in the seven stars of the tail of Leo.

Cleopatra, the queen mother, conducted the administration of affairs with singular firmness and ability. On her death, the young king, Ptolemy Philometer, succeeded to the throne. The commencement of his reign was unfortunate. He was taken prisoner by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and his younger brother, Euergetes II., surnamed Physcon for his corpulence or his gluttony, was raised to the vacant throne. Antiochus, on this, gave Ptolemy Philometer his liberty, which led to a temporary division of the Egyptian kingdom between the two brothers, followed by altercations and a civil war, occasioned by the baseness and treachery of Physcon. He was at length defeated and pardoned by his more noble-minded brother, whom he unhappily survived and succeeded. The subsequent reign of this monster is a series of almost incredible enormities and cruelties. To secure the throne, he married his brother's widow, and on the same day, murdered her son in her arms. He afterwards divorced her, and married her daughter. He put to death numbers of his subjects on slight pretences, and behaved with especial barbarity towards the Jews. At length, he became so odious to all parties, that he was compelled to take refuge in the Island of Cyprus, where he added to his atrocities the murder of his son. Yet, he was eventually restored to his throne, and died at Alexandria in the 67th year of his age.

The reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, which began about 122 B.C., witnessed the renewal of the domestic contests which were now become so familiar to the Alexandrians; and it was not till his mother had been assassinated by his brother Alexander, and the parricide slain in the civil contest that ensued, that Lathyrus was able to establish himself on the throne. He

then turned his arms against the people of Thebes, who had revolted from him; and after a siege of three years, succeeded in taking that city, hitherto one of the most wealthy in Egypt: it was given up to be plundered by the soldiery, and from this period never recovered its importance.* During these disturbances, Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the illegitimate son of Ptolemy Physcon, having maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions during a reign of twenty-one years, died, and bequeathed by will his kingdom to the Romans. The kingdom of Bithynia had likewise been made over to them in the same manner by Nicomedes; and this novel way of disposing of territories with their inhabitants, was adopted in a third instance, by Alexander II., the successor of Ptolemy Lathyrus, when he found himself deprived of his throne by a general insurrection in consequence of his execrable wickedness. But the validity of the will under these circumstances appearing questionable to the Roman Senate, and other prudential reasons being urged by Cicero for declining the bequest, they forbore, in this case, to take possession of the important legacy. The mere shadow of sovereignty, however, survived in the effeminate Ptolemy X., surnamed *Auletes*, the flute-player, who was the creature and tributary of the Romans; and the rapacious exactions which were rendered necessary in order to raise money sufficient to bribe the leading senators of Rome, together with his cession of Cyprus to the Republic, produced a rebellion which drove him from the throne. For some years, Auletes remained at Rome, a fugitive and a suppliant. He was eventually restored by Mark

* Thus strikingly was the prediction verified by this series of civil contests: "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians . . . city against city, and nome against nome."—Isa. xix. 2.

Antony, not without much bloodshed; and at his death, left his children under the care and tuition of the Romans.

As soon as Ptolemy XI. (Dionysius) was deemed of an age that qualified him to reign, he was admitted to the throne, his sister Cleopatra being associated with him in the government. This union, however, was of short continuance, and both having their partizans, a civil war ensued. Matters were in this state when Pompey, fleeing from his victorious rival after the battle of Pharsalia, sought an asylum in Egypt, and was basely and ungratefully murdered by the counsellors of the young monarch whose father he had been chiefly instrumental in restoring to his kingdom. Cæsar followed him to Alexandria, and wept, it is said, when the head of his enemy was presented to him. Aware what influence her personal charms might have upon the Roman general who had become the arbiter of her claims, Cleopatra, hastening back from Syria, lost no time in obtaining a secret interview with Cæsar. To conciliate all parties, the Romans passed a decree, that Ptolemy Dionysius and Cleopatra should jointly reign. This arrangement, however, was far from contenting the Egyptians. An attempt was made to blockade the harbour of Alexandria, in order to cut off the Roman supplies, which was frustrated by burning the Egyptian fleet; and the flames communicating to that part of the city in which the Museum was situated, its invaluable library perished. Ptolemy, in the conflict which ensued, was taken prisoner, and for some time held in bondage, by Cæsar: on recovering his liberty, he violated every engagement, and perished shortly afterwards while crossing a branch of the Nile. Ptolemy XII., his younger brother, was then nominally associated with

Queen Cleopatra in the government; but his days were shortened by poison, and that accomplished, abandoned sorceress remained the mistress of Egypt and of Cæsar. The sequel is too familiarly known to require recital. The death of Cæsar, the fall of Mark Antony, deprived her at once of every lover or ally, and she perished by her own hand, to escape being dragged to Rome in the train of the conqueror. Thus closed the dynasty of the Ptolemies, after it had lasted about 294 years, and Egypt was converted into a Roman province.

It will only be necessary to enumerate a few of the leading events which relieve the uniformity of the Egyptian annals, during the time that the country was governed by Roman prefects. Cornelius Gallus, the first governor, was disgraced for extortionate and oppressive conduct, and committed suicide. Under the prefecture of Ælius Gallus, an attempt was made to reduce the Arabian peninsula. The Roman legions penetrated to Mareb, the Sabæan capital; but disease soon began to thin their ranks, and only a remnant returned to Egypt from this successful yet fatal and unproductive expedition.* During the absence of the prefect, Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, invaded Upper Egypt, and took several cities; but they were speedily recovered. In A.D. 117, the Emperor Adrian visited this province of his dominions, and remained there for two years, during which he enlarged the Alexandrian museum, rebuilt or embellished many of the public edifices, and restored to the citizens many of the privileges of which, owing to their seditious conduct, they had been deprived. Egypt was also visited by the Emperor Severus, who repaired many of the na-

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 35.

tional monuments; but his son Caracalla treated the Alexandrians, who had incurred his displeasure, with great cruelty; and during several successive reigns, the nation was agitated by contending factions and religious persecution. Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, claimed the throne of Egypt as a descendant of the Ptolemies; and at one period, the Queen of the East was in possession of the kingdom of Cleopatra. But her empire passed away like a brilliant meteor,* nor did this second Cleopatra disdain to live on the terms of captivity.

"When the Emperor Probus commanded in Egypt, he executed many considerable works for the splendour and benefit of the country. The navigation of the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improved; and temples, bridges, porticoes, and palaces, were constructed by the hands of his soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, and as husbandmen." † On the division of the empire by Diocletian, Thrace, Egypt, and the rich provinces of Asia were reserved for his peculiar portion. Egypt was at this period in a very distracted state. Achilleus at Alexandria, and the Blemmyes, a savage race of Ethiopians, in Upper Egypt, defied the Roman arms. Diocletian opened his Egyptian campaign (A.D. 296) with the siege of Alexandria. He cut off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that immense city, and pushed his reiterated attacks with so much caution and vigour, that, at the end of eight months, the besieged submitted to the discretion of the conqueror. They were doomed, however, to experience the full extent of his

* See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. p. 25, &c.
† Gibbon, chap. vi.

severity. "Many thousands of the citizens perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence of death, or at least of exile. The fate of Busiris and of Coptos was still more melancholy than that of Alexandria: those proud cities, the former distinguished by its antiquity, the latter enriched by the passage of the Indian trade, were utterly destroyed by the arms and by the severe order of Diocletian." Eusebius, however, as Gibbon remarks, places their destruction several years earlier, and at a time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against the Romans. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian is stated moreover to have "persuaded the *Nabotæ*, or Nubians, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene, with the stipulation that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire. The treaty long subsisted; and till the establishment of Christianity introduced stricter notions of religious worship, it was annually ratified by a solemn sacrifice in the Isle of Elephantine, in which the Romans, as well as the barbarians, adored the same visible or invisible powers of the universe. At the same time that Diocletian chastised the past crimes of the Egyptians, he provided for their future safety and happiness by many wise regulations, which were confirmed and enforced under the succeeding reigns." *

Of the introduction and progress of Christianity in Egypt in the first ages, we have no satisfactory account. The pen of an enemy has supplied the follow-

* Gibbon, ch. xiii. The last sentence betrays, perhaps, the partiality of the historian.

ing imperfect outline. "The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, gave an easy entrance to the new religion.* It was first embraced by great numbers of the *Therapeutæ*, or Essenians of the lake Mareotis; a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for the Mosaic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenians, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline. It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian Theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientifical form; and when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a church composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince. But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony; and till the close of the second century, the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclas. The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper, entertained the new doctrine with coldness and resistance; and even in the time of Origen, it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country. As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians

* In point of fact, the knowledge of the Christian doctrine must have been conveyed to Egypt at its earliest promulgation, by the Jews and proselytes of Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene, who attended the feast of Pentecost.—See Acts, ii. 10.

obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits." *

"Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony, an illiterate youth of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony, deserted his family and native home, and executed his monastic penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate among the tombs and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert, three days' journey eastward of the Nile, discovered a lonely spot which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on Mount Colzim, near the Red Sea, where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint. The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert, and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the Emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of 105 years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria were peopled by 5000 anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were

* Gibbon, ch. xv.

planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.* In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne was occupied by Pachomius, and 1400 of his brethren. That holy abbot founded successively nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected 50,000 religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline. The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop who might preach in twelve churches, computed 10,000 females and 20,000 males of the monastic profession. The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people; and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, 'That, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god than a man.'

"Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of *six* vestals, was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the

* See page 15.

Roman forum. Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion, fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of 2 or 3000 anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil is immortal in the monastic annals of the East. With a mind that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens, with an ambition scarcely to be satisfied with the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus, and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In the West, Martin of Tours, a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul. Two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province and, at last, every city of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan Sea, were chosen by the anachorets for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus. The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly

copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Ethiopia. The monastery of Banchor, in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the Barbarians of Ireland; and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition. . . . .

"The monks were divided into two classes: the Cœnobites, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the Anachorets, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism. The most devout, or the most ambitious of the spiritual brethren renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*, a distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation. They sank under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals; and a numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name (Βοσκοι) from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.* They often usurped

* Among further particulars given by Gibbon as to the lives of the primitive monks, it is stated, that "the monastic slave might

the den of some wild beast, whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance. The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the man (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or seat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons."*

The Church of Alexandria occupies a melancholy prominence in the history of the Christian Church, as the fountain-head of those metaphysical subtilties by which the simplicity of the Gospel was so soon corrupted, and the scene of that bitter and disgraceful contest which was so long carried on between the partizans of Arius† and Athanasius. Gibbon represents the learned Jews of Alexandria as attempting to blend the Mosaic faith with the Platonic philosophy, and a spurious Christianity was the natural result of the same false science and disputatious spirit. No sooner had the edict of toleration restored peace and leisure to the Christians, than the Trinitarian controversy was revived in "the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly

not, except in the presence of his superiors, receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious if he afflicted a tender sister or an aged parent by the obstinate refusal of a word or look." An Egyptian monk, named Pior, allowed his sister to see him, but he shut his eyes during the whole visit.

* Gibbon, ch. xxxvii.

† Arianism is supposed to have "burst out" about A.D. 319.

communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East."....." The pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers, two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and 700 virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or to favour his cause. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years, was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice." The banishment of Arius and the condemnation of his writings, by that council; his honourable recal, three years after, and the disgrace of Athanasius; the singularly eventful life of that prelate, who, five times successively, was expelled from the archiepiscopal throne, passed twenty years as an exile or a fugitive, was alternately the favourite and the antagonist of emperors, and closed " in peace and in glory," at Alexandria, a reign of forty-seven years;—the unprincipled tyranny* and merited death of his rival, St. George; and the disorders or massacres which the Alexandrians were doomed to suffer or to witness, as the heathen, the Arian, or the Catholic faction alter-

* ...." The choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Anastasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil."—GIBBON, ch. xxiii.

nately obtained the ascendancy; these events, though they might claim a distinct record in a history of Alexandria, can only be thus slightly adverted to in the present rapid outline. More than once, the wild deserts of Thebais and Libya afforded a secure retreat to the fugitive primate who occupied, under another title, the throne of the Ptolemies. The death of Athanasius (A.D. 373) was the signal of a fresh persecution, for which the historian thus apologises. "The Emperor (Valens) had observed that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the Count of the East to drag them from their solitude, and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of 3000 men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria, which was peopled by 5000 monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the command of their sovereign."*

The final suppression of Paganism, and the destruction of the temples, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, was attended at Alexandria by a tumultuous ebullition of popular zeal and fanaticism; and the circumstances which attended the demolition of the temple of Serapis, deserve insertion as illustrating the topography, as well as the history of the capital of Christian Egypt.

"Serapis," says Gibbon, "does not appear to have

* Gibbon, ch. xxv.

been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprang from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt. The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterranean regions.* Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple, which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterranean apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded with a

* The Egyptians are said to have refused at first to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities; a circumstance difficult to be accounted for, or credited, considering the apparent affinity of the god to Apis. Plutarch identifies Serapis with Osiris; and at Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. Their worship was with difficulty introduced into that capital. In A.R. 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was destroyed by order of the senate, but was restored, after the death of Cæsar, at the public expense. The worship of the Egyptian gods was very "fashionable" in the reign of Augustus, although laid under local restrictions, and was finally established under the Flavian dynasty Is it not probable that the opposition to the worship of Serapis arose from the nature of his rites, rather than from any objection to him as a foreign deity? The name of Serapis is probably Egyptian, and was conferred by Ptolemy Soter on the idol of Sinope which is said to have been an image of Pluto, accompanied by Cerberus and a dragon. The word has been variously understood, as implying "the feast of Apis," "the lord Apis," the "tomb of Apis." May it not be the son of Apis, *Ser* being a contraction of *Sheri*? See *Ency. Brit. Supp.*, art. *Egypt*. BRYANT'S *Anal.*, vol. iii. p. 301. GIBBON, c. XXXVI. *notes*.

quadrangular portico; the stately halls and exquisite statues displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes.* After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves: as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvest of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.†

"At that time (A.D. 390), the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus, a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of their philosopher Olympius, who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of their gods. These Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies and a desperate defence; and, by the

* See page 98. Mark Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamos (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the *new* library of Alexandria.

† This "imprudent" calumny originated, as Gibbon admits in a note, with a pagan apologist.

inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But, when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians set up a shout of joy and exultation, while the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations, and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of ruins; a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and nearly twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of unsuspecting females....The colossal

statue of Serapis was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head, and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand; the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf..... The huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces, and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burned (melted?) in the amphitheatre amid the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity." *

Theophilus, the bitter enemy of Chrysostom, his greater rival, was succeeded on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt, A.D. 412, by his nephew Cyril,

* Gibbon, ch. xxviii. This description of the idol seems to confirm the identity of Serapis with Pluto; but in fact, it was only the representation of Pluto accommodated to Egyptian ideas. The bushel, the measure of plenty, had probably a reference to the Nilometer, and the triple-headed dragon was the Nile with its three principal arms or mouths. This view of the subject is strikingly confirmed by the ancient medals described by the ingenious Editor of Calmet's Dictionary. One of these (No. 20) exhibits a large serpent having the head of Serapis, crowned with the *modius*, and from each side of the serpent projects an ear of corn. Another medal (No. 28) has a figure of Serapis standing, attended by a sphinx, with the inscription *Zeus Sarapis*; and No. 29 has a similar figure, unattended, inscribed *Helios Sarapis*. No. 25 exhibits him seated, and attended by Cerberus, as Pluto. In coins of Antæopolis, Libya,

whose polemic fame has procured for him the doubtful honours of canonization. Cyril had passed five years of his youth in the desert of Nitria; but his aspiring mind led him readily to obey the invitation of his uncle, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods. The state of Egypt at his accession to the primacy, is thus described by Gibbon. "At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch (as he was now styled) of Alexandria had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatic *parabolani*, familiarized in their daily office with scenes of death; and the prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he confiscated their holy vessels without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration and even the privileges of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of 40,000, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of 700 years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led

Mendes, and Letopolis, the figure of Serapis is introduced, holding a goat, a crocodile, or some other emblem relating probably to the particular city. The triple head of a dog, a lion, and a wolf, may have some connexion with the three cities, Cynopolis, Leontopolis, and Lycopolis.

a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but, in this promiscuous outrage, the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony."*

The episcopal warfare between the rival patriarchs of Alexandria and Byzantium, which had been begun by the inveterate enemy of Chrysostom, was renewed by the opponent of Nestorius; and "the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. Ephesus was the scene of a scandalous and nefarious contest between the Syrian and Egyptian factions, by whom Nestorius and Cyril were in turn anathematized and degraded. The Emperor Theodosius at

* Gibbon, ch. xlvii. Orestes, the prefect, it is added, ventured to complain of this illegal outrage, in consequence of which his chariot was attacked by a band of 500 Nitrian monks, and he was only rescued by the loyal citizens of Alexandria. The monk who wounded him, was apprehended and executed; but, at the command of Cyril, the tomb of the assassin was adorned with the honours of martyrdom. The brutal murder of the fair Hypatia has left a still darker stain on the character of Cyril. We read the narrative of Gibbon with mistrust; but, after every possible deduction, the substantial truth of his revolting statements must be admitted. It is his attempt to fix the odium of such crimes on Christianity, that betrays his malignity.

length dissolved the mock council, and Cyril made his escape to his episcopal fortress. Ultimately, however, the enemies of Nestorius prevailed, and the Byzantine pontiff was unable to avert, by a voluntary abdication, the sentence of banishment to the Libyan oasis, and the brand of heresy. He died in exile, but is said to have survived the "Catholic tyrant of Alexandria," and was buried at Panopolis (Chemmis) in Upper Egypt, where "the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones at his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly."

Cyril was succeeded in the patriarchate by Dioscorus, the champion of the Eutychian heresy against Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, whose condemnation he succeeded in obtaining at the second synod of Ephesus. "It is said," remarks Gibbon, "that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople: it is certain that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired, on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus." Pope Leo annulled the infamous proceedings of that synod; and on the death of the Emperor Theodosius, Dioscorus was disgraced. He was formally accused at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and compelled by its sentence to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal. But, after his disgrace and exile, the Egyptians still regretted their dishonoured primate, and viewed with detestation his successor, whom they regarded as an usurper. "The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of 2000 soldiers, and he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; but, on the first intelligence of the death of the

Emperor Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral, and murdered in the baptistery. The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind." In the disorders which followed, thousands are said to have perished as victims of the diabolical frenzy which seemed to seize all classes in Egypt; the ostensible occasion being a "metaphysical quarrel" and the decision of the synod of Chalcedon; but the real cause was a fanaticism which would seem to be almost endemic to the Egyptian soil, and of which the priests of Apis and the monks of St. Antony successively availed themselves to maintain their ascendancy.

In the reign of Justinian, Alexandria was again the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the partizans of two contending candidates for the primacy; Gaian, the favourite of the people, and Theodosius, the nominee of the Empress Theodora. The final victory of the latter was owing to the flames with which the lieutenant of Justinian wasted the third capital of the Roman world. Theodosius, however, was speedily removed to make way for Paul of Tanis (A.D. 538), who was succeeded (A.D. 551) by Apollinaris. The appointment of the latter was resisted by the turbulent Alexandrians, and his inauguration was celebrated by a general massacre of the schismatics. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius and John the eleemosynary, laboured by more worthy means to convert or to conciliate those who still resisted the creed of Pope Leo and the decisions of Chalcedon; the former by his writings, the latter by his bounty. At length, "the churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics; the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed is

Egypt; and a law was revived, which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state."

In the meantime, however, in the monasteries of Thebais, a perpetual succession of rival or schismatical patriarchs rose from the ashes of the deposed Theodosius, and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt became united under the name of Jacobites. The faith which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrian Church, diffused itself over the mass of the Coptic nation, who almost unanimously rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. Together with the creed of the Greeks, whom they stigmatized as Melchites, they abjured their manners and their language, and renounced all allegiance to the emperor, whose orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the presence of a military force. It seemed that the conflict of zeal and persecution had rekindled some sparks of national spirit in the remnant of a degenerate nation, whose ancient wisdom and power ascend beyond the records of history. When the arms of Chosroes had depopulated the land, the Jacobites enjoyed, under his reign, a short and precarious respite; but the victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and their patriarch Benjamin again escaped from Alexandria to the Desert. At length, the hour of revenge, though not of deliverance, arrived. Another vial was yet to be poured out upon this devoted land, and the Byzantine yoke was not exchanged for a more galling one by the oppressed natives, when they assisted the Saracen invaders to expel their orthodox oppressors. They had nothing to lose, and they might hope to secure something, by that last resource of the slave, a change of masters. Perfidy could not be charged on a measure which had

self-defence for its plea, which violated no compact, no alliance, and which originated less in an ecclesiastical schism, than in national animosity. Memphis was first taken by the general of Omar, not till after a spirited resistance. Alexandria surrendered sometime afterwards, and being given up to pillage, its *third* library perished by the hands of the illiterate Moslems. The city of Alexander, the capital of the Ptolemies, the see of Athanasius, was consigned to the darkness and desolation so amply merited by its crimes. That which now bears the name of Christianity in Egypt, is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian church. The orthodox Greeks and the Monophysite Copts, though still retaining their ancient distinctions, are alike slumbering the sleep of death amid the shades of the grossest ignorance. Twenty thousand Coptic families, of whom fifteen hundred reside in Cairo, and a few of the other Christian communions, estimated altogether at a population of 100,000 native Christians, compose the insignificant remains of the once famous patriarchate of Alexandria ;—" a race of illiterate beggars," to use the contemptuous yet too appropriate language of Gibbon in reference to the Copts, " whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation."*

Reduced to a province of the Mohammedan empire, Egypt claims but a slight notice from history. The country was thrown back into barbarism, when the capital was again transferred to Cairo. From A.D. 634, to the division of the khalifate, the obscure

* Gibbon, ch. xlvii. See Jowett's Christ. Researches in the Mediterranean, 1822.

affairs of the Egyptian province scarcely come into view. During the khalifate of Haroun Al Rashid, Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, first set the example of independence, by founding a petty African dynasty at Cairwan, in Barbary. To the Aglabite succeeded the Fatimite dynasty, the princes of which were compelled at first to content themselves with a circumscribed dominion, while Egypt continued under the government of Ikshid and his successors. But about A.D. 969, the Fatimite khalif, having succeeded in making making himself master of the country, transferred the seat of his government from Cairwan to Kahira, the city of victory, and claimed for himself the legitimate succession to all the honours of the pontificate of Islam. In 1066, a dreadful famine raged over all Egypt and Syria, and multitudes perished for want of food. The famine was followed by the plague, and this calamity by a destructive incursion of the Turks, who ravaged the whole of Lower Egypt, committing the most horrid cruelties. The Crusaders next appeared in Egypt. Having reduced Pelusium, they laid siege to Cairo, but were induced to accept of a sum of money as the price of raising the siege, the proposal being enforced by the approach of a Syrian army. The last of the Fatimites expired in the year 1171, when the kingdom was seized by his famous vizier Saladin. Not being a descendant of Mohammed, he could not be denominated khalif, which implies the sacerdotal as well as the kingly office. On this account he chose the name of sultan, and left the office of pontiff to be filled up by a descendant of the prophet.

"Though Saladin was acknowledged as the sultan of Egypt by many of the neighbouring states, and even received the sanction of the khalif of Bagdad, which gave him a name and influence among the

followers of Mahommed, yet, he was not secure from intestine commotions. The friends and adherents of the Fatimite khalifs raised a rebellion in the kingdom, and a pretender to the throne collected an army of 100,000 men. These, however, were soon defeated by the power and address of Saladin; but no sooner was he freed from this alarm, than he was threatened by the soldiers of the crusades. William II. king of Sicily, had engaged in the Christian wars, and laid siege to Alexandria both by sea and land; but the enterprising spirit of Saladin frustrated his views. With a rapidity of movement which was peculiar to the energetic mind of the Egyptian sultan, he marched to the relief of Alexandria; and the crusaders, with a sudden panic, fled from the siege, leaving their stores, baggage, and engines.

"At this time, the government of Damascus was under a regency; for Malek Alsaleh was under age, and the government of affairs in his minority was not acceptable to the people. Amidst these discontents, Saladin was requested to accept the sovereign power of Syria. Having arrived at Damascus, he found little difficulty in becoming master of the country; but he professed to assume the government in the name and for the interest of the young prince. Having settled the affairs of Damascus, he marched with a successful army through various parts of the country, while his growing prosperity excited suspicions; and the ministers of Malek, the prince of Damascus, entering into a combination with some of the neighbouring powers, sought an opportunity to check the career, and disappoint the designs of Saladin. A battle ensued; but the Syrian forces, together with all their allies, were defeated, and the sultan of Egypt was left master of Syria.

"Saladin returned from his eastern conquests, and began to aggrandize and fortify the city of Grand Cairo. He encouraged the schools and literature of the country; but was drawn away from the pursuits of elegance and domestic improvements to the din of arms and the ravages of war. Having obtained possession of Syria, he was anxious to acquire Palestine; he therefore he led a numerous host against the armies of the crusaders, who had assembled for the defence of the Holy Land. But there he met with the most obstinate resistance; multitudes of his army perished in the field of battle; and when he was forced to return towards Egypt, a still greater number died in the desert, from hunger, thirst, and disease. Yet, still the views of Saladin were toward Syria and the East. At the commencement of this campaign, his army was defeated both at Aleppo and Mosul; and, in the mean time, the Christians of the crusade had assembled a fleet in the Red Sea, which threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina; but Abubeker, Saladin's viceroy in Egypt, fitted out a fleet under the command of the brave and experienced Lulu, which defeated the European expedition, and gave fresh vigour to the exertions of Saladin. In the spirit of conquest, he entered the provinces of the East; and to trace his progress would be to follow him like lightning from field to siege, and from siege to battle.

"Having run a triumphant course through Syria, he again entered Palestine. For the space of three years, Saladin continued to gain advantages over the armies of the crusade. Various places of strength having fallen, Tiberias was at length taken, and Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was desirous of meeting Saladin in the field. The armies met upon the banks of the Jordan, and victory declared in favour of Saladin. The

king himself was taken prisoner, as well as Arnold, lord of Karak. The king of Jerusalem was treated with respect, but Arnold was put to death by Saladin's own hand, because he had inflicted many miseries on the followers of Mahommed. Ptolemais, Neapolis, Cæsarea, and other cities, fell into the power of Saladin. Finding nothing to oppose his course, he marched directly toward Jerusalem, and besieged the city. The garrison was numerous, and made a desperate defence; but after Saladin had made a breach in the walls, and was on the point of entering the town, the commander made offers of capitulation. Saladin, however, refused to accept of the terms, and vowed that he would sack and destroy the city. His cruel threatenings roused the spirit of the Christians; and a herald declared, that they would first put 5000 Mussulman prisoners to death; and, that no European might be exposed to their revenge, they would also destroy their wives and children; that no booty might be found, they would destroy every thing valuable in the city; and, having levelled the rock which the Mahommedans held sacred, they would sally out in a body upon the besiegers; and if they were not victorious, their destruction should be accomplished by an unexampled expense of blood and misery. This desperate resolution moved Saladin to more reasonable terms; and the garrison, as well as the citizens, were spared by paying a stipulated sum of money.

"In this enfeebled state of the Christian armies, a third crusade was determined on in Europe; and the emperor of Germany, together with Philip II. of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion of England, having arrived in Palestine, encamped before the city of Acca or Ptolemais, whilst many European ships rode

in the harbour.... If there had been as much harmony as there was power among the different armies of the crusade, the city of Ptolemais must soon have fallen; but, after all the distractions in the views and counsels of the allies, Saladin was compelled to capitulate. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war; but a sum of money was to be paid to the besiegers.

"The sultan of Egypt refused to pay the ransom; and historians tell us, that 3000 prisoners answered for it with their lives. The siege was extremely bloody. It is supposed that not fewer than 300,000 persons on either side were cut off during the conflict; and the flower of Europe as well as of Egypt and Syria, perished in the combats. Ptolemais, or Acca, become the residence of the hospitalers of St. John, and since that period, the town has been denominated St. John d'Acre.

"Of all the European potentates, the king of England only remained; and, having laid siege to Ascalon, he took possession of that city. Upon this event, Saladin hastened to Jerusalem; and Richard followed him to the holy city. The king of England held it in close siege; but when the hour arrived that the city was to be delivered up, the besieging army retreated, and the enterprise was abandoned. The cause of this sudden and extraordinary conduct has never been well explained; and different authors have presented different views of the subject. It may justly be supposed to have been involuntary on the part of Richard; for his courage has never been questioned; and the value which he set upon his honour could not permit him to tarnish it by unworthiness of conduct. The retreat of the army, it is said, overwhelmed him

with grief; and the misfortune was probably occasioned by the discord and jealousy of the combined army. The duke of Burgundy, who was left in Palestine by the king of France with 10,000 soldiers, is said to have been as jealous as his master of the fame and valour of the English king; but, even in his retreat, Richard was formidable. He concluded a truce with Saladin for three years and upwards; various places of strength were dismantled; the whole seacoast from Jaffa to Tyre was surrendered to the Christians; and the pilgrims of Europe, travelling to Jerusalem, were to be under the protection of the powerful Saladin. But scarcely had the king of England returned to his country, than the health of Saladin began to decline; and he finished his life about the fifty-fifth year of his age, and after he had reigned in Egypt twenty-four years.

"Alaziz, the second son of Saladin, was appointed to the government of Egypt. Not being contented with the portion of his father's dominions assigned to him, he made successful inroads into Syria; but died suddenly in the midst of his triumphs. Upon his death, several important changes took place with respect to the affairs of Egypt and Syria; but nothing worthy of notice till the reign of Alcamel.

"When this prince was raised to the throne, he was well received by the Egyptians; but he found the state of public affairs full of disorder, and attended with danger. The Mahommedans and the Christians were plotting each other's destruction; and the Christians were at variance among themselves. In this state of internal disquietude, the soldiers of the fifth crusade landed in Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta. The united forces of Egypt and Damascus could not overcome the European army; but Alcamel offered

such terms of accommodation as were acceptable to all the chiefs of the crusade, except D'Albano, the pope's legate. Such influence had the see of Rome then acquired, that his single voice prevented the negotiation. The siege was continued, and the town of Damietta fell. Elated with this success, the crusaders pushed into the interior of the country; but were vanquished by the Egyptians, and were compelled to sue for mercy. The sultan of Egypt became powerful in Syria, as well as at home; and, when Frederick II. of Germany found it necessary to return to Europe, he entered into a league with Alcamel, which was wise and profitable for both.

"Alcamel died at Damascus, and Aladel, one of his sons, was raised to the throne; but Nojmoddin, his eldest brother, laid claim to the kingdom. A bloody contest would probably have ensued; but, in the mean time, Aladel died or disappeared; and his brother Nojmoddin was peaceably proclaimed sultan. He, too, acquired influence with the most powerful party of the crusades; for Richard, earl of Cornwall, perceiving that the sultan of Egypt was more powerful than the Syrian lords of Karak and Damascus, entered into an alliance with Nojmoddin, and renewed the treaty which Frederick of Germany had made with Alcamel his predecessor. By this covenant, the Christians were protected, and the views of Nojmoddin encouraged, in opposition to his Syrian rivals.

"In this settled state of affairs, Nojmoddin passed into Syria, and, with the help of some uncultivated tribes, determined to overpower his eastern enemies. That part of the crusading armies which was favourable to the lords of Syria, joined them in opposing the sultan of Egypt; but Nojmoddin overthrew them with great slaughter. In the mean time, a host of

warriors from Europe arrived in the port of Damietta, with Louis IX. of France as their leader. In the absence of the sultan, and when the nation was unprepared for this unexpected attack, the armies of the Crusade entered Damietta. The news of this event were quickly carried into Syria; and Nojmoddin, having raised the siege of Emesa, hastened to Egypt to protect his kingdom; but he died by the way, and left a vacancy in the government when a vigorous administration was peculiarly wanted. At this crisis, the country was saved from anarchy by the address of Shajir Aldor, the favourite female of the late sultan, who pretended that Nojmoddin was indisposed on his journey; the principal chiefs were by this stratagem induced to swear allegiance to his only son, Turan Shah, and the young prince was proclaimed sultan upon his arrival from Damascus with a numerous army.

"The European soldiers had by this time penetrated far into the country; but they paid dearly for their rashness; and Louis himself was taken prisoner.*

"Although Turan Shah had the name of sultan, Shajir Aldor, and her adherents about the court, directed in reality the affairs of state. The young sultan was sensible of his situation, and determined to assert his proper rights; but Shajir Aldor was aware of his intention, and caused him to be assassinated. Shajir Aldor was now declared to be sovereign of the country. She was prayed for in the mosques, and her

* Seven thousand of the French were slain or drowned in the retreat, and twenty thousand were taken prisoners. A pecuniary ransom was accepted as the terms of deliverance; and in April 1254, after some fruitless delay, Louis embarked for France.

name was impressed on the coins. This active and designing woman was raised to the throne by the power and influence of the Mamlouks. These were a body of Turkish slaves, who had gradually acquired authority at the Egyptian court. When Saladin usurped the sovereignty of Egypt, he durst not intrust himself to the national troops, but placed about his throne a powerful body-guard of Tatar slaves, whom the Moguls had acquired in war, and sold into bondage. Successive sultans increased the power of these attendants by new privileges; and, upon the death of Nojmoddin, they had in reality the disposal of the sovereign power.*

"Ibeg, one of the Mamlouks, who, from their power in the state, were called emirs, was chosen to be the prime minister, or rather regent of the kingdom. But the people were dissatisfied with the government of a woman, and the management of a foreigner. Shajir Aldor was deposed; and Musa, a descendant of Alcamel, was elevated to the throne. His reign was short as well as turbulent; in the midst of internal commotions, the young sultan was removed from the throne; and, with his government, the reign of the Ayubites terminated.

"Ibeg was now proclaimed sultan by the Baharite Mamlouks, and he immediately espoused Shajir Aldor; but, incited by jealousy, she caused him to be assassinated. By a party of the Mamlouks, Noureddin Ali was raised to the throne of his father Ibeg, by the surname of Almansur; and Shajir Aldor was put to death. About this time, the Moguls had overrun all the Saracen possessions in the East, ex-

* The word *Mamlouk*, is the participle passive of *malak*, to possess; signifying one who is the possession or property of another.

cept Yemen and Egypt; and the power of the khalifs was almost at an end in Bagdad. It was in this perilous conjuncture of affairs, that the young Sultan began his reign in Egypt. He was overthrown and deposed by Cutûz, an artful and ambitious chief. This warlike prince entered Syria with triumph, and, for a time, was formidable to his enemies; but Bibars, one of his generals, acquiring influence with the Mamlouks, deposed Cutûz, and was proclaimed sultan in his stead. To give his usurpation a more legitimate colouring, Bibars acknowledged the pretensions of Ahmed, the reputed son of Daher Billah, a khalif of Bagdad; and he was acknowledged as imam, or pontiff of the Mahommedans in Egypt. Bibars received the benediction of this Mahommedan pontiff; and by that means acquired greater influence among the people. He was, indeed, a successful warrior, as well as a benefactor to the dominions which he acquired; and, at the time of his death, his empire extended from the interior of Africa to the river Euphrates.

"From this time till the year 1293, there were many changes among the sultans of Egypt; but, though the government was unsteady, yet the nation was powerful, for the Mamlouks were brave and warlike. When Naser Mahommed was proclaimed sultan, he was only in the ninth year of his age. He suffered various reverses of fortune. Thrice he abandoned the throne of Egypt; twice by compulsion, and once by choice; but, in the progress of events, being firmly established in power, he exercised his authority, as well as his active mind, to correct the abuses of the state, and to restrain the exorbitant influence of the emirs and lords of the court. He improved the fertile

fields of the Delta, and repaired the canal as well as the reservoirs of Alexandria."

Upon the death of Naser, Abubeker, his son, succeeded to the throne; but so rapid were the changes of royal succession, that twelve descendants of Naser Mahommed scarcely extended their reign through the period of forty-one years.* As the Ayubite dynasty had been superseded by the Baharite Mamlouks, the Baharite sultans were in turn supplanted by their Circassian slaves, who had been permitted to acquire uncontrollable power. The sultan Hagi, who was but a child, was deposed by the influence of a Circassian chief; and the Baharite dynasty was terminated in Egypt, after it had existed about 128 years. A rapid succession of feeble monarchs ensued till, in the year [illegible], the Borghite dynasty was overthrown, and the kingdom of Egypt was converted into a province of the Turkish empire.† The Ottoman conqueror gave a specimen of his government, the day after Cairo was taken by the Turks, by putting to death Tuman Bey, the Borghite sultan, at Tavila, one of the gates of Cairo; and upwards of 30,000 prisoners are said to have been beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the Nile. After remaining in Egypt for

* In the reign of the Sultan Khalil, Acre, the only possession in Syria which remained to the Franks, was taken by storm, after a siege of thirty-three days, by the Egyptian Mamlouks; and "death or slavery was the lot of 60,000 Christians." This inglorious termination of the last Crusade took place in 1291; and before the close of that year, the cry of religious war no longer rung through Palestine.—GIBBON, c. lix.

† The new Mamlouks, who consisted of Circassian slaves imported by their former masters, were called *borghites*, because they had been distributed in the forts (*borges*) erected to keep the people in subjection.

some time, he returned to Constantinople, leading with him the last khalif of the house of Abbas.*

Agreeably to the principles of Turkish policy, Selim should have exterminated the whole body of Mamlouks; but fearful, as it should seem, of intrusting the government of this distant and important province to the absolute authority of a *beyler-bey*, he resolved to form it into a species of republic, comprising twenty-four *sanjaks* or provinces, under the military jurisdiction of as many Mamlouk beys, with a central government, composed of the pasha and a divan or council of regency, the members of which had the power of either ratifying or rejecting the orders of the viceroy. Besides these officers, the beys were to elect from their own body, a *sheikh-el-belled* (governor of the city), or mayor of Cairo, as the chief magistrate of the republic, and the medium, in case of grievance, of direct communication with the Sublime Porte.† "A more unjust and absurd constitution," remarks Gibbon, "cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude under the

* For the preceding paragraphs, containing an outline of the affairs of Egypt under Saladin and the Mamlouk dynasties, we are indebted to an article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, from which we have not deemed it necessary materially to deviate.

† This system of government is strikingly similar to that adhered to by the Spaniards in their American possessions, and which was probably borrowed from the Moors; the pasha answering to the captain-general, the divan to the *audienza*, and the *sanjak-beys* to the intendants. (See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 88.) The *sheikh-el-belled* is an *alcalde-mayor*, answering in some respects to the *Stamboul-effendi* or mayor of Constantinople; and at the same time serving as the responsible head of the tributary nation, like the respective patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian *rayahs*, and the *teftердar* of the Constantinopolitan Jews. See Mod. Trav., Turkey, pp. 166, 222.

arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet, such has been the state of Egypt above 500 years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borghite dynasties were themselves promoted from the Tatar and Circassian bands; and the four-and-twenty beys or military chiefs have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants."* It is a remarkable fact, (if Volney may be depended upon,) that, during upwards of five centuries that there have been Mamlouks in Egypt, not one of them has left subsisting issue; nor did there exist, when this Traveller visited Egypt, a single family of them in the second generation: "all the children perish in the first or second descent." The wives of the Mamlouks were, like themselves, Georgian, Circassian, or Mingrelian slaves, as they uniformly disdained an alliance with any native females; and to this circumstance it has been ascribed, that the race never became naturalized to the climate. The means by which it was perpetuated, were the same as those by which it was first established: those who died, were replaced by slaves from their original country.†

* Gibbon, ch. lix. M. Savary gives a copy of the charter or ordinance by which Selim recognised the Egyptian republic; but Gibbon questions its authenticity. The fact, however, is certain, that he concluded such a treaty, which left the Mamlouks still in possession of arms, riches, and power. See Savary's Letters, vol. ii. letter 15, and Ency. Brit. art. Egypt.

† Volney, vol. i. c. 7. The confines of the Kuban and the Phasis have at all times been a nursery for slaves. "But is it not extraordinary," remarks the learned Writer, "to read in Herodotus, that formerly Colchis (Georgia) received black inhabitants from Egypt, and to see the same country at this day make so different a return?" The commerce is carried on in the same manner as the African slave trade; "by wars among the numerous tribes, and by the miserable oppression of the inhabitants, who sell their own

The divan or council instituted by Selim, was composed of the chiefs of the seven military corps. These had, at first, a common treasury; but the chiefs, finding their power circumscribed by this regulation, had interest enough to get it abolished, and obtained permission to possess distinct property in lands and villages. As these were dependent on the Mamlouk governors, it became necessary to conciliate their favour, in order to prevent their oppression. To this circumstance is ascribed the ascendency which the beys acquired over the soldiery; and as their governments yielded considerable revenues, they were able to employ this wealth in advancing their creatures, chiefly their emancipated slaves, to the highest stations. By such means Ibrahim, one of the ex-*kiayas* or veteran-colonels of the Janizaries, succeeded, about the year 1746, in rendering himself, virtually, the sovereign of Egypt. He had so multiplied and advanced his freed-men, that, of the twenty-four beys, no fewer than eight were of his household; and the influence connected with these appointments was the greater, inasmuch as the pasha always left vacancies in the number of beys, in order to appropriate the emoluments. Moreover, the largesses which Ibrahim bestowed on the officers and soldiers of his corps, attached them to his interest; and having gained over to his party the most powerful of the Azab colonels, he became little short of absolute, the pasha retaining nothing more than the mere shadow of power. At the death of Ibrahim, in 1757, his house, that is, his enfranchised slaves, divided among themselves, but united against all others, maintained for some time

children for a subsistence." (See Mod Trav. Russia, p. 294.) The slaves of both sexes are carried first to Constantinople, and thence are dispersed throughout the empire.

the ascendency. Several chiefs succeeded each other in a very short interval, till at length, in or about the year 1766, Ali Bey, under the titles of *Emir Hadji* and *Sheikh-el-belled*, rendered himself master of the country. The history of this remarkable man, as given by Volney, claims a more distinct notice.

Ali Bey was a native of Mount Caucasus, of the tribe of Abazans. At the age of twelve or fourteen, he was sold to the Turks, and was eventually purchased at one of the annual sales at Cairo, by two Jews employed in the custom-house, who made a present of him to Ibrahim Kiaya as a page. He received the customary education, which consists in learning to manage a horse, to fire the carbine and pistol, to throw the *djereed*, and to use the sabre, together with a little reading and writing; and by the activity and fire which he displayed in every manly exercise, he acquired the honourable surname of *djendali* or madman. When between eighteen and twenty, his patron suffered him to let his beard grow; in other words, gave him his freedom. He subsequently provided him with a wife, promoted him to the rank of *kashef*, or governor of a district, and at length procured his nomination as one of the four-and-twenty beys. The death of his patron opened a free course for his ambitious projects. He engaged in various intrigues for raising or displacing his rivals, in some of which he was successful; but he had his turn of ill-fortune, and was sentenced to retire to Gaza.* Not deeming that city a very secure or eligible residence, Ali made a feint to obey by taking that route, but, on the third day, turned towards the Said,

* He is stated, indeed, to have been exiled no fewer than three times.

where he was joined by his partizans. He resided for two years at Djirjeh, where he matured his plans for securing the power to which he so ardently aspired. At the end of that time, his friends or partizans at Cairo having procured his recall, he suddenly made his re-appearance in that city, and, in one night, slew four beys who were his enemies, exiled four others, and found himself at the head of the more numerous party. Not content with having possessed himself of supreme authority, he expelled the pasha, and setting at defiance the Ottoman emperor, refused even the accustomed tribute. In 1768, he went so far as to coin money in his own name. The Porte did not want the will to punish these daring attacks on its supremacy; but an open war was not at that time convenient, the Divan being too much occupied with affairs of Poland and the pretensions of Russia. The usual method of *capiji-bashis* was had recourse to; but poison or the poniard always anticipated the commission they bore. In the mean time, Ali pushed forward his enterprises with success. His first expedition was against some Arab sheikhs of the Said, who enjoyed a degree of independence. He sent a body of Mamlouks, under his favourite, Mohammed Bey, who destroyed them and their power in a day. He next fitted out some vessels at Suez, which he manned with Mamlouks, and ordered them to take possession of the port of Djidda, while a body of cavalry under Mohammed Bey marched upon Mekka, which was given up to plunder. He is said to have entertained the project, suggested by a young Venetian merchant, of making Djidda the emporium of the Indian trade, hoping to supersede the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. He next turned his ambitious views towards Syria. Sheikh Dahher, the Lord of

Acre, in rebellion against the Porte, was a powerful and faithful ally; and the extortions of Osman, Pasha of Damascus, by predisposing those whom he oppressed to revolt, afforded a favourable opportunity for invading his territories. All his measures being taken, Ali detached, in 1770, under the command of five beys, a corps of about 500 Mamlouk cavalry to take possession of Gaza, in order to secure an entrance into Palestine. Osman Pasha no sooner heard of the invasion, than he hastened at the head of a numerous army to expel the intruders, and encamped near Jaffa; but finding that Mohammed Bey had effected a junction with the troops of Sheikh Dahher, he retreated, and awaited the enemy under the walls of Damascus. On the 6th of June, 1771, a decisive action took place, in which the Syrians were completely defeated, and the allies took possession of Damascus without opposition. The castle alone resisted, but capitulated on the third day. Before, however, the surrender was actually made, an extraordinary revolution took place. The crafty Osman had contrived, by means of a trusty emissary, to inspire the Egyptian general with jealousy of his own master, so as to make him and his beys resolve on their instantaneous return. So precipitate was their flight, that the report of their coming preceded their arrival in Cairo by only six hours. Ali Bey, thus deprived at one stroke of the fruits of an expensive campaign, was compelled to dissemble his mortification and resentment: he continued to send succours to his ally Sheikh Dahher, and was preparing to raise a second army, when an open rupture took place between him and his too powerful officer. Stimulated by jealousy, he had ordered Mohammed Bey into exile, intending, it is said, to intercept him in the way; but the Bey escaped to the Said, and in about six weeks, found

himself strong enough to return at the head of an army to Cairo. Ali Bey had barely time to make his escape with about 800 Mamlouks, as Mohammed and his party entered the capital sabre in hand. He repaired to Gaza, and thence endeavoured to push forward to Acre, to join his ally; but the Turks of Jaffa opposed his passage, and Sheikh Dahher was obliged to open the way for him by force. These events took place in the spring of 1772. The remainder of the year was occupied with the joint operations of Dahher and Ali Bey against the common enemy. It was then agreed upon, that the Sheikh should assist his ally by a powerful armament, in regaining possession of Egypt; but, before the requisite preparations could be matured, Ali, deceived by false representations from his pretended partizans in Cairo, and by the treacherous auguries of his *kiaya*, a Copt who abused his superstitious credulity, advanced with an inadequate force into the desert of Gaza, where a thousand Mamlouks lay in ambush, and after a short conflict, was wounded and taken prisoner. His death, three days after, was occasioned either by his wounds or by poison.*

Thus terminated the career of a man who excited not less attention from the politicians of Europe in his day, than the fortunate adventurer who at present holds the kingdom of Egypt under his dominion. "That he was an extraordinary character," says Volney, "cannot be denied, but it is exaggeration to rank him with great men." His character and conduct were stained with the common vices of his order. Perjury, treachery, and ingratitude, were the means

* For further details relating to Ali's Syrian campaign, and the history of that extraordinary man, Dahher, see MOD. TRAV., Syria, vol. i. pp. 6—24.

by which he obtained his power; and an imprudent thirst for conquest, together with the premature indolence to which he resigned himself, paved the way for his downfal. Yet, there were not wanting, among the European merchants more especially, those who deplored his death, extolling his good government, his zeal for justice, and his beneficence to the Franks. By his native subjects he was not regretted. The heavy contributions rendered necessary by his expensive wars, occasioned bitter murmurs. The expedition against Mekka alone is said to have cost upwards of a million sterling; and the exportation of corn for the use of the armies, added to the monopoly granted to some merchants in favour, caused a famine which desolated the country during the whole of the years 1770 and 1771.* Like his predecessors, he considered Egypt as his private property or life estate, and the natives as the live stock, disposable at his pleasure.†

The reign of Mohammed Bey displayed nothing but the ferocity of a robber, as his previous conduct had been marked by the baseness of a traitor. To colour his ingratitude, and to secure his power, he pretended to be only the defender of the rights of the Ottoman Sultan, and he remitted accordingly to Constantinople, the tribute which had been withheld for the preceding six years. By these demonstrations of loyalty, he obtained, with the title of Pasha, permission to make war on the Arab Dahher; and in February 1776, he entered Palestine at the head of a formidable army, provided with an extraordinary train of artillery and foreign gunners. Dahher's troops evacuated

* Volney must be mistaken in ascribing the famine to this monopoly alone, since wheat forms but a very small proportion of the food of the natives.

† Volney's Trav., vol. i. c. 8.

Gaza at his approach, but Jaffa baffled the besiegers for six weeks, owing to the inexpertness of the Mamlouks in this species of warfare. It was then taken by surprise, while negotiations were in progress for its surrender, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. A pyramid of 1200 heads attested the meanly barbarous conduct of the conqueror. This event spread terror through the country. The Sheikh, leaving Acre to the charge of his son Ali, took refuge at Szaffad. Ali attempted to make a separate treaty with Mohammed, but, failing in this, abandoned the town to be plundered by the Egyptians. The greater part of the moveable wealth had, however, been previously carried off; and Mohammed, enraged at his disappointment, threatened to put to death all the Frank merchants, with whom he supposed it to have been deposited, unless they delivered up the secreted treasure. Before he could execute this threat, he was seized with a malignant fever, and died on the third day. No sooner was his death known, than the whole army tumultuously decamped, taking the shortest road to Cairo. Here, another scramble for power took place, between Mourad Bey, the favourite general of Mohammed, and Ibrahim, afterwards *sheikh-el-belled*, and alternately his rival and confederate, on the one side, and the remaining partizans of Ali Bey on the other. The contest, after various alternations of fortune, terminated, in March 1785, in the establishment of Mourad and Ibrahim in a joint and precarious authority.*

In the mean time, a peace having been concluded

* Here Volney fails us; and for the sequel, as well as for the best account of the Mamlouks and these petty revolutions, we are indebted to the Author of Anastasius. See vol. i. ch. 16; ii. 1—5 and 11.

between the courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg, the Porte resolved to attempt the recovery of Egypt;* and in July, 1736, the famous Hassan Pasha landed at Alexandria with an army of 25,000 men. In a battle which ensued near Mentoobes, the Mamlouk cavalry were completely routed, and Hassan entered without further opposition the deserted capital, which, from being a Mamlouk city, became suddenly

* According to the Author of Anastasius, who claims for his historical details the credit of strict accuracy, the Russians did the Mamlouks the same ill service that they rendered to the unfortunate Greeks of the Morea. During the reign of Ali Bey, an alliance had been proposed between Egypt and Russia; and "this project, the Autocratrix of all the Russias failed not to resume, so soon as she saw Ibrahim and Mourad in firm possession of the supreme authority. Her wish was, to obtain from the beys the port of Alexandria, an object of the greatest importance to her future maritime operations against the Turks. In return, she offered to afford these turbulent leaders every assistance in shaking off the yoke of the Sultan; and the Russian consul-general at Alexandria, Thonus by name, was entrusted with the negotiation. He had the facility of corresponding with the rulers at Cairo through the medium of a personage, once a Russian subject, but then a renegade, a Mamlouk, and a bey, under the appellation of Khassim. On the other hand, he found indissolubly united against him, the consuls of the other European powers in Egypt, who, whether friendly to the Porte or not, were all alike hostile to the plan of giving up to the Russians so important a harbour as Alexandria." To defeat their opposition, he availed himself of a petty misunderstanding between Mourad and the "commercial diplomatists," to persuade them that their persons were no longer in safety; and they had actually embarked in a body for Constantinople, when Ibrahim, alarmed for the consequences, sent a messenger to efface by his concessions the outrages of his colleague. But an express had already made the Porte acquainted with these transactions; and the Divan, wishing to humble the rebellious beys, notwithstanding the pacific protestations of the reconciled consuls, readily undertook to avenge the insult offered to the Christian strangers. Hassan, Capitan Pasha, the favourite of Abdulhamid, had his own reasons for not letting the quarrel be hushed up.—ANASTASIUS, vol. ii., pp. 232–234.

transformed into a Turkish camp.* The office of visier was conferred on Abdi, formerly Pasha of Haleb (Aleppo), but the real power remained in the hands of Ismail, who was made *Sheikh-el-belled.* The government being thus re-organized, Hassan, on the 24th of July, 1787, signed a treaty with the rebel beys, by which he left them in full possession of the country from Barbieh to the frontiers of Nubia, all below those limits being prohibited ground. This arrangement placed the new *Sheikh-el-belled* in a very difficult situation. By planting a watchful enemy on his very boundary, against whom it was necessary always to be prepared, it increased his expenses, while it diminished his income. "Fortunately, Ismail's abilities were equal to his task. By his firmness, he awed the open hostility of the party in Upper Egypt, and by his vigilance, he defeated the treachery in his own councils. He made the heavier burthens which he was forced to impose, seem lighter, by causing them to bear more equally on all classes. He applied himself with equal skill to curing wounds inflicted, and to obviating impending evils; and finally, he carried from the mountains of Libya to the city of Cairo, a line of walls which frowned defiance on the undisciplined troops of the Beys in the Said. After these

* "Mourad, with his well-mounted Mamlukes, all mail without, and all ardour within, felt secure of an easy victory over the grand admiral's ill-equipped foot soldiers. He had neither taken into his account the artillery by which they were flanked on the stream, nor the swamps he must wade through to attack them on its banks. Received, on his first onset, with a tremendous discharge of cannon from the boats, his troops were immediately thrown into confusion. Even the safety of flight was denied them. Sinking with the weight of their accoutrements, up to their horses' bellies, into the rice grounds that formed the field of battle, they became motionless, and were slaughtered at pleasure by Hassan's naked infantry."—ANASTASIUS, vol. ii. p. 236.

labours, Ismail seemed, in 1790, to have nothing further left to do, but to sit down and to enjoy the fruits of his arduous toils, when that scourge of the East, the plague, imperfectly subdued, broke out afresh with a virulence far exceeding its former fury. In the very act of concerting measures to stem its devastations, in the midst of all his glory, Ismail fell a prey to the contagion, and a few hours saw him dragged from the pinnacle of power to the brink of the grave."* Finding his end draw near, he summoned all his veterans into his presence, with a view to secure the reversion of his dignity to a fit successor; but no one dared to face the difficulties of the situation, till the offer was at last made to Ismail's own creature, Osman, surnamed Toobbal; a youth as crooked in mind as he was deformed in body, and who accepted the dignity, only to sell it to the exiled Beys. Once more, the remnant of Ali Bey's creations, with the tools of Hassan Pasha, reluctantly transferred their quarters to the Said, while Cairo reverted to its former masters: the country south of the capital was allotted to Ibrahim, and the regions northward fell to the share of Morad Bey.†

But Egypt was now to be made the theatre of a very different contest; and in the year 1798, the Ottoman Government and the Mamlouk Beys were equally alarmed at the arrival of a powerful French armament, under Admiral Brueys, off the Libyan coast. Having effected a landing at Marabou, the troops under General Bonaparte rapidly marched upon Alexandria. The city refused to surrender, and made a spirited resistance, but the French at length obtained possession of the town, after a dreadful slaughter

* Anastasius, vol. iii. pp. 297, 8. † Ibid, p. 300.

on both sides, Generals Kleber and Menou being both wounded.* Bonaparte then directed his troops to march for Cairo, while a flotilla was ordered to sail up the Nile, to meet them at Ramanieh, and other divisions of the French army, by a route across the desert, reached the place of general rendezvous. Here, the Mamlouk Beys made a valorous stand, and an engagement took place (July 19), which has been pompously miscalled the battle of the Pyramids: † it was decided by the French bayonets, and the field was covered with the slain. This action made the French masters of Djizeh and the island of Rhoda; and on the following morning, Cairo capitulated, on condition that the lives, property, and privileges of its inhabitants should be respected. Bonaparte had issued a proclamation at Alexandria, in which protection was promised to the natives, and the object of the French expedition was pretended to be, the restoration of the legitimate influence of the Grand Signior. He professed at the same time the highest reverence for the Mohammedan faith. This thin disguise, however, ill concealed the real intention. The Pasha fled, with the *Sheikh-el-belled* (Ibrahim), into the eastern part of the Delta, leaving his *kiaya* to negotiate with the enemy; while Mourad Bey, with the remnant of

* Sir Robert Wilson gives a different representation of this affair. "The boasted assault of Alexandria," he says, "was a contemptible as well as cruel action, unworthy altogether of Bonaparte's fame. Policy may excuse the *gasconade* of his despatches, but not the wanton storm of a city for the sake of striking terror, and fixing an impression of the French name throughout Egypt. The murder of the garrison was a barbarous violence, and the indulgence granted to his troops of a three hours' sacking of the place, an act of unjustifiable inhumanity."—*Hist. of the Expedition*, (2d ed.) p. 17, note.

† Imbaba, in front of which Mourad Bey was defeated by the French, is seven miles from the Pyramids.

his troops, retreated towards Sakkara. Bonaparte pursued Ibrahim with a numerous army; but, unable to meet with him, returned to Cairo, where he conferred upon the Egyptians a new political constitution, which gave the people the show of an election in choosing the principal officers of state, while the power was left in the hands of the French agent. The Grand Signior having now proclaimed war against France, Bonaparte resolved to carry his arms into Syria. El Arish and Jaffa were taken, and on the 20th of March, 1799, trenches were opened by the French before Acre.

While these events were taking place, the British Government were not idle. Before Bonaparte left Cairo, he received the mortifying and alarming intelligence of the destruction of the French fleet by the British admiral, afterwards Lord Nelson, in the Bay of Aboukir. At Acre, he was baffled in various attempts to take the town, by the skilful co-operation of the British vessels under Sir Sidney Smith; and at length, after a series of severe conflicts, the arrival of a Turkish fleet under Hassan, Capitan Pasha, compelled the French to raise the siege, which had lasted three months. Concealing his design by keeping up an incessant fire on the town, Bonaparte retreated during the night to Jaffa, where he embarked his smaller cannon and wounded soldiers, sinking his heavy artillery. But the vessels were captured, and the heavy ordnance was discovered by the British. Troops of cavalry hung on the rear of the retreating army; and their route to Egypt was marked by the desolation they made, and by the bodies of those who fell through fatigue or by the sabre of the enemy.

In the mean time, General Desaix had pursued Mourad Bey into the Said as far as Syene; but, though

victorious, he could not subdue the Mamlouks, who moved from place to place with incredible rapidity. When Bonaparte returned to Egypt, he found Mourad among the Pyramids of Djizeh; but he was unable to bring him to a general action, the wily Bey retiring into the province of Fayoum. Soon afterwards, his attention was called to a different quarter, by intelligence that a Turkish fleet had landed at Aboukir an army of about 8000 men. With his usual promptitude, he determined upon an immediate trial of strength and fortune, and by rapid movements led his forces to attack them in camp. Both wings of the Ottoman army were assailed at once by detachments in advance, while General Murat with his cavalry darted on the centre. The conflict was obstinate and sanguinary, but ended in the almost entire destruction of the Ottoman army, most of those who escaped the slaughter being drowned in attempting to reach the ships.

Bonaparte now returned in triumph to the capital, where he attempted to tranquillize the people, and celebrated with great solemnity the festival of the Prophet. But the destruction of the French fleet had altogether changed the situation of the invaders, who, separated from the mother country, found themselves imprisoned in the midst of their conquests, and compelled to depend upon their own resources for subsistence. Under these circumstances, Egypt had no longer any attractions for Bonaparte, while the state of things in France powerfully invited his return. Under pretence that public business required his presence at Alexandria, he suddenly left Cairo, and having made all his arrangements with the most profound secrecy, on the 24th August, embarked on board a frigate anchored in the port of Alexandria. In sail-

ing from Corsica, he narrowly escaped being taken by the British squadron; but, favoured by the night, on the 14th of September, 1799, the fugitive general and future emperor of the French arrived safely in the port of Frejus.

Bonaparte was succeeded in the command of the army in Egypt by General Kleber, who had directions to negotiate with the Grand Signior for the abandonment of their conquests, retaining for the French a commercial ascendancy; but the British interest prevailed at Constantinople, and the overtures of the French were rejected. An armistice, however, was agreed upon by commissioners from all the belligerent parties, assembled on board the Tigre; and on the 24th of January, 1800, the treaty of El Arish was entered into, by which the French engaged to evacuate the country, their private property being respected, and their safe return guaranteed. But Kleber, inspirited by recent successes and by favourable advices from France, refused to abide by the terms of agreement.* Not long afterwards, he was assassinated upon the terrace of his garden at Cairo. His successor in the command, General Menou, anxious to recommend himself to the favour of the First Consul, and in full expectation of receiving supplies from Europe,† per-

* A note in Sir Robert Wilson's History places this refusal in a very different light. "Sir Sydney Smith, on receiving Lord Keith's refusal to the convention of El Arish, instantly sent off an express with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of that treaty; thus preferring the maintenance of his own and the nation's honour to a temporary advantage. The messenger arrived a few hours before the evacuation was to have been completed, and the consequences are well known."—p. 65. The Turks never forgave Sir Sydney Smith for this "generous honesty."

† In fact, important succours of troops and ammunition soon afterwards reached Alexandria by four French frigates.

sisted in the determination to retain possession of the country at all hazards, and pushed forward the public works which his predecessors had begun.

Under these circumstances, no alternative remained but to dislodge the intruders by force; and for this purpose, the secret expedition under Admiral Lord Keith, with Sir Ralph Abercromby as commander-in-chief of the troops, received orders to make for Egypt. Unhappily, the expedition having been originally fitted out for a different destination, no adequate information had been previously obtained with respect to the country. "Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the best draught from which information could be formed, and which was distributed to the generals, proved ridiculously incorrect."* The most erroneous notions also prevailed with regard to the strength of the French force. To these disadvantageous circumstances must be added, the scanty and ineffectual nature of the promised supplies from Constantinople, the miserable deficiency of horses for the British cavalry, and the impolitic waste of time occasioned by waiting for the co-operation of the Turks. At length, on the 1st of March, 1801, the British fleet anchored in the Bay of Aboukir; and on the 8th, a debarkation was effected of the first division of the army, under a constant fire from the French, who occupied the heights, and with the loss of nearly 500 men, including several gallant officers. Indeed, the landing of troops in face of such a position, was one of the most desperate enterprises that, perhaps, were ever attempted; and its brilliant, though dear-bought success, must be attributed to the physical courage of the British troops. Daily skirmishes ensued between the two armies, but no regular engagement took place

* Sir R. Wilson, p. 7

till the 13th, when, on the advance of the British forces, the army of General Menou was discovered occupying a strong position on a range of sand hills, in force about 6000 men. Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to turn their right. The charge of the French cavalry, supported by a heavy fire of artillery, was bravely repulsed, and the enemy were ultimately driven from their position; but the British suffered severely from the exterminating fire of their guns, and, owing chiefly to ignorance of the country, were deterred from following up their success, or from turning it to any good account. A second battle, therefore, became inevitable; and in the memorable affair of the 21st, British valour and intrepidity again triumphed over superior numbers and various disadvantages.* The victory, however, was dearly purchased by the loss of many brave officers, and above all, by that of the brave Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded.

The command of the army now devolved on General Hutchinson, who had an arduous and perilous part to perform. Not an inch of territory had been acquired by the battle of Alexandria; an army superior in force and equipment was still to be combated; strong places were to be taken; supplies were to be

* The French army, according to Gen. Reynier, was 9700 men strong, (other accounts state their force at 12,000,) including 1500 cavalry, with 46 pieces of cannon. The British force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the 8th and 13th, did not yield an effective strength of 10,000 men, including 300 cavalry. The half of that number resisted and repulsed the concentrated attack of the French, the battle being fought by the right only of the British army. Sir Robert Wilson estimates the loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 4000, of whom about 1700 were found on the field. That of the British was 239 killed, 1250 wounded, 32 missing.—See WILSON'S *History*, pp. 30—44.

obtained from the interior, and a communication to be established with the Vizir: add to which, the climate was greatly against troops newly arrived; the plague and other diseases threatened to reduce his force; and the British admiral had intimated, that, after October, the weather and the state of the shipping would no longer allow of his remaining off the coast. An attack on Alexandria was deemed an enterprise too desperate to be undertaken; yet, to remain inert was impossible: the fleet wanted water, the troops fresh provisions. It was therefore determined to make an effort to obtain possession of Rosetta; but it was impossible to detach any considerable force. That town became, however, an easy conquest to a small detachment, having been left uncovered by the French; and some days after (April 19), Fort St. Julien, which secured the command of the Nile, surrendered to the British and the Capitan Pasha, who supported the attack by the Turkish gun-boats.

It was at this crisis that General Hutchinson reluctantly consented to a measure which had been anticipated by the fears of the French,* and for which may be offered at least the plea of urgent necessity. This was, the cutting of the canal of Alexandria, so

* See p. 50. "In General Roiz's pocket had been found a letter of General Menou's, anxiously expressing a fear that the English had cut the canal of Alexandria, and thus let the waters of the sea into Lake Mareotis. From that moment, it had become the favourite object of the army, as, by securing the left and part of its front, the duty would be diminished. General Hutchinson reluctantly consented, while the army were in raptures. Four cuts were made, of six yards in breadth, and about ten from each other····The water rushed in with a fall of six feet; and the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, the consolidation of ages, was in a few hours destroyed by the devastating hand of man·····The water continued entering for a month with considerable force."—WILSON'S *History*, p. 55.

as to admit the sea into the basin of Lake Mareotis, by which the left of the British army and part of its front were secured against all attack, while the French were nearly cut off from the interior. In consequence of this inundation, a much inferior force was deemed sufficient to maintain the position before Alexandria, and General Hutchinson was enabled to press on his operations against the interior. The strong post of Rhamanieh, at the head of the canal of Alexandria, surrendered to the British after a smart action on the 9th of May; and on the 17th, a French convoy advancing from Alexandria, was overtaken by a British detachment, and surrendered on the promise of being sent to France. The army of the Grand Vizir continued to advance on Cairo; and at El Hanka, an engagement took place with the French troops, who had advanced to drive them back to Salehiyeh, in which the Turks were victorious. On the 23rd, General Hutchinson had an interview with the Grand Vizir, who had encamped at Benerhasset on the Nile, to concert measures for the siege of Cairo. The allied armies continued slowly to advance along the opposite banks of the river; but various difficulties conspired to retard the movements of the British. The army were decidedly averse to the movement; they were four months in arrears of pay; dysentery and ophthalmia had made frightful ravages; and they were at every step leaving further behind their supplies and stores. The season of inundation, too, was drawing on, and they had the prospect of a protracted siege. General Hutchinson, however, had taken his resolution, and the event justified his firmness. General Belliard, the French commander at Cairo, on the 22nd of June, sent a flag of truce to propose a con-

ference; and on the 27th, articles of capitulation were signed, by which the French garrison were permitted to evacuate the city, under promise of being sent to France. They marched out of Cairo on the 10th of July; and on the 15th, Egypt beheld the extraordinary and imposing spectacle of their beginning their march, along with the allied army, for Rosetta. The Turks preceded; the British army followed; then, the French, with flanking parties of their own cavalry on their left; and the English cavalry, with two beydoms of Mamlouks, closed the rear. The Nile was covered with *djerms*, the French army using for their sick and baggage, 300. The immense number of vessels, the variety of colours, the different nations who composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered the scene one of the most picturesque and interesting ever exhibited.

General Hutchinson remained a fortnight at Cairo, as well to recover his health, as to reinstate the Mamlouks in the government, which he was bound by treaty to effect. The brave Mourad Bey was no more, having been carried off by the plague in the month of April, when on the point of joining the British army. He was succeeded by Osman Bey Tambourji, who, at the head of eleven beys, repaired to the allied camp in June, and they were received by the Turks with apparent cordiality. On the surrender of Cairo, the British General insisted that the Mamlouk beys should be reinstated in all their rights and dignities, on condition of paying their tribute regularly to the Porte, with the proviso, that the Turkish pasha should no longer be kept an honorary prisoner, but have at his command a body of troops sufficient to make his authority respected. The aged Ibrahim Bey, who represented

himself as wholly depending upon the protection of the English, now found himself once more established at Cairo.

Nothing of importance had in the meantime occurred before Alexandria; but, in the beginning of July, the British troops under General Coote had been re-inforced by fresh troops from England. On the 15th of August, General Hutchinson joined the camp, and found himself in command of 16,000 effective men. The siege of Alexandria was now immediately determined upon, Menou having declared his resolution to bury himself in its ruins, rather than surrender. Both sides of the city were invested, and the shipping in the old harbour were pouring destruction upon the place, when the French general at length made proposals to capitulate; and on the 2nd of September, the garrison surrendered. Thus terminated this arduous and important campaign, so glorious to the British arms, yet unproductive of any other result than the restoration of Egypt to the Ottomans; but then it had been wrested from France.*

Notwithstanding that the Porte had consented to the re-establishment of the Mamlouks, the Capitan Pasha had laid his plans for ensnaring the principal Beys, and carrying them off to Constantinople; but the plot was discovered, and in the affray which it occasioned, Osman Bey Tambourji, the chief, was

* "Had it not been for the sudden departure of Bonaparte, the assassination of Kleber, and the stupidity of Menou," says a French writer (M. Agoub), "that country would now be a province of France." The arms of the British, of course, had little to do with the expulsion of the French! Had this country become a French colony, it would have compensated to France the loss of St. Domingo and all her West India possessions; and her occupation of this central position would have been one of the severest blows that England could receive.

killed. As the British faith had been pledged to guarantee their security, this outrage excited on the part of General Hutchinson strong indignation. Through his interference, those who had been taken prisoners were set at liberty, and a new agreement was entered into, by which the Beys abandoned all pretensions to Cairo and Lower Egypt, on condition of being allowed to possess Upper Egypt within a certain distance from Djizeh. Deprived of their revenue, reduced in numbers, separated from the provinces which supplied them with recruits and successors, their power might be considered as annihilated, and their eventual extinction could not be long delayed.

During the war between Great Britain and Turkey, which broke out in 1806, a second expedition was fitted out against Egypt, under the command of General Fraser, the issue of which was most disastrous. Alexandria surrendered to the British arms, but the troops were repulsed in two successive attempts to occupy Rosetta, and the enterprise was ingloriously abandoned. The British Government had been misinformed with respect to the Turkish forces in Egypt, and had calculated on the co-operation of the Beys; but the latter took the opportunity of making their peace with the Pasha, and the invaders found the whole country prepared to oppose their progress. The internal state of Egypt had undergone, indeed, an important revolution, by the accession of the extraordinary personage to the viceroyalty, who now fills the throne of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. An imperial firmaun had not long confirmed him in the government, to which the voice of the army and the inhabitants had raised him, when he signalised his elevation by the victory obtained over the English in the unfortunate affair before Rosetta and El Hamet,

in which the flower of our little army was killed, wounded, or made prisoners. A brief memoir of this fortunate adventurer will close our rapid outline of Egyptian history.

Mohammed Ali was born at Cavalla in Roumelia,* in the year 1769. His father, Ibrahim Aga, was chief of the guard for the security of the public roads. At his death, his son, then a boy, was taken into the house of the governor of Cavalla, and he commenced his fortunate career by assisting his patron in collecting the taxes, and in putting down a spirit of insubordination at the expense of a few lives. For this service, he was created a *boulouk-bashi*, and received in marriage a widow of the governor's family, by whom he had three sons, Ibrahim, Toussoun, and Ismael. With the aid of a little money brought by his wife, and by means of his family connexions, Mohammed now engaged as a merchant in the tobacco trade, which he continued to pursue with some success, until an event occurred, which called him to fulfil a higher destiny. On the invasion of Egypt by the French, the governor of Cavalla was required by the Porte to furnish his contingent, amounting to 300 men, the command of which he gave to his son, while Mohammed was sent with him as a sort of Mentor. The young man, disgusted with the service, soon after landing in Egypt, quitted the army, and returned home, leaving the command of his contingent to Mohammed, who now took the title of *bim-bashi*. In the first battle in which he was engaged, against the division of the French under General Lagrange, he lost the greater part of his men; but his spirited conduct attracted the attention of the Capitan Pasha,

* The ancient Neapolis. See Mod. Trav., Turkey, p. 294.

who selected him to head an attack upon the fort in which the French had posted themselves. During the night, he succeeded in getting within the intrenchments, ready to storm as soon as the day-light should appear; but in the morning, it was discovered that the French had evacuated the works. This bloodless enterprise raised him, however, another step.

In the subsequent campaign against the Mamlouks, the viceroy, Kousrouf Pasha, gave Mohammed the command of a division under Yousef Bey, who, being completely beaten, laid the blame upon his officer. The viceroy, exasperated, determined to send Mohammed into exile, and with this intention, ordered him to appear before him at night. Mohammed, in answer to the message, demanded pay for himself and his soldiers, adding, that he would wait upon him with his troops the next day. A few days afterwards, the viceroy was himself driven from the capital by the Albanians under Taher Pasha, who, for a short time, assumed the reins of government; but, on his inviting the Mamlouks into Cairo, he was assassinated by the Turks. From that moment, Mohammed Ali commenced a series of intrigues with the Turks, the Mamlouks, and the Albanians, making each and all of them alternately his instruments, either as allies or enemies, as best suited his ulterior views, but always using his influence, and generally with success, in appeasing sedition. For his services in this respect, he was rewarded by an imperial firmaun with the dignity of pasha. The whole army was at this time deeply in arrears of pay, and Khourshid, the new viceroy, had made himself universally unpopular by his exactions. What share Mohammed Ali had in fomenting this dissatisfaction, does not appear; but so it happened,

or was contrived, that the people, headed by the shiekhs, the officers generally, and the army, declared, that they would no longer be governed by Khourshid, and called upon Mohammed to be their ruler. With apparent reluctance he acceded to their urgent solicitation, and proceeded to besiege Khourshid, who had shut himself up, with his followers, in the castle of Cairo. The dispute was terminated by the arrival of a firmaun, constituting Mohammed Viceroy of Egypt, with the dignity of the three tails.

Alexandria still remained in the hands of the Turks, but the unfortunate expedition of the English in 1807, did Mohammed the service of putting this important place into his hands. There would have been no difficulty in our retaining possession of it; but "it was deemed a wise measure to give up the town and harbour to Mohammed Ali, instead of to the Porte: his hands thus became strengthened, commerce flourished, the revenues were augmented, and the general prosperity of the country rapidly advanced by the liberal policy which he continued after the example of the English, and which, there is reason to believe, he did the more readily at the recommendation of the British vice-consul." *

The Pasha's authority was very far, however, from being as yet established. A remnant of the Mamlouks yet survived; and at once to propitiate the Porte, and to secure his own power, Mohammed resolved on their extermination. For the act itself, strong political pleas in extenuation might be offered. It is urged, and probably with truth, that he had received orders from the Divan at Constantinople to destroy them; and he is said, too, to have known that the Beys were

* Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. p. 486.

in correspondence with his enemies. Nothing, however, can justify the truly Turkish method which he adopted to execute his barbarous purpose. Having invited the Mamlouks to Cairo in 1811, he received the Beys in the citadel with great ceremony and apparent friendship, presenting them with coffee, at the very moment that he was making dispositions for intercepting and basely assassinating them on leaving his presence. The Beys being despatched, the troops were ordered to arrest all the Mamlouks. Those who were taken, were conducted before the *kiaya-bey*, and instantly beheaded. Many innocent individuals, foreigners, are said to have fallen victims to the sanguinary fury of the soldiery.* The citadel presented the appearance of a slaughter-house; mutilated corpses choked up the passages, and on all sides might be seen, horses richly caparisoned, stretched by the side of their masters, *djoubas* pierced with balls, broken weapons, and garments covered with blood. All these spoils fell to the soldiers. In the morning, they counted among the slain, 470 Mamlouk cavalry: none had escaped the massacre.† For several days, the greatest terror and disorder prevailed in Cairo. All the shops were shut, and the streets and bazars were deserted, while every species of outrage was committed with impunity by the undisciplined and barbarous soldiery. The spoils found in the houses of the Beys were of incalculable value; but not only the habitations of the proscribed parties were pillaged: those in the

* Mengin. *Hist. de l'Egypte*, vol. i p. 362. Probably, the French soldiers who had attached themselves to the Mamlouks, are here referred to. Sir R. Wilson represents the number of these deserters to have been considerable, remarking that they "should be rooted out of the country whatever may be its fate."

† This massacre took place May 1, 1811.

neighbourhood shared the same fate. The city resembled a place taken by assault; and not till after 500 houses had been completely sacked, did the Pasha think fit or venture to descend from the citadel, and, at the head of his troops, adopt decisive measures for putting a stop to these disorders. The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces, where, by order of the Pasha, every Mamlouk that could be met with, was put to death.*

Mohammed Ali was now at liberty to give his undivided attention to the state of affairs in Arabia, whither his son, Toussoun Pasha, had been sent with an army against the Wahhabees. He had already taken the city of Medina, the keys of which the Pasha sent to the Porte, with large presents of money, jewels, coffee, and other valuable articles. Mohammed Ali now deemed it high time to pay his devotions at the Kaaba of Mekka. At Djidda, he was received by the

* In the fall and extermination of the Mamlouks, there is nothing to be regretted. Their government, as Sir R. Wilson remarks, "was unnatural and oppressive; their habits and customs degrading to mankind." Volney has thus portrayed their character: "Born for the most part in the rites of the Greek Church, and circumcised the moment they are bought, they are considered by the Turks themselves as renegadoes void of faith and of religion. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by those natural ties which unite the rest of mankind. Without parents, without children, the past has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and superstitious from education, they become ferocious from the murders they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, seditious from tumults, and base, deceitful, and corrupted by every species of debauchery. They are, above all, addicted to that abominable wickedness which was at all times the vice of the Greeks and the Tatars, and is the first lesson they receive from their masters."—Volney's Trav., vol. i. c. 11. The Author of Anastasius styles the Mamlouks "that indestructible plague of Egypt, that weed always alive." Time will shew whether, under a Turkish despotism, it can ever be eradicated. Mohammed Ali's colonels are all Mamlouks.

Shereef Ghaleb with every demonstration of hospitality and respect; in return for which, either stimulated by avarice, or, as his apologists say, discovering or suspecting treachery, he secretly ordered his son Toussoun to seize his host, and convey him to Cairo, while he plundered his palace of immense treasures. A portion of these he transmitted to the Porte; but the Divan is stated to have expressed displeasure, nevertheless, at the nefarious transaction: before any compensation, however, could be made to the Shereef, he had been sent to some unhealthy spot, where he sickened and died.*

Soon after his return to Egypt, Mohammed Ali attempted to put in execution a project he had for some time cherished; the training of his troops after the European system. A mutiny was the result. The conspirators, headed by the agas and other chiefs, marched against the citadel, and, on being fired upon, dispersed themselves over the city, plundered the houses and bazars, and spread universal terror among the inhabitants. The Franks took up arms for the defence of their own quarter, and were aided by the police. At length, those who remained firm to the Pasha prevailed, and the revolt was suppressed. On this occasion, Mohammed Ali acted with equal justice and prudence: he ordered an exact account to be taken of the losses sustained by those who had been pillaged, and indemnification to be made out of the treasury. He also conciliated by presents the malcontent chiefs and officers; and for the time, the plan of introducing the new tactics was abandoned.

About this time, Mohammed Ali suffered a grievous

* How atrocious soever the conduct of the viceroy, the infamous character of Ghaleb must have precluded either pity or regret at his fate. See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, p. 104.

affliction by the death of his son, Toussoun Pasha, who had been replaced in Arabia, a short time before, by his elder brother, Ibrahim. The latter soon succeeded in completely subduing the Wahhabees. To signalise his triumph, and in conformity to a vow which he had made in case of success, he joined the Moslem *hadjis* from Egypt and Syria in the pilgrimage to Mount Arafat, where he sacrificed 3000 sheep,* and largely distributed alms at Mekka. He then departed for Cairo, where he was received with great honours. On this occasion, Mohammed also received rich presents from the Grand Signior, and compliments on his splendid victories. †

The viceroy was now at liberty to turn his attention to the south; and, under the pretence of putting an end to the civil wars and disorders to which the countries of the Upper Nile had long been a prey, he sent an army, consisting of 4000 troops, under his youngest son, Ismael Pasha, in 1820, with orders to subjugate all the provinces from the Second Cataract to Sennaar inclusive. The expedition was perfectly successful; and "the conquest of the extensive countries which, in the reign of Candace, repulsed the formidable legions of Rome, was effected at the expense of not more than 200 soldiers." ‡ It proved fatal, however,

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia, pp. 272—9.

† He is said to have sent the captive chief of that formidable sect to Constantinople, "to give the supreme powers the pleasure of beheading him. For this he received the distinguishing title of khan, which carries with it a perpetual immunity from the risk of judicial decapitation."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 102.

‡ English's Narrative, p. x. The names of the provinces and kingdoms annexed to the viceroyalty in consequence of this expedition, are thus given: "Succoot, Machass, Dongola Shageia, Monasier, Isyout, Rab-a-Tab, Berber, Shendy, Halfya, and the kingdoms of Sennaar, Darfour, and Kordofan—all subject to the Conqueror of Egypt and Arabia."

to the young conqueror, whose general conduct is said to have been honourably distinguished by humanity and good faith; but a single act of severity cost him his life. He had ordered, when at Sennaar, one of the chiefs to be bastinadoed. Watching his opportunity, when Ismael was encamped at a neighbouring village, with a guard of only forty men, the dishonoured chief surprised his lodgings by night, at the head of his party, and stabbed the Pasha to the heart, most of his guards being slain in the struggle.

"One of the objects of this expedition was, the recruiting the army with the blacks of Sennaar, Shendy, Kordofan, and the neighbouring countries. These unhappy beings were all in the first place vaccinated, and were then instructed in the manual exercise and military evolutions, according to the European mode, by some French officers. The hopes of the Pasha were, however, greatly disappointed in these black troops. They were strong, able-bodied men, and not averse from being taught, but, when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral, rather than physical causes. It appeared in numerous instances, that, having been snatched away from their homes and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life; and such was the dreadful mortality that ensued, that, out of 20,000 of these unfortunate men, 3000 did not remain alive at the end of two years." *

* Quart. Rev. vol. xxx. p. 490. "Nothing is more common in Cairo," adds the Writer, "than to find the black slaves, *who are treated with all kindness*, complain of being weary of life, and seeking for means to get rid of it: it is also observed, that, on this account, they are more susceptible of disease, especially of the plague." To this able article we are indebted for most of the par-

Mohammed Ali was resolved, however, to carry the new system into effect. As the blacks had sickened and died, it was determined to set about a regular conscription of the Arab fellahs, about 30,000 of whom were indiscriminately seized, without regard to their fitness, and marched under a military guard to Upper Egypt. Twelve Europeans, chiefly Italians, were employed to train them. Disease for a time considerably thinned the ranks of the new conscripts; but in 1824, they were computed at about 23,000 effective men. They were formed into six regiments, which, when completed, were to consist of five battalions of 800 men. About 15,000 of the troops were tolerably fit for active service; about 8000 were in training; and a new conscription was ordered of 15,000 more. One battalion was to be stationed at Alexandria to be trained as marines for the Pasha's navy, which was to consist of forty vessels of different rates, the seamen being entirely Arabs. The army is officered by about 500 Mamlouks, regularly trained by the French renegade, Col. Séve, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, but who, having turned Moslem, has assumed the name of Suliman Bey.* A complete military arsenal had also been established within the citadel of Cairo, under the direction of a Frenchman, including a cannon-foundry and a manufactory of gunpowder. †

ticulars relative to the history of Mohammed Ali; but they are chiefly taken from M. Mengin's "Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Aly." Paris. 1823.

* For a description of this person, see Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 255, *note*.

† Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. pp. 492, 501. In the article on Egypt, in the Encyclop. Metrop., already referred to, the numbers of the Pasha's military and naval force are stated according to a more moderate estimate, viz.

Such was the progress which had been made in the political "regeneration" of Egypt under its present Ruler at the commencement of 1824; and the first result of which was the Egyptian expedition against the Greeks. The desire of adding Candia and the Morea to his dominions, is supposed to have been the motive which impelled Mohammed Ali to take upon himself the burden of prosecuting a war, of which the Porte had become wearied. By the assistance of his troops, the Turks of Candia were enabled to suppress the insurrection in that important island; and early in 1825, the Egyptian fleet, having wintered at Suda, sailed for the Morea, which it has been found more easy to overrun and lay desolate, than to conquer. There seems reason to question whether the discipline of the Egyptian infantry is, after all, of a very high order, or whether they constitute a force very effective or formidable, unless when matched against raw levies or the undisciplined troops of the African kingdoms. It is probable that ere this, Mohammed Ali heartily repents having been urged on by his foreign advisers to engage in a warfare, which has crippled his resources and drained his coffers, and from which he is not

	Infantry.	*Cavalry.*	
In Arabia	1,300	1,200	
In Ethiopia, &c.	5,400	3,400	
In Upper Egypt (including Cairo)	1,100	3,000	
In Lower Egypt	2,210	1,400	
	10,010	9,000	Total 19,070

"He has also a park of 30 pieces of artillery and 1,200 cannoniers. Though ambitious of possessing a fleet, the Pasha has not yet been able to raise more than a flotilla of small-armed vessels in the Red Sea, another; composed of transports, at Alexandria; and one or two frigates."

likely to obtain either glory or permanent advantage. *

That Mohammed Ali is an extraordinary man, cannot be disputed. His address, his restless activity and spirit of enterprise, and his superiority to national and religious prejudices, justly entitle him to be considered as one of the most accomplished Turks, and one of the greatest of Mohammedan princes, that have ever vaulted into a throne. When he first assumed the government of Cairo, complete anarchy prevailed in every department. The country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of the Mamlouks, aided by the Bedouin Arabs, of the Albanians, and of the Turks. The means by which he succeeded in suppressing these disorders, reflect no great honour on either his talents or his character. Still, let the facts be allowed their due weight, that, at that time, "the soldiers were mutinous, the finances were exhausted, property was insecure, agriculture was neglected, and commerce languished."† During the sixteen years of his energetic administration, a mutinous soldiery has been transformed into a regular army; the revenue has been prodigiously increased; ‡ new articles of produce

* See, for further details respecting the Egyptian expedition, Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. pp. 214—228; 234—8; 254—9.

† Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. p. 408.

‡ "It is generally believed, that the Mamlouks drew from Egypt, in public and private revenues, about a million and a half sterling. While the French were in possession of the country, they varied from year to year according to the state of the war. General Reynier estimates them at from twenty to twenty-five millions of francs (from 833,333*l.* to 1,041,666*l.*)"—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 100. The Pasha's revenue in 1821, was estimated at not less than 2,250,000*l.* Of this, the *miri*, or land-tax, yielded one-half. The other sources of revenue were, the customs (not amounting to more than 15 purses); the resumed lands, *i.e.* almost the whole of the cultivable soil; the tribute from the conquered

have been raised;* trade has been carried on to an extent previously unknown; several important public works have been undertaken and executed;† and the whole country from Alexandria to Syene, has been rendered perfectly safe for the European traveller. "The

territories in Dar-Four, Sennaar, Nubia, and Arabia; the monopoly of the Egyptian commerce; and an excise on provisions. The Pasha's disbursements in the same year were computed to be 1,757,840*l.*; half of which arose from the army expenditure. The remittances to Constantinople amounted to 12,000 purses, one-seventeenth part of the total disbursements, or about 5 per cent. on the revenue; a tolerably fair allowance for the use of the country.—*Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt.*

* See p. 21. In 1821, the mulberry plantations in the Wady Toumlaut, yielded between 18 and 19 cwt. of silk: this project is said to have cost the Pasha upwards of 380,000*l.* His cotton plantations have been more productive; but the cotton-mills established at Mehallet-el-Kebir and Mansurah are not likely to answer. In Cairo and Boulac, 800 natives are employed in spinning and weaving ordinary silks and calicoes, while several Swiss and Italians manufacture finer articles of the same kind. The Pasha could purchase English cloths and cottons of a very superior quality, at one-fifth of the cost of these forced manufactures.

† Among these are, the navigable passage which has been cut through the rocks of the first cataract; another, round some of the most difficult passes of the second; and the Canal of Zakazik, by which the plantations of Wady Toumlaut can be watered at pleasure. But his greatest work is the canal of Mahmoudieh, 48 miles in length, 90 feet in breadth, and from 15 to 18 feet in depth, extending from Fouah to the harbour of Alexandria, by which the dangerous passage of the bogaz of Rosetta is avoided. To accomplish this stupendous undertaking, "all the labouring classes of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced them to provide biscuit and provisions. To each village and district was marked out the work allotted to it. The Arabs were marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, under their respective chiefs: the number employed at one time actually exceeded 250,000 men. In about six weeks, the whole excavation was completed, and the people returned home to their respective occupations; but, in the autumn, a few thousands were called upon to face parts with masonry, and make the whole navigable for vessels of considerable burden. It was opened with great pomp on the 7th of December, 1819.—*Quart. Rev.* vol. xxx. p. 502

innovations of the Pasha," it is remarked, "have probably left the Egyptian labouring peasant, or *fellah*, in the same state nearly in which, as far as history goes, he seems always to have been; with that additional act of tyranny hanging over his head, of being snatched away from his miserable family by the new conscription. Neither have the Pasha's plans been, as yet, in any considerable degree beneficial to the manufactures and general commerce of the country. Without possessing the smallest rudiments of political economy, he innovates for the sake of doing something." * To a great extent, he has taken into his own hands the lands which belonged to the Mamlouks, to the Shiekhs, and to various public foundations; and as to the lands which he has not yet seized upon, the owner is not master of his produce, not being allowed to dispose of any portion of it till the agents of government have taken what part they may think proper at their own price. The Pasha is the sole vender of produce for exportation. In fact, he may be said to be the sole merchant, manufacturer, farmer-general, and landed proprietor in Egypt. The Author of Scenes and Impressions in Egypt has not unjustly characterised him, when he says: "Mohammed Ali Pasha is a Turk, a very Turk: he is surrounded, flattered, and cajoled by a set of foreign adventurers, who put notions into his head, and words into his mouth, which pass for, and in truth become, his own. The race between him and them is, who shall get the most out of the other; and what between force and fraud, I believe the Pasha has the best of it. So far from improving, according to all we could hear and see, he is ruining and impoverishing the country. He has got

* Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. p. 500.

rid of his Turks and Albanians, and flatters himself his new levy is a master-stroke of policy. He does not *pay*, and will never attach them; and if they do not desert with their arms, and disturb his conquests and possessions above the Cataracts, they will die away as a body, and fall to pieces in a very short period of time." Some of his institutions, however, deserve to survive him; and if they do, they will form his noblest monument. One of the most remarkable is the school established at Boulak, for mathematics, drawing, mensuration, French, and Italian, under the superintence of Noureddin Othman Effendi, an accomplished young Turk, who resided for some years in France and Italy, by order of the Pasha, for his education. Some young men were also sent to England, a few years ago, with a similar view; and no fewer than forty are said to be now studying at Paris under the direction of Messrs. Jomard and Agoub. The establishment of this institution, as well as of inferior schools; * the protection and indulgence afforded to religious sects of every denomination; the introduction of the vaccine and of the medical and chirurgical practice of Europe; the embellishment of the fountains and reservoirs of Cairo with ornamented marble columns, and other improvements; the opening of the ancient canals, and the digging of new ones; and more especially, the construction of the Canal of Mahmoudieh, which has conferred an inestimable benefit on the country; these are the acts which redound most to the honour of the Pasha, and which may ultimately compensate for the evils entailed upon the country by a grinding despotism.

* A printing-press and a weekly newspaper in Arabic and Italian, as well as a library, are also to be enumerated among the Pasha's Frankish innovations.

At present, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, and the sobriety of the peasantry, there is not perhaps a civilized country in the world, where the labourer is more wretched than in Egypt. Under every change of government, the most abject bondage, the most pitiable oppression has been their portion. In the obscure annals of its early history, it is difficult to discriminate the native tyrant from the foreign usurper; but intestine wars and struggles between the military and sacerdotal classes, (similar to those which originated the wars of the Mahabarat in Hindostan,) fill up the intervals between foreign invasions. At length, the Persian came, and overthrew for ever the throne of the Pharaohs. Since then, the Greek, the Roman, the Arabian, the Circassian, and, last of all, the Turk, have successively made this country their granary and treasury, and trampled on the miserable natives. Thus, literally, has Egypt been made "the basest of the kingdoms;"* while its ancient wisdom has given place to the decrepitude and imbecility of a second childhood. "Where are thy wise men?"† They too, together with "the sceptre of Egypt," have passed away. No native can now decipher a single inscription in the sacred character; but foreigners from the extremities of western Europe must be called in to disinter the monuments and to unravel the hieroglyphic records of the past. Such is Egypt—a land expressively described as "gifted with the most wonderful bounties, and at the same time accursed with the most noxious calamities of nature,"‡—teeming with plenty, yet scourged with famine and pestilence; as if the mysterious anathema which appears to hang over this devoted land, were entailed to all generations

* Ezek. xxix. 15. † Isa. xix. 11. Zech. x. 11.
‡ Sir R. Wilson, p. 251.

to come, the moral and intellectual powers of the natives, as well as their physical existence, seeming to be withered and blighted by its influence;—a land, as its very name has been supposed to import, of blackness and darkness, and, in a moral sense, of the shadow of death.

The present natives of Egypt consist of: 1. The Copts, the supposed descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and more certainly the feeble remnant of a once numerous Christian population. 2. The Fellahs, who compose the bulk of the labouring class, and who are supposed to be a mixture of ancient Egyptians, Arabians, and Syrians: they are rigid Moslems. 3. The Bedouin Arabs,—the same in character, manners, and customs that they are every where, and apparently ever have been since the days of the patriarchs; regarding with disdain and proud independence all other classes of mankind, but more especially those of their own nation who have degraded themselves by taking up their abodes within walls.* 4. Arabian Greeks; that is, the descendants of the ancient Greek colonists, who have lost their ancient language, and speak a kind of Arabic.† Many of them are mariners, but, in general, they pursue the inferior and handicraft trades. 5. Jews. To these must be added, as inhabitants of Egypt: 6. Syrian Greeks and Maronites, who have, within the last century, greatly increased in numbers, and have proved successful rivals of the Copts and Jews as merchants

* Arabs are distinguished among themselves, as *al Aarab ahl al hudar*, or *ahl al madar*, *i.e.* dwellers in walls or in clay; and *al Aarab ahl al bidow* or *Bidoweeoun*, or *ahl al wibar*, *i.e.* dwellers in the desert or in tents. The latter were known to the ancients by the name of Scenites, or dwellers in tents.

† About the year 722, the use of the Greek tongue was prohibited by the Saracens.

and agents. 7. Armenians. 8. Turks. 9. Franks. 10. Mamlouks. 11. Moggrebins, or Western Arabs. 12. Ethiopians, and other Africans.

To ascertain the respective numbers of these different divisions of the population, with any precision, is next to impossible; but the following may be regarded, perhaps, as a sufficient approximation, to give some idea of their relative proportion.

Copts	160,000*
Arab Fellahs	2,250,000
Bedouin Arabs	150,000†
Arabian Greeks	25,000‡
Jews	20,000
Syrians	20,000
Armenians	10,000
Turks and Albanians	20,000
Franks or Levantines	4,000
Mamlouks	500
Ethiopians, &c.	7,500

* We have stated the number of Copts, at p. 119, at only 100,000 (*i.e.* 20,000 families), on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Jowett, who received his information from Hanna Taouil, the chief secretary to the Pasha for the Copts. (Researches in the Mediterr. p. 114.) M. Malte Brun, however, states them at 30,000 families, or 200,000 souls; and M. Mengin reckons them to amount to at least 160,000.

† Volney says: "It is calculated that the different tribes of them in Egypt might form a body of 30,000 horsemen; but these are so dispersed and disunited, that they are considered only as robbers and vagabonds." (vol. i. p. 78.) Their numbers can be merely conjectured, and must be continually varying; but, supposing Volney's calculation to be near the truth, the total Bedouin population cannot be less than five times the number of horsemen.

‡ These are stated, in the article on Mengin's History of Egypt, in the Quart. Rev. (vol. xxx. p. 505), to amount to 5000; but, whether families or males only are meant, is not specified. In like manner, the Greek Christians are reckoned at 4000, the Jews at 4000, the Armenians at 2000, and the Francs at 1000. It seems pretty clear, that, in the last case, families cannot be intended; and we have therefore supposed, that houses are uniformly referred to. M. Mengin reckons, in Cairo, eight persons to each house, and in the provinces, four. We have taken them at five to a family.

Of the Egyptian Arabs, who, under the name of *fellahs*, or husbandmen, form the bulk of the population, the fullest description that we have seen, is contained in the MS. Journal of Dr. Hume, as given by Mr. Walpole.

"The lower orders of Egyptian Arabs appeared to me," says this Traveller, "to be a quiet, inoffensive people, with many good qualities. They are, in general, tall and well made, possessing much muscular strength, yet of a thin, spare habit. Their complexion is very dark, their eyes black and sparkling, and their teeth good.* Upon the whole, they are a fine race of men in their persons; and they are more active in agricultural employments than we should be led to imagine from seeing the better sort of them in towns, smoking and passing their time in listless indolence. The dress of the poorer Arabs consists simply of a pair of loose blue or white cotton drawers, with a long blue tunic, which serves to cover them from the neck to the ancles, and a small red woollen scull-cap, round which they occasionally wind a long strip of white woollen. They are sometimes so poor as not to be able to purchase even this last article. By means of his tunic, or long, loose outer garment of dyed cotton, the wealthy Arab conceals from the proud and domineering Turk, a better and richer dress, consisting sometimes of the long and graceful Moslem habit of Damascus silk,

* "In general, the Egyptian peasants reach the height of five feet eight, and many among them attain to five feet ten or eleven inches. They are muscular without being fleshy and corpulent. Their skin, tanned by the sun, is almost black, but their countenances have nothing disagreeable. The greatest part of them have heads of a fine oval, large and projecting foreheads, and, under a dark eye-brow, a black, sunken, but brilliant eye; the nose large, but not aquiline; well-shaped mouths, and, without exception, fine teeth."—VOLNEY, c. 6.

covered with a fine cloth coat with short sleeves; and at other times, particularly among the Alexandrians and those connected with the sea, of a blue cloth short jacket, curiously and richly embroidered with gold, and white trowsers reaching just below the knee, the legs bare.

"The articles of furniture in the house of an Egyptian Arab, are extremely few. The rooms of all people of decent rank have a low sofa, called a *divan*, extending in general completely round three sides of the room: it is about nine inches or a foot from the floor, and is covered with mattresses, the back being formed by large square cushions, which are more or less ornamented, according to the wealth of the owner. The beds are generally laid on a strong wicker-work made of the branches of the date-tree, or of mattresses placed on a raised platform at the end of the room. For their meals, they have a very low table, round which they squat on the mats covering the floor; this table is sometimes of copper tinned. They have no other furniture except culinary utensils. The mats are made of straw or of the flags of the branches of the date-tree, and are very neatly worked in figures. They are very durable, but harbour numbers of fleas.

"The poorer sort of Arabs can seldom afford to eat animal food, but subsist chiefly on rice made into a *pilau*, and moistened with the rancid butter of the country. Their bread is made of the *holcus durra* (millet). I have seen them sit down to a hearty meal of boiled horse-beans steeped in oil. When the date is in season, they subsist on the fruit; and in summer, the vast quantities of gourds of all kinds, and melons, supply them with food. The better sort eat mutton and fowls, though sparingly. At a dinner given to me by an Arab in the Delta, I observed one dish was

formed of a quarter of mutton stuffed with almonds and raisins. Their drink is the milk of buffaloes,* and the water of the Nile, preserved and purified in cisterns. None but the higher orders, or those of dissolute lives, ever taste wine. Grapes grow in abundance at Rosetta, but little wine is made in Egypt. †

"The Arabs carry on the common trades of civilized life, such as carpenters and smiths, but in a very unskilful and imperfect manner. They have a few manufactories: the principal one is the cotton cloth, which is chain-woven and very strong; a great part of it is dyed blue. There is a coarse silk-manufacture, of a thin, open texture, with a wide border of various colours, but generally dark, which the better sort sometimes wear instead of what we call linen; but that commonly worn by the superior ranks, is a manufacture somewhat resembling white crape, but a little thicker, with a silk border: it soon acquires a yellow colour by washing.

"With respect to the economical arrangement of their families, we found that the Arabs have seldom more than two wives; commonly but one. The second wife is always subservient to the elder in the affairs of the house. The women colour their nails, the inside of their hands, and the soles of their feet, with a deep orange colour, sometimes a rosy colour,‡

* The flesh of the buffalo is seldom eaten in the Levant: the milk is highly esteemed in Asia Minor and Syria, as well as in Egypt. A few buffaloes are killed in the winter at Aleppo; but the meat is dried or made into hams, and not eaten fresh. The salted tongues were formerly an article of trade.

† See page 23.

‡ The colour of the hennah or hinneh (see p. 26) is properly a roseate hue, bnt it afterwards changes, we believe, to an orange. The Author of Anastasius has the following note on the word: "Henna, a red juice extracted from a plant, with which the Egyp-

by means of henna. They likewise apply a black dye to their eye-lashes, eye-brows, and the hair of their head: * a brilliancy, it is supposed, is thus given to the eye, and the sight is improved. The women in general can neither read nor write, but the better sort are taught embroidery and ornamental needle-work, in which they mostly pass their time.

"The features of the Arab-Egyptian women are by no means regular. In general, the cheek-bones are high; the cheeks broad and flabby; the mouth large; the nose short, thick, and flat, though in some it is prominent; the eyes black, but wanting animation, owing in some measure to disease. The skin is of a disagreeable mulatto colour. The hair, which is commonly black, is matted, and often smeared with a stinking ointment: it is arranged in two or three divisions, and suffered to fall down the back.† At a

tians dye their women, and the Persians their horses." The custom is of high antiquity, and some of the mummies have been found with the finger-nails died with henna.

* The *kohol* (or *kohl*) used for this purpose, also called *surmeh*, is an almost impalpable black powder, and is used to tinge the eye-lids, under the idea that it strengthens the sight. Dr. Russell describes it as kind of lead ore. It is brought from Persia, and is so much in request, that the Oriental poets, in allusion to the instrument used in applying it, say, the mountains of Ispahan have been worn away with a bodkin."—RUSSELL'S *Aleppo*, vol. i. p. 367.

† The Egyptian bride of Anastasius, the daughter of a Mamlouk, is thus portrayed: "Properly steamed, jointed, and pumiced (at the bath), she next went through the labours of the toilet. Several hours were employed in twisting her hair into whipcord; in adding two hundred and fifty false plaits to the hundred and fifty which grew from her head; and in forming the joint mass into an edifice so ponderous, that a second head, merely for use, would have been very acceptable. A pair of eye-brows, sufficiently notable in themselves, were only dismissed the artificer's hands after being shaped into two exact semicircles; and a pair of eyes, expressive enough without foreign assistance, were not deemed to possess all their requisite powers, until framed in two black cases of *surmeh*. Henna,

distance, the long, flowing robe which covers them to the heels, though it may conceal deformity, seems, by the easiness of its drapery, to heighten their stature, and even to render their air graceful. Indeed, I have never seen any women who have displayed so much easiness of manner or so fine a carriage, being superior in this respect even to the women of Circassia. Probably, the elegance and dignity of their gait may arise from the habit of carrying every thing on their heads. They are taller, in general, than our European women. From their numerous and graceful gestures, I supposed their conversation might be pleasing in spite of the shrillness of their voices. As the army was passing through the villages, they mounted upon the house-tops, and made a confused noise like the cackling of cranes, which was interpreted to us as indicating wishes for our success."

The Ethiopian women brought to Egypt for sale, are described by Dr. Hume as exceedingly beautiful, though quite black; their features are regular, and their eyes are full of expression.* The Circassian women, on the contrary, disappointed him. They are brought to Egypt in great numbers, and are ex-

the symbol of joy, already most profusely lavished upon the epistles which communicated my marriage to my patron's numerous clients, but bestowed in still greater profusion on my bride's own plump and lustrous person, made it emulate the colour which I suppose Isis displayed, when doomed to roam through Egypt's plains in the undignified shape of a red cow····Like other plants kept carefully secluded from the sun, this prisoner of the harem certainly had a sickly, pallid hue. Bounded by its sable locks, her wan, colourless face might aptly be compared to the moon, surrounded by dark conglomerate clouds; but from the midst of this unvaried hue, her large, black, languishing eyes shot forth glances like lightning in a lurid sky."—Vol. ii. pp. 59, 62.

* The price of these women was from 60 to 100 dollars, while Arab women might be purchased at so low a price as ten.

posed to sale in different markets. * "Their beauty," he says, "did not equal what I had anticipated from the fineness of their skin. They were inclining to corpulence, their faces were round and inexpressive, but the neck, bosom, arms, and hands were of great fairness and delicacy. Some of the Coptic women," it is added, "are fair and beautiful. The features of a Copt are broader and more inclining to plumpness than those of the Arab. These people are certainly the most intelligent in Egypt, and are better educated than the Arabs."

This anomalous and equivocal race, the supposed descendants and representatives of the ancient Egyptians, have been very variously described. Volney remarks, in proof of their supposed descent, that we find them characterized by "a sort of yellowish dusky complexion, which is neither Grecian nor Arabian; a puffed visage, swoln eyes, flat noses, and thick lips; in short, the exact countenance of a mulatto." Malte Brun gives them "a darker complexion than the Arabs; † flat forehead; hair partaking of the woolly character; eyes large, and raised at the angles; short, though not flat nose; wide, unmeaning mouth, far from the nose; thick lips; a thin beard; ungraceful shape, bandy legs, and long, flat toes." Dr. Richardson, on the contrary, remarks that, "neither in their features nor in their complexion, have the Copts the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians represented in the tombs at Thebes or in any other part of Egypt;" and he supposes, with

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 386—400.

† This is clearly an error, whether chargeable on the Author or his Translator, we have not the means of ascertaining. Dr. Hume speaks of a Coptic lady at Cairo, who was remarkably fair as well as handsome.

great probability, that they are a mixed race, bearing in their physiognomy the marks of an alliance to the great Circassian family, and obviously distinguished from the children of Mizraim, the aboriginal Egyptians. The Nubians, on the other hand, who are found in the island of Elephantine, are described by the learned Traveller as "perfectly black, but without possessing the least of the negro feature; the lips small, the nose aquiline; the expression of countenance, sweet and animated; and bearing a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians." He also noticed "several families of a *third* race, differing both in complexion and in feature from the inhabitants of Assouan and of Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany; approaching nearer, both in feature and in complexion, to that which is called the head of the Young Memnon, and to the figures in the tomb at Biban-el-Melook, than any of the human race that ever fell under my observation. They are as different from the Copts in Egypt, both in hue and feature, as a Hindoo is from a Frenchman."* Upon the whole,

* Richardson, vol. i. pp. 90; 361. Speaking of the statues at Thebes, Dr. R. says: "The countenance is generally well executed, the lower eye-lid particularly delicate. The lips are generally fleshy and large, and approach considerably to those of the negro, as, in some, do also the nose and forehead: in others, and those by far the finest, excepting in the lips, there is not the slightest resemblance (to the negro) in the countenance, though a great deal both in the legs and the arms, the hands and the feet."—Vol. ii. p. 117. Volney cites a remarkable passage in Herodotus, to the effect, that he believed the Colchians to be an Egyptian colony, because, like them, they had black skin and frizzled hair. From which, the learned Frenchman jumps to the conclusion, that the Egyptians were real negroes, of the same species as all the natives of Africa, and that to the negro race we owe our arts and sciences, and even the use of

there seems every reason to believe that the ancient Egyptians were, as regards colour, blacks, although essentially distinguished in their physiognomy from the negro: and if so, the Copts can have little claim to be regarded as their descendants. That they are a mixed race, may be safely concluded, nor can there be any great difficulty in determining to what nation they bear the closest affinity. "How are we astonished," remarks Volney, "to behold the present barbarism and ignorance of the Copts, descended from the profound genius of the Egyptians and the brilliant imagination of the Greeks! On the one hand, the form of their letters and the greater part of their words, demonstrate that the Greek nation, during the thousand years it continued in Egypt, has left deep marks of its power and influence; but, on the other, the Coptic alphabet has five letters, and the language a number of words, which may be considered as the remains of the ancient Egyptian." Compared with other languages, it is said to exhibit some feeble indications of an ancient connexion with the Hebrew and the Ethiopian, while it has received a mixture of modern Arabic.* When it is recollected, however,

speech!! The fact is, that the African races differ not less widely than the Asiatic; and between the Ethiopian and the true negro, there is as wide an interval as between the Circassian and the Calmuck.

* Arabic is now the language of Egypt, while the Italian is much used both by Franks and Copts. The Coptic is for the most part a dead language, being understood by few, though used in the service of the Church. Malte Brun states, however, on the authority of a native Copt, that it is still commonly spoken in the town of Nagadeh. "Two dialects of this idiom, the Memphitic or Bahiritic, and the Saidic, are known to us by different religious books written in them; a third, the Bashmooric, has occasioned great discussions among philologists, and they are not yet agreed about its nature and origin."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 105.

that Greece was colonised from Egypt; that, under the Ptolemies, who repaired their temples, the Egyptians and the Greeks worshipped at the same altars; and that, subsequently to the establishment of Christianity, the two nations were still more closely blended by a common faith, till ecclesiastical jealousies produced a schism; the conclusion seems inevitable, that the Copt is in fact an Egyptian Greek, with not less Grecian blood in his veins, perhaps, than the Albanian Greek of the Morea or Hydra.

The Copts and the Jews are the general shopkeepers in Egypt. "The unhappy Israelites," says Dr. Hume, "sharing with the Christians the undisguised scorn and contempt of all ranks of Moslems, drag out a miserable existence. They are easily distinguished both from the Copt and the Arab, by their prominent nose and chin, and by being darker than the Copt, but not so dark as the Arab." They compete with the Copts, in the large towns, for situations in the customs, and as brokers and agents. The Turk, the Bedouin, and the Levantine claim no description in this place.

The peculiar interest attaching to the physical geography and history of this ancient land, has led us to detain the reader thus long with these preliminary details; but they have, perhaps, felt impatient to enter upon a topographical account of the country itself. This will properly commence with an account of its Christian capital, which once formed "the connecting link between the Egyptian and the Grecian world."

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

ALEXANDRIA.

"It may justly be said," remarks Norden, in commencing his description of this city in 1737, "that, in the new city of Alexandria, we find a poor orphan, whose sole inheritance has been the venerable name of its father. The vast extent of the ancient city is contracted, in the new, to a little neck of land between the two ports. The most superb temples are changed into plain mosques; the most magnificent palaces into houses of a bad structure; the royal seat is become a prison for slaves; an opulent and numerous people has given way to a little number of foreign traders and to a multitude of wretches that are the servants of those on whom they depend. A place formerly so famous for the extent of its commerce, is no longer any thing more than a mere place of embarking. In fine, it is not a phœnix that revives from its own ashes: it is, at most, a reptile sprung from the dirt, the dust, and corruption with which the Koran has infected the whole country." *

This description is rather too darkly coloured. Although reduced to a population of 16,000 souls, Alexandria, prior to the French invasion, still carried on a considerable trade, being the emporium for all the commerce between Egypt and Constantinople, Leghorn, Venice, and Marseilles. † Its appearance, indeed, is most melancholy and wretched, resembling, at a distance, according to one traveller, with its ruins and grey, flat-roofed houses, a town laid

* Norden's Travels, by Templeman, folio, p. 23.

† Malte Brun. "Except," says Volney, "the rice of Damietta.

waste by the enemy. On one side of the city extends the desert which leads to Rosetta, and on the other, the great desert of Barca. "With the exception of some solitary palms, which look like insulated pillars, no trace of vegetation is perceived on the coast. The ancient city lies in rubbish. The enemy has levelled its towers, and broken down its walls; and the wind from the desert has laid it under a load of sand; so that scarcely a single fragment that appears can be referred to its own original."

The small sandy stripe of land on which the modern town is built, and which forms the double harbour, partly consists of the artificial mound by which, in the time of the Ptolemies, the Island of Pharos was joined to the continent. The old or western port, anciently called Eunostus and the port of Africa, has much deeper water than the eastern, or port of Asia: but the Turks admit no Christian vessels to enter it, and it is scarcely ever used, except by the grain-boats from Rosetta, which come close up to the mole, and lie there in security. The entrance is covered by a neck of land called *Ras-el-teen* (the cape of figs), and is difficult of access, and has been in part filled up by the Turks, the ballast of vessels having been continually thrown into it for the last two hundred years. The new port is a mere roadstead, much exposed to the north winds, and is so clogged up with sand, that, in stormy weather, ships are liable to bilge, and, losing their cables, to drive against each other, or to dash against the mole.* The changes which the coast has undergone, have, probably, materially affected the

* Of this, Volney mentions a fatal instance which occurred about eighteen years before he wrote, when two and forty vessels were dashed to pieces on the mole in a gale from the N.W.; and numbers have since been lost at different times.

safety of this harbour.* Yet still Alexandria, says Sir Robert Wilson, "must be pronounced the key to Egypt, although insulated by water and desert from the surrounding country, since in its harbour alone, security can be found for shipping of any burden throughout the year. The flat, shoaly coast of Egypt, and the boisterous weather, will not admit of vessels riding in safety any where else." † Unless, however, it were completely insulated by the sea, (a project which is represented to be very feasible,) the city must always remain very much exposed to surprise from an invading force; and as the supply of water is liable to be cut off, it can never be made available as a military position. ‡ It is only by the canal which conveys the waters of the Nile into the reservoirs in the time of inundation, Volney remarks, that Alexandria can be considered as connected with Egypt. From its situation without the Delta, § and the nature of its soil, it really belongs to the Libyan desert; and we do not

* "The ancient promontory, the situation of the modern Pharillon, has been worn lower and destroyed by the waves; and its ruins have been carried into the interior of the harbour, where the vessels have long been in the habit of discharging their ballast."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 65. "It will, perhaps, be asked," says Volney, "why they do not repair the New Port. The answer is, that, in Turkey, they destroy every thing, and repair nothing."

† Wilson's Egypt, p. 247.

‡ "The whole city almost is hollowed, and has subterraneous canals reaching to the Nile, by which water is conveyed into private houses, where, by degrees, it grows clear, and lets fall a sediment. This, the owners of houses and their families are wont to make use of; for what is brought directly by the river Nile is so muddy and foul, that it occasions many and various diseases; but the common people are obliged to be content with it, as there is no fountain in the whole city."—CÆSAR'S *Commentaries*, cited in Norden, p. 2, *note*.

§ Alexandria is about 12 miles W. of the Canopic branch of the Nile; in lat. 31° 12′ N.; long. 30° 18′ E.

really enter Egypt till we arrive at Rosetta, where the sands peculiar to Africa terminate, and the black, fat, and loamy soil, the distinguishing characteristic of Egypt, begins. The environs of Alexandria are flat, sandy, and sterile, without trees and without houses, the only vegetation consisting of the *kali*, and the palm-trees which grow on the banks of the canal.

In this dreary tract, now presenting the aspect of hideous barrenness and desolation, once stood the second city, in rank, in the Christian world. According to Pliny, it was about fifteen miles in circuit, and contained a population of 300,000 citizens, and at least as many slaves. From the gate of the sea, ran one magnificent street, 2,000 feet broad, the whole length of the city, to the Canopic gate; commanding a view, at each end, of the shipping, either in the Mediterranean or in the Mareotic lake. Another street of equal length intersected this at right angles. The suburb of Nicopolis extended along the sea-shore: it took its name from the victory gained by Octavius Cæsar over Antony, and in time rose to a considerable town. The city also spread along the southern shores of the Lake Mareotis. A spacious circus was formed without the Canopic gate for chariot-races; and on the east, there was a splendid gymnasium more than 600 feet in length. The air of Alexandria was anciently deemed so salubrious, that Celsus mentions it as a common practice with physicians, to send their consumptive patients thither; and Quintus Curtius praises the serenity of the climate.* The banks of the lake were formerly celebrated for their vineyards, which produced the excellent wine mentioned by the

* "*Nullo fere die Alexandriæ solem serenum non videri propter aërem perpetuo ibi tranquillum.*"—Cited by Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 124.

Roman poets.* It is very evident that, through the neglect of the canal and the conversion of the *Palus Mareotis* into a marsh, the country must have undergone a very material change; and the sands have gained upon the cultivable soil, in proportion to the disappearance of the vegetation and the diminished moisture of the atmosphere. Van Egmont states, indeed, that, along the sides of the canal, there were, in his time, several cultivated spots covered with verdure during the whole winter, and that they might easily obtain, by irrigation, a sufficient quantity of land to repay them for keeping the canals and trenches in repair.† Even here, the appearance of the country evidently undergoes a considerable variation according to the season. Captain Light, who landed at Alexandria in February (1814), says: "The season of the year in which I arrived, is the most agreeable to Europeans. The country outside the gate of the outer walls leading to Rosetta, was green as far as the Lake Mareotis, and part, in the neighbourhood of Aboukir, cultivated. The wild flowers growing among the grass spread a delightful fragrance." ‡

At the time that Alexandria submitted to the general of Omar, it consisted, according to the Arabian geographers, of three distinct towns; Menna, or the

* "*Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.*"—HORACE, Car. i. 37. So Virgil, (Georg. ii.):

"*Sunt Thasiæ vites, sunt et Mareotides albæ.*"

The Mareotic wines are also praised by Columella, Athenæus, and Strabo.

† Van Egmont's Travels, vol. ii. p. 138. This Traveller goes so far as to speak of the country bordering on the canal as "very beautiful, and tolerably cultivated by the inhabitants of Alexandria;" a statement which would seem to be as much overcharged on the one side, as the representation of Volney on the other

‡ Light's Travels, p. 6.

Port, Nekita (Nicopolis), and Scanderia, the city properly so called. In the report made to the khalif by the Saracen general, it is stated to have contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or public edifices, and 12,000 shops, with a population which may be estimated from its including 40,000 Jews. From that period it gradually decayed; yet, if the statement of Eutychius may be depended upon, that, at the beginning of the tenth century, 200,000 of the inhabitants perished in one year, it must still have retained an immense population.* In the thirteenth century, its commerce had somewhat revived; but the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, towards the close of the fifteenth century, finally destroyed its commercial greatness.

The modern town is thus described by Dr. Richardson, who visited Egypt, in company with Earl Belmore, in 1816–18. "Alexandria is surrounded with a high stone wall, entered by four gates, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants.† The streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. The houses are from three to four stories high, strong and substantial, but of a remarkably dull appearance, from their having few windows to the streets. The bazars are few, but are amply provided with cloth, tobacco, sherbet, and vegetables. The wharf presents an active scene of ships building, vessels taking in their cargoes, with heaps of grain and bales of goods piled up along the shore. But the European stranger is particularly

* See Ency. Metrop., *art.* Alexandria.

† See page 59, where a smaller estimate is given, but which does not include foreigners. The variations in the estimates, from 5,000 to 20,000, may be attributed partly to the constant influx of strangers, and still more to the devastations of the plague. Turks, Copts, and Jews, form the basis of the stationary population.

struck with the crowds of naked porters that ply their busy task, and the swarms of horrid beggars that constantly importune him and harrow up his feelings. During the season of filling the cisterns (September), the traveller can hardly stop for a moment without being jostled by a leathern bag of water, hanging on the lank sides of a raw-boned camel, towering along in her majestic pace to deposit it in the reservoirs. One troop after another occupies the streets during the whole of the day. Crowds of human beings, half naked, parade the streets also, with leathern sacks full of water, suspended from their shoulders, and resting upon their naked back and breast. Sometimes, with a cup in their hands, they call upon you to purchase a draught; at other times, they pass quietly on and deposit their burden in the reservoir, along with their fellow-labourers the camels." *

The reader will not be displeased to have the picture filled up by some additional touches from a female pencil.

"It would be difficult to express the sensations which I experienced when, for the first time, I passed through the streets of Alexandria. It would require the talents of a Hogarth to paint all the various scenes of this magic lantern. What bustle, what confusion is in these narrow streets, continually blocked up with an innumerable multitude of camels, mules, and asses! The cries of the drivers, incessantly calling to the passengers to take care of their naked feet; the vociferations and grimaces of the jugglers; the splendid costumes of the Turkish functionaries; the picturesque habit of the Bedouins, their long beards, and the grave and regular countenances of the Arabs; the nudity of

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. pp. 22—25.

some Santons, round whom the crowd throngs; the multitude of negro slaves; the howlings of the female mourners accompanying some funeral procession, tearing their hair and beating their breasts, by the side of the noisy train of a marriage; the cries of the *muezzins* from the tops of the minarets, summoning the people to prayers; lastly, the afflicting picture of wretches dying with misery and want, and troops of savage dogs * which pursue and harass you:—all this, every moment, arrests the progress and attracts the attention of the astonished traveller. The Franks at Alexandria, as in all the other towns in the East, occupy a distinct quarter. The street of the Franks, which is the finest and largest in this city, is also much less noisy than the others. The houses, though built in the fashion of the Levant, have, notwithstanding, a European appearance which we do not meet with any where else in Egypt. † The other streets are very narrow, and full of coffee-houses and bazars.

"The European merchants established here, complain much, and with reason, of the present state of

* The dogs in Egypt are very numerous, and many hundreds were shot by the French in different towns. They are very savage at Alexandria, being, according to Dr. Hume, a mixture of the dog and the jackal; they are of a light sandy colour.

† "About twenty foreign merchants (1814) inhabit the Frank *okellahs;* a word derived from *el kalaat*, a castle, and well applied, as they are buildings generally of considerable size, built in a square, enclosed by the four sides of the *okellah*, to which there is only one entrance. Thus, the communication is quickly cut off with the town in case of plague; and in any sudden tumult of the Mohammedan population, is easily barricaded. Formerly, the okellahs contained the consulates of the foreign nations trading with Alexandria: they were held sacred by the Turks, and afforded shelter to criminals and others who fled to them for protection. There were only two English houses of commerce at Alexandria." LIGHT'S *Travels*, 4to, p. 6.

affairs: the commerce is entirely in the hands of the Pasha. Society at Alexandria offers but very few resources; yet, some pleasure might be found in it from the considerable number of European inhabitants and the frequent arrival of travellers, if there were more harmony among the persons of whom it is composed; but so many different interests, joined to all the gossiping of a little country town, do not render an abode in this city very attractive." *

Were there, indeed, no other drawback on the pleasures of a residence in Alexandria, the insalubrity of the air would be sufficient to deter most persons from taking up their abode here from choice. From the constant action of the sun upon the naked rock

* "Recollections of Egypt by the Baroness Von Minutoli," 12mo, pp. 5—13. At the time this lady visited Egypt with her husband (1820), the leading personages, as enumerated by her, were: M. Drovetti, *ci-devant* French consul-general, and collector of the "Royal Egyptian Museum at Turin," which he sold to his Sardinian Majesty for 400,000 francs. Mr. Salt, the British consul-general. M. Boghos (or Boghos Yousouf), first dragoman to the Pasha, and minister of commerce, descended from an ancient Armenian family of Smyrna: all business, presentations, and orders pass through his hands, and he receives a 30th on the exports of merchandize. M. Anastasi, a Greek, the Swedish consul, and a collector of antiquities. M. Boghti, a Levantine educated at Rome, consul-general of Sweden: it is said to be by his advice, that the Pasha has introduced several European institutions, manufactures, cotton-spinning, &c. Probably, the state of society at Alexandria had undergone some change since Captain Light visited it in 1814, or it may vary with the season. His account is as follows: "The Frank society at Alexandria holds a medium between Eastern and European manners. Visits are always ended by the introduction of coffee, which the visiter is to consider as a hint that it is time for him to go. The carnival is celebrated; balls are given; and I found *coteries* and *commerages* usual in confined circles. The meals are taken, as in southern Europe, at mid-day, and followed by a supper at nine o'clock····The peace and order of the city are improved by its change of masters, owing to the strictness and severity of the Pasha."—LIGHT'S *Travels*, p. 9.

and sand, the air is generally hot and sultry; and when the heats decline, the plague begins, and rages more or less for nearly nine months out of the twelve.* Nor is that which bears the name of plague by way of pre-eminence, the only one. Swarms of winged enemies, the flies by day, the mosquitoes by night, wage perpetual war upon the inhabitants, and recal the memory of Pharaoh's punishment.† It was thought that the reproduction of the Lake would materially promote the healthiness of Alexandria, the insalubrity of the air being attributed chiefly to the stagnant water in the marshes. The representations of the most recent travellers afford, however, no ground for supposing that it has had the effect anticipated.‡

The site of the ancient city, which is to the south

* In 1813, 7000 persons are stated to have been carried off by the plague, out of a population previously estimated at 12,000.—See LIGHT'S *Travels*, p. 6. In 1821, the Baroness Minutoli states (p. 253), "notwithstanding the precautions taken by the Europeans, one-third of the *Christian* inhabitants were carried off." The proportion of the other inhabitants who fell victims to its ravages, must have been much more considerable.

† "The most strange, the most disgusting sight in Alexandria, is this—the eyes and mouths of all the children are literally embanked with flies. Their mouths are beset as if they were the mouths of honey-bottles; their eyes are too filthy for description." HENNIKER'S *Notes*, p. 16.

‡ Captain Light states, that the division between the Lake Mareotis and that of Aboukir, has been repaired by the Turks, and an attempt made to prevent the passage of the water into the former; but the measures taken were insufficient. The sea still passes through, and forms an expanse of shallow water, which the evaporation by the sun changes into salt, of which great quantities are collected on the banks. The causeway separating the two lakes is defended by a single gun; and a guard under a *bouluk-bashi* is stationed near it, in a wooden building half in ruins."—LIGHT'S *Travels*, p. 13.

of the present town, presents an immense field of confused ruins: over a space of from six to seven miles in circuit, is spread an assemblage of broken columns, obelisks, and shapeless masses of architecture, rising frequently to a greater height than the surrounding houses. Here, amid the heaps of rubbish, surrounded by gardens planted with the orange, the citron, and the palm, are seen some churches, mosques, and monasteries, and three small clusters of dwellings, formerly three towns, one of which is surrounded with a wall, and is called the Fort. Traces are discernible of ancient streets in straight lines; and some ruins of colonnades mark the sites of palaces. One of the obelisks called Cleopatra's Needle, alone stands erect amid the wide-spread devastation. The greater part of this area is surrounded with a high and double wall, which has generally been supposed to be the work of the Saracens; while M. Malte Brun imagines that it marks the dimensions of the ancient city, and ascribes it to the Romans.* Ruins, however, extend

* "The Commission of the French seemed to regard this enclosure as the work of the Arabians. Such also is the opinion of Niebuhr, Wansleb, and the greater number of travellers. Pococke, however, thinks that the Arabians built only the inner wall; and Baron de Tott believes that nothing about it is modern except some local reparations. To us, this enclosure appears precisely to represent the space of 30 *stadia* in length, and 10 in breadth, which Strabo assigns as the dimensions of the city of Alexander and the Ptolemies. Only that part of the wall which extends from the Rosetta-gate towards the Roman tower in a direction from E.S.E. to W.N.W. seems to pass through the ancient quarter of Bruchium, which, filled with palaces and monuments, extended quite round the New Harbour. Might not this part of the wall be the work of Caracalla? Even the forts which exist to the north and south of the ancient city, seem to be those erected by that tyrant. We also think that many of the ruins date from the epoch of the capture of the city by the cruel Aurelian."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 66. Norden remarks, that the walls are not, through-

on every side far beyond this enclosure. For a lively and picturesque description of this impressive scene, we are indebted to a traveller to whom we shall have frequent occasion to acknowledge our obligations.

"Impatient to explore the venerable ground, we landed at an early hour, and having passed through the Khan, where a herd of hungry camels were baiting, we mounted our asses, passed without the gate of the city, and entered immediately on the field of ruins. Before us, in the centre of the scene, enlivened by a few spreading palms, stood a Greek and a Capuchin convent, with a buffalo turning a water-wheel; a round column rose on our right, and a tall obelisk on our left; but, excepting these, all was height alternating with hollow, mound rising over mound, with, here and there, the end of a beautiful column, or the angle of an enormous stone, cropping out, to break the continuity of the drifted sand, unconsolidated by aught of vegetable growth.

"We directed our course to the gate of the Capuchin convent, where we found the superior, a venerable old man, a native of Genoa, passing here under the name of Padre Carlo, who politely offered to shew us the site of the celebrated church of St. Athanasius. It lies to the N.E. of the convent, and is quite contiguous. The bases of many columns of ordinary magnitude marked the remains of an extensive edifice; but, if fragments of colossal grandeur exist, they are all buried in the sand. He said, that the French had

out, of the same breadth, height, or construction. "Some may be about 20 feet thick, while others are more or less; their height reaches to 30 or 40 feet. The wall near the obelisk had, on the inside, a wall almost in the same taste as that which we see in the enclosure of the palace of Aurelian at Rome."—p. 6. He concludes, however, from the marbles built into the walls, that they were erected by the Saracens.

made excavations in the site of this celebrated cathedral, and had discovered something of great value, but his memory did not serve him to state what it was; not even though the word sarcophagus was whispered in his ear. Close by lay three highly-finished columns of syenite, or large-grained Egyptian granite, which probably formed part of the same building. The reverend Cicerone, however, informed me, that these belonged to the baths of Cleopatra, to whom, I afterwards found, every thing is attributed, of which the real owner is unknown. . . . . Continuing the route which the friar had pointed out, I came to the Persian wheel, which was drawn by two buffaloes, and raised water to fill the cisterns for the supply of the city. This can be done only once a-year, and but for a short time, when the Nile is at its height; but the cisterns, being then filled, are sufficient to supply the city with excellent water all the year round. The same was the case with ancient Alexandria; and the same cisterns which held the water for the ancient city, also contain it for the modern. A great part of Alexandria stood upon arches, under which the cisterns were formed: these arches still exist, and are stated to be partly Greek and partly Roman.* Continuing the

* See note at page 182. Pococke mentions these cisterns as the most extraordinary remains of ancient Alexandria. They are thus described by Van Egmont. "We next visited some of the reservoirs or cisterns, which are extended under the greater part of the ancient city. You enter them through the apertures made in the walls. They are all covered with arches supported by pillars. The form and architecture of them are very curious; but they are not all of the same dimensions. One of them was remarkably capacious, and its arched ceiling is supported by 14 pillars. Others we saw, which consisted of three ranges of arches one above another, after the manner of the ancient aqueducts. But the greater part of these cisterns rested on pillars, so that old Alexandria might have been said to be built on pillars. These cisterns had formerly

route, I came in a few minutes to two beautiful obelisks that once adorned the palace of the Ptolemies. One still stands erect; the other lies prostrate; but both are entire, except a small disintegration from the action of the weather on the side towards the south-east. They are covered with hieroglyphics on every side: the tablets refer them to the temples and statues in Heliopolis and Thebes. They are about 64 feet high, and 8 feet square at the base. The one that lies prostrate, is mounted on props, and seems as if prepared for a journey: accident alone has prevented its being in England.*

"Having surveyed the obelisks, I regained the beaten track, and pursued my way to the Rosetta gate, along what seemed to have been the principal street. On each side lay rows of stately columns of marble, all overturned. These are probably the remains of that magnificent colonnade that passed between the gates of the sun and moon, adorning each side of the principal street. In the numerous excavations, I observed many deep foundations, arches, and walls of what had been stately buildings; but could not be

pipes or conduits, by which they communicated, and through which the water flowed from one to another; but at present, the greater part of these conduits are stopped up, and many of the cisterns themselves are ruined by the falling in of the arches over them. Other cisterns are also frequently found here by digging, and the discoverer is entitled to a reward."—VAN EGMONT'S Travels, vol. ii. p. 134.

* According to Dr. Clarke, an order preventing the sailors from assisting in the work, defeated the attempt to remove it.—Travels, (8vo.) vol. v. p. 345, note. He makes it 66 feet long, and 7 feet square at the base. They are of red granite; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the feldspar, the red colour on the surface has faded. Norden conjectures, that they are more ancient than Alexandria, and were brought here from Memphis.

certain in referring any of them to structures of particular note. A little way to the right of our path, two mounds stand pre-eminent, distinguished from the others by their magnitude alone. Thither I was directing my course, but the *bourichieri* informed me, that these were two Turkish forts, and must not be approached. The largest, from its commanding situation and distance from the great harbour, is probably the successor of the *Panium Turbinatum*, from the summit of which the whole town was distinctly visible. The military eye might suspect their present use; but the ordinary observer would not find any thing in their appearance to deter his approach.

"Passing out by the Rosetta gate, and turning to the left, I proceeded over the ruins towards the Lochian promontory. The palace, which occupied about one-third of the town, stretched along in this direction. The hollow sound beneath our feet indicated the nature of the mounds over which we were passing; and the sand which had poured down in several places, opened a vista into large subterraneous chambers, which it was impossible to examine without much excavation. Detached masses of stone and lime, and brick and lime, of Roman manufacture, lay around in great confusion; and all along this eastern side of the Great Harbour, ruined houses are seen extending a great way into the sea, which were probably merged under the surface of the water, at the time of the fatal earthquake in which Alexandria lost 50,000 of her citizens. The island of Antirrhodos, that lay in front of the harbour, memorable for the *Timonium* of Mark Anthony, and other buildings, is no where to be seen: it is reported to have been washed away, but, most probably, disappeared in the same dreadful

catastrophe. Stretching on to the point of the harbour, there is a small Turkish fort, occupying the site of the little Pharos; but it is now deserted and in ruins.

"Retracing my steps, I passed by the Rosetta gate, and proceeded round the ancient walls of the town, which are equally buried in sand with the houses which they surrounded, and are known only by their sudden and precipitous rise from the adjacent ground. Having travelled about a mile without meeting with anything worthy of notice, I passed by a low part in the wall, and came into a large open square, probably the Gymnasium: it is covered with sand, and surrounded on all sides with high mounds. Adjoining it, on the north-west, rises the majestic column which, now that the inscription has been read, we must call Diocletian's pillar. It is elevated upon a pedestal about twelve feet high, which is much injured. The shaft is round, and rises to about the height of 90 feet.* It is surmounted with a Corinthian capital of about 10 feet. The column is one block of large-grained granite, the same as that found at Essouan: it is nine feet in diameter, with a perceptible *entesis*, without hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut, and very little injured by the effects of time.

"About a mile to the west of the column, and without the walls of the ancient city, are the Catacombs, nearly in as ruinous a condition as the city whose dead they were intended to receive. The real entrance to these subterranean abodes is unknown: the present entrance passes off from the sea, like the entrance into a grotto. On arriving at the spot, we paused in the narrow passage to light our torches, and to perform the

* Eighty-eight feet nine inches, according to Pococke, "that is, about ten diameters of the column."

customary prelusive ceremony of firing off a musket, as well as the more uncommon one of sounding a bugle-horn, to announce to the jackals and bats, the disgusting tenants of these abodes, that they were about to be visited by human beings. Then, each of us being armed with a lighted candle, preceded by our guide, we crawled along on our hands and feet for about twenty yards under the horizontal stratum of calcareous rock. The first chamber that we entered into, was about ten feet square, and rather low in the roof: it contained a number of bones, and was pervaded by a damp, unwholesome smell. The next chamber that we entered, was larger and higher in the roof, contained many more bones, and sarcophagi cut in the side of the floor for the reception of the dead, and was equally damp with the first. The third chamber was half full of sand, and shewed the entrance into a fourth, which may be called the state-chamber: the door was adorned with Doric pilasters and a pediment, in the centre of which was a coarse half-finished globe, surmounted with a crescent. This chamber is round, with three recesses, one fronting the door, and one on each hand: it contained no bones, no sarcophagi, and very little sand. The other chambers that we entered, were so choked up with sand, that we frequently, moved on in contact with the ceiling. As there was nothing to be discovered here without immense labour, we soon became tired of crawling over sand without any object to animate the pursuit, and, retracing our way, regained the open air without having been regaled with the sight of a jackal or the flutter of a bat.

"The form of these chambers, the doors, pilasters, and stone troughs, shew them to be entirely Grecian. In size and proportion, they are fully equal to the

Egyptian catacombs in other parts of the country; but, in the fitting up and decorations, or even the preservation, they are not to be named in comparison with the latter. All along the shore of this western harbour are many sepulchres of inconsiderable note; some of them under the rock, many that are merely cut into it, and open to the air, and many covered with water under the level of the sea. Many baths were also exhibited to us in this quarter, which were named, as usual, the Baths of Cleopatra; they are small, incommodious, and of difficult entrance; and those that we were shewn, are of a description far too inferior to countenance the supposition that they had ever been used as baths by that luxurious queen, or any of her royal predecessors. Their exposed and dreary situation, by the margin of the tombs, rather points them out as the common baths for the plebeian multitude of the luxurious Alexandrians.

"The celebrated light-house that occupied the extremity of the western side of the Great Harbour, is now succeeded by an insignificant fortress; and on that spot whence a hospitable ray once issued to invite the industrious mariner to anchor in a peaceful harbour, a sullen Mussulman now smokes his pipe, and, looking from the embrasures, insults the Christian, and turns him from the gate with disdain." *

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. pp. 13—22. "That which they call the great Pharillon," says Norden, "has in the middle a little tower, the summit of which terminates in a lanthorn, that they light up every night, but which does not give much light, as the lamps are ill-supplied. This castle has been built upon the Island of Pharos, which it occupies so entirely, that, if there are still some remains of that marvel of the world that Ptolemy had caused to be erected there, they continue concealed from the curious. It is the same with regard to the other castle, known under the name of the Little Pharillon."

To this general survey it will be necessary to add a few particulars gathered from other travellers.

Dr. E. D. Clarke speaks of the Catacombs in terms of much warmer admiration. "Nothing so marvellous," he says, "ever fell within our observation. The *Cryptæ* of Jerusalem, Tortosa, Jebilee, Laodicea, and Telmessus are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive." He supposes them to be of earlier antiquity than the foundation of the Macedonian capital, and to have been the necropolis of the more ancient city of Racotis. That which Dr. Richardson speaks of as "the state chamber," is described by this Traveller as a chamber "of a circular form, surmounted with a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock with exquisite perfection;" and having transformed the globe and crescent into "an orb with wings," he supposes that this symbol denoted the circular shrine within, to be no other than the Serapeum of Racotis, alluded to by Tacitus, where the mysterious rites of the *Sol Inferus*, the Egyptian lord of Hades, were celebrated.* He appears to have pushed his researches further, indeed, than the former Traveller. "We endeavoured," he says, "to penetrate further towards the S.W. and S., and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in these directions;

* Clarke's Travels, 8vo. vol. v. pp. 382; 392. A winged globe with a crescent under it, is found sculptured at Kermanshah in Persia. (Note from de Sacy in Walpole's Mem., p. 376.) The crescent is seen in the drawing of Mr. Davison, and was noticed by Colonel Squire as well as by Dr. Richardson; but no traveller, except Dr. Clarke, appears to have seen the wings. That Racotis was in ruins before the building of Alexandria, is proved by Jablonski from several ancient authorities, the references to which Dr. Clarke has given. The words of Jablonski are: "*Nam Racotis, quæ postea nonnisi suburbium Alexandriæ fuit, diu ante urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illic steterat.*"

but the labour of the research was excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the south-west side corresponded to those towards the north-east. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the central and circular shrine towards the north-west; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed Serapeum and the main outlet towards the sea. Here, the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Further on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the *Katagogai* mentioned by Strabo for embalming the dead, or chambers belonging to the priests. In the front is a kind of *vestibulum* or porch; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain precisely the nature of the excavation towards the main entrance, from the manner in which it is now choked up with earth and rubbish."*

Neither of these travellers makes any mention of a remarkable circumstance observed by Mr. Davison, who explored these Catacombs in 1763. "Some of the apartments," he informs us, "are ornamented with paintings. These are so much injured by time, that little can be distinguished; but there are yet one or two figures of men to be seen, which, although defaced, sufficiently shew they have been the work of no great master." The mouth of each mummy's hole has a cornice round it; and over one of them was

* Vol. v. pp. 393, 4. Dr. Clarke has given a ground-plan of these Catacombs as surveyed by the French, which would give the idea that the whole had been explored in every direction. No explanation is given of the *data* upon which it has been constructed.

found a Greek inscription marked in red: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ: ΧΡ. CTE ΧΑΙΡΕ. In some places, Mr. Davison says, the Catacombs are no fewer than *three stories one below another*. In a niche in one of the apartments, there is a statue, but greatly defaced.* From all these circumstances, taken in connexion with the Doric ornaments over the doors of some of the sepulchres, the general distribution of the chambers, and their resemblance in form to those of Milo, there seems reason to conclude, Mr. Walpole thinks, that this repository for the dead was completed about the time that Alexandria was built. "All catacombs," remarks the learned Editor, "were originally quarries, whence materials were extracted for some neighbouring city. The rock was afterwards formed into crypts and receptacles for the dead. The extent and magnificence of these sepulchral chambers at Alexandria, are well worthy of a city distinguished for its great wealth and populousness, and described by Diodorus as *επιφανεστατη*, Most Illustrious. Over one of the doors, there appears, in a drawing by Mr. Davison, the symbol of the globe, so frequent in Egyptian monuments; but we cannot be surprised to find this in the necropolis of Alexandria. An intermixture of Greek and Egyptian rites and ceremonies, religious usages, and language, became very common under the Ptolemies in Egypt; and about the time of Alexander and his first successors, the Athenians, and probably other Greek states, began to shew a religious regard to Isis in employing her name in adjurations. As soon as the custom of burning bodies ceased in the different parts of the Roman empire, (after the time of Theodosius,) the Pagans buried their dead in catacombs; but in Egypt, the

* Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey, pp. 370—2.

practice of placing them in such repositories, must have been at all times more frequent than that of burning, on account of the scarcity of wood in that country. The paintings in the Catacombs, which appeared to Mr. Davison to be of ordinary execution, probably belong to the period when the arts were declining, and might have been the works of the Pagan inhabitants of the city in the sixth century; for, at that time, paganism was not altogether abolished, as we learn from a curious passage (describing the Adonian Festival) in Cyril. It is probable, that these Catacombs have also been, in Alexandria, the place of resort for Christians, where, as in the crypts of Italy, they celebrated the *Agapæ*; but none of the Christian symbols, the palm-branch, the monogram of XP, or other devices similar to those found in the cemeteries of Italy, appear in the tombs of Alexandria. In some of the paintings found on the walls, the ornament of the festoon (the παγκαρπιος στεφανος) is very clearly traced."* The further investigation of this subterranean labyrinth seems highly desirable.

"Pompey's Pillar," as it was till lately called by the Franks, is another ancient remain which has employed a great deal of discussion; and Mr. Walpole contends, that it is not a misnomer, although the Pompey whose name it bears, was not the person to whose honour it was erected, but the prefect who raised it. "Pompeius was governor of part of Lower Egypt in the time of Diocletian. He may have been

* Walpole's Memoirs, p. 376; to which the reader is referred for the authorities. One of the catacombs at El Karjeh in the Great Oasis, has evidently been used as a Christian church, Sir A. Edmonstone says, as appears from the traces of saints painted on the wall. He supposes them to be originally of Roman construction.—EDMONSTONE'S *Journey*, p. 108.

governor of Alexandria, and there have raised that pillar in honour of that emperor. This information respecting a prefect in Egypt, of the name of Pompey, in the time of Diocletian, which we owe entirely to M. Quatremère, is a remarkable corroboration of the opinion of those who think the pillar was raised in honour of Diocletian by a magistrate of the name of Pompeius."* Dr. Clarke, however, by supplying the *hiatus* differently, would read, instead of ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑ-ΝΟΝ, ΔΙΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ, and Postumus instead of Pompeius; and he thus renders the whole inscription: "Postumus, Prefect of Egypt, and the people of the Metropolis, (honour) the most revered emperor, the protecting divinity of Alexandria, the divine Hadrian Augustus." Pococke thought the pillar to have been probably erected in honour of Titus or Hadrian, and the latter emperor was certainly better entitled to the gratitude of the Alexandrians, than Diocletian. But the majority of voices is in favour of the former reading.†

* Walpole, p. 375, *note*.

† Sicard, as cited by Brotier, declared the fourth letter in the name to be N., and supposed it to be that of Dionysius Ptolemæus. On the other hand, Col. Leake gives the word Diocletian as the result of the examination made by himself, Mr. Hamilton, and Col. Squire. The re-discovery of the inscription was first made by the latter gentleman; for the members of the French Institute, and every traveller since Pococke, supposed it to be lost. Volney, following Savary, calls it the Column of Severus; a mistake which appears to have arisen from its bearing the name, among the Arabs and Syrians, of *Awmood Issaweer*, or, as Mr. Walpole says, it is called in some of the Arabic writers, *Amood al Sawary*; which he interprets, Pillar of the Colonnades, "alluding to the porticoes with which it was surrounded so late as the time of Saladin at the beginning of the twelfth century." M. Malte Brun, referring to MM. Langles and De Sacy as his authorities, says: "It is the great column which served as the principal ornament of the famous Serapeum, a vast building consecrated to the worship of an Egyptian

"As for the column itself," says Dr. Clarke, "the shaft is of much earlier antiquity than either the capital or the pedestal." Denon, after describing it as consisting of a very clumsy pedestal, a very fine shaft, and a Corinthian capital of bad workmanship,* adds: "If the shaft of this column once belonged to an ancient edifice, it is an evidence of its magnificence and of the skill with which it was executed.....The earth about the foundations of the pillar having been cleared away, two fragments of an obelisk of white marble have been added to the original base, to render it more solid. Excavations made round this column would, no doubt, afford some information as to its origin. The shaking of the earth, and the form it takes on treading on it, seem to attest that these researches would not be fruitless. They would perhaps discover the base and *atrium* of the portico to which this column belonged. Fragments of columns of the same substance and diameter are found in the vicinity, and the shaking of the earth indicates the destruction of great edifices buried beneath, the forms of which may be distinguished on the surface; such as a square of a considerable size, and a large circus, the principal dimensions of which may be measured, notwithstanding it is covered with sand and ruins."†

divinity, and which, after the destruction of the Museum of the Ptolemies, became the receptacle of the Alexandrine library and the resort of men of letters. Here, as in a place of safety, Caracalla feasted his eyes with the massacre of the people of Alexandria; a circumstance which, added to many others, leads us to think, that both the Serapeum and the Circus were situated in a suburb without the walls of the ancient city." See Clarke's Travels, vol. v. pp. 350, 359—366. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 375, *note*. Light's Travels, p. 5. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 67.

* Dr. Shaw remarks, that the foliage of the capital is badly executed.

† Denon's Travels by Aikin, vol. i. pp. 96—9.

The artificial foundation upon which this immense pile rests, forms not the least remarkable part of the monument. Denon represents it to be "an obelisk sunk in the earth;"* while Dr. Clarke describes it as sustained upon "a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by Paul Lucas, although positively contradicted by Norden." Pococke describes the foundation as "built of several stones in the nature of two plinths, of two tiers of stone, the lower setting out four inches beyond the upper, as that sets out a foot beyond the plinth that is over it." But he admits that the main weight of the pillar probably rests upon the central stone. Dr. Shaw says: "A great part of the foundation, which is made up of several different parts of stone and marble, hath been removed, in expectation, as may be supposed, of finding a treasure.† At present,

* Mr. Davison gives the same account of it. Having removed some of the stones (Feb. 16, 1764), he found "the pivot of *five* feet square on which the pillar rests," to be covered with hieroglyphics, inverted; and, "upon measuring, saw that the stone is smaller in the lower than the upper parts. The support of the column is therefore an obelisk turned upside down." He makes the pillar to be 92 feet high, "without reckoning the separate stones by which it is raised four feet from the ground;" and the circumference round the foot of the pillar, 27 feet 4½ inches.—Walpole's Memoirs, p. 374. According to Van Egmont, the shaft is 69 feet high, and its solid contents 3347 cubic feet; the pedestal 18 feet high, and its contents 1828 cubic feet; and the capital 10 feet high, containing 488 cubic feet. "So that the solid content of the whole pillar, pedestal, and capital, is 5663 cubic feet, and the weight 259 tons, 18 cwt., three quarters, and seven pounds English. The whole is placed on a foundation five feet square, and every side of it decorated with hieroglyphics inverted."—*Travels, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 136.

† Norden, in fact, relates that an Arab, having dug under the foundation, placed there a box of gunpowder in order to blow up the column and make himself master of the treasures which he

therefore, the whole fabric *seems to rest* entirely upon a block of white marble, scarcely two yards square, which, upon being touched with a key, gives a sound like a bell." Dr. Clarke, however, denies that any of the ancient fragments irregularly placed round the central base, contributed to the support of the column; and he accounts for their position by supposing, that they were intended to "maintain the prop in its adjusted situation until the pedestal could be raised upon it. The prop itself," he adds, "consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of breccia called, peculiarly, Egyptian. The four sides are inscribed with hieroglyphic figures, but the position of these figures shews that the prop has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted; thus affording a complete proof that the stone belonged to other more ancient works; that these must have been in ruins before the column was erected upon its present basis; and that it was not set up, as it now stands, either by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, or by the people of Alexandria under the Ptolemies. This monument must be attributed entirely to the Romans."

On the top of the pillar, there is a circular cavity about two inches deep, "from which it is judged," says Pococke, "that there was a statue fixed on the top." Dr. Clarke supposes, that it was intended to receive the foot of a cinerary urn; and he contends for the probability that this stupendous pillar was originally intended as a sepulchral monument. He fancies that the supposed urn may even have contained the head of Pompey, and that this was the *temenos* erected by Julius Cæsar, which, having become ruined

imagined to be buried underneath. The mine blew up, and disranged only four stones, which made part of the foundation, of which the three other sides remained entire.

in the time of Trajan, was restored by Hadrian! * Leaving these learned speculations, which have detained us too long, we must proceed briefly to mention a few miscellaneous objects of interest which are noticed by different travellers.

Professor Heyman, who accompanied the Hon. Mr. Van Egmont on his travels about a century ago, has referred to several ancient remains, which, if still standing, deserve investigation. Among others, he mentions a tower of stupendous magnitude and remarkably bold architecture, erected on the walls of the ancient city,† near the supposed palace of Cleopatra. He speaks also of another tower on the city wall, which he entered, and where, he says, he found several chambers still entire, which probably served as barracks. "Here also," he continues, "is a large structure, said to have still within it stately piazzas of Corinthian pillars; but Turks only are permitted to enter it, nor is it safe for a Christian even to come near the walls, so that nothing can be said of it with certainty. They tell us, indeed, that it contains a large edifice almost sunk under ground, decorated

* See the Author's learned arguments for this fanciful idea, vol. v. pp. 360—4.

† "You first enter into a large hall, the ceiling of which is supported by two large pillars, and on the capitals of them are several Greek inscriptions; but the injuries they have received from time, and the great height of the ceiling, render it impossible to transcribe them. In this hall was a reservoir, full of rubbish. From this hall we ascended, by a flight of freestone steps, into another room, the roof of which was nearly flat. Another flight led to a terrace, whence we had a beautiful prospect of the city and the sea. This structure is built of very white and smooth circular stones, and the interstices filled up with small, round pebbles. Between the large blocks of freestone, we see also small pieces of wood, about a quarter of an inch thick, which seem to have served to fasten the stones together."—VAN EGMONT, vol. ii. p. 130.

with a multitude of cupolas supported by pillars. It is added, that in it is a chest which no man can approach, at least cannot open, there being several instances of persons who, on attempting it, have dropped down dead; and hence it is, that the Turks keep a guard on the outside of this building, and allow none to enter it on any account; for we made a very handsome offer to be admitted, but were refused.* The Jews, from whom we had the above account, will have this to be an old temple built by Nicanor for the Jews who fled to Egypt from the cruelties of Nebuchadnezzar; and this they pretend to prove from a certain passage in the Talmud. But, with regard to the dangerous chest, they acknowledge themselves entirely ignorant. Others are equally positive that it was a *church dedicated to St. Athanasius.* Not far from this structure are two large pillars of granite still standing, and others lying on the ground, and half

* Sandys seems to allude to the same tradition. "Within a seraglio called *Somia*," he says, "the Ptolemies had their sepultures together with Alexander the Great....There is yet to be seen here a little chapel, and within (it), a tomb much honoured and visited by the Mahometans, where they bestow their alms, supposing his body to lie in that place." The tradition is, that it was first inclosed in gold, but that precious covering having been stolen, it was enclosed in *glass*, and so remained until the time of the Saracens. Lucan has the following allusion to the sepulchres of the Ptolemies (lib. 8):

"*Cum tibi sacrato Macedon servatur in auro,*
Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt."

It seems not improbable, that the chapel mentioned by Sandys is the mosque of St. Athanasius; and if so, the chest of Van Egmont, and the *glass* tomb of Sandys, must be the sarcophagus of green breccia which was so long venerated as the tomb of Alexander, and is now in the British Museum. A more ancient owner has since been discovered; but, as the glass covering is stated not to have been the original tomb, which was of gold, it is not improbable that this soros actually contained the body of the divine Iskendeer. —See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. v. p. 238.

buried under the ruins.....Without the walls of Alexandria is still remaining a Jewish synagogue called *Eliace*, and which, they say, was built in the time of the prophet Elijah....In the old city is an eminence called Belvedere, which very well deserves that name for its beautiful prospect, extending over the whole harbour. Hence also we have a view both of the new city and its harbour, and also of part of the old, some of it being concealed by St. Catharine's hill. Amid this delightful prospect, the ruins of this city, anciently so famous for its splendour, fill the mind with melancholy reflections; the new city, which has been built out of the ruins of the old, not being comparable to it. The most beautiful object in the latter is, the large area of a mosque, round which is a colonnade of exquisite pillars of the Corinthian order."*

The three principal Christian establishments, the Coptic, the Latin, and the Greek, are all built within five minutes' walk of one another, on the large open space once covered by the old city, without the inner, and within the outer walls. The Coptic convent was in part destroyed by the French, and contained, in 1820, only eight rooms; but they had begun to rebuild it. The church, dedicated to St. Mark, is described by Van Egmont as a small, dark grotto, surrounded with a wall without any aperture except the door, through fear of the Arabs. He found four religious persons attached to it, who earnestly begged alms, and in return shewed the visiters the casket said to contain the head of St. Mark, and his portrait by St. Luke; also, several pictures of the Virgin by the same holy artist, and a whole-length picture of St. Michael by the same; also, an arm of St. George (now exhibited at Rosetta); and, lastly, a large pulpit inlaid

* Van Egmont, vol. ii. pp. 133, 140, 135.

with pieces of fine earthenware, in which St. Mark often preached.*

The Rev. Mr. Jowett, the agent of the Church Missionary Society, found, in 1819, one priest and one lay servant only belonging to this establishment; and the whole number of Copts at Alexandria was not more than between sixty and seventy, of whom five or six were comparatively rich. At his request, full service was performed at the convent. The porter, a blind old man, called the congregation together with cymbals, which he beat for about three minutes. The priest repeated the chief part of the service by heart in Coptic; he also read some part in Coptic from the manuscript service-books. A lay attendant and the people made numerous responses. "When they came to the gospels, which were in Arabic, a Copt was desired to read: a poor old man held the candle to him, and, when he had done, begged him to read another, and another still. The people were attentive to this, as it was the only part that they could understand: all the rest is in Coptic, pronounced by the priest in the holy place, with his face to the altar. When they

* Dr. Richardson says: "The chair of St. Mark, the boasted possession and seat of the patriarch of Alexandria, no longer exists." We know not whether he alludes to this pulpit. Sandys says: "The patriarch of Alexandria hath here a house adjoining to a church, which stands (as they say) in the place where St. Mark was buried, their first bishop and martyr; who, in the days of Trajan, haled with a rope tied about his neck, to the place called *Angeles*, was there burned, for the testimony of Christ, by the idolatrous pagans. Afterwards, his bones were removed to Venice by the Venetians." The *Angellium* was a place on the western side of the city; and M. Quatremère supposes it to have been the circus near the porticoes surrounding Pompey's pillar, and forming part of the Serapeum. According to another version of the tradition, the pastures (*Tabucolu*, i. e. Bucolia) at the foot of the cliffs close to the east of the city, was the place where St. Mark suffered.—See *Ency. Metrop.*, *art.* Egypt.

bow, it is generally to the ground, which they kiss. The priest had a small silver cross, on which three lighted tapers were stuck, with which he blessed the people. They all left their shoes without the inner part of the church, and stood barefooted on the mat or carpet. When the priest communicated, which he did alone, there was a great deal of secret and mystical ceremony: meantime, the poor people got my Copt to read them another portion of the gospels. The blind old man seemed to have it by heart; for, when my Copt hesitated, which he did two or three times, the old man helped him out. At the end of the communion, the priest first washed every other vessel, and then *his own hands*, drinking the water at the end of each washing: he then received water in both hands, and flung it abroad into the air. The people then came to him; and with both hands he stroked their cheeks and beards, as we should do in coaxing a child. They were then dismissed with some holy bread." The whole service took up an hour and three quarters, during which incense was used frequently; a very necessary practice, remarks Mr. J., in such a country, where cold damps and pestilential airs sometimes infest a church. About a dozen crutches, six feet long, were provided, on which, the stick being inclined, one arm is rested during the service. The women sit apart up in a gallery, as in the Greek churches. There was a large laver, in which they baptize the whole body of the infant, using lukewarm water and holy oil; and the priest shook his head on hearing that no holy oil is used in the rite of the English church.*

The Latin convent contains fifteen or sixteen apartments. It had, in 1819, three fathers, and two more

* Jowett's Christian Researches, p. 99.

were there in their way to the Holy Land: the superior was a Venetian. A missionary is required to serve, as such, twelve years; but during that term, his station is frequently shifted; and the superior had been successively at Tripoli, Beirout, Jerusalem, and Aleppo.* In a school belonging to the Latins, Mr. Jowett found about eighteen scholars, of whom one was a Copt, four or five were Greeks,† and the rest Catholics. They were all reading the Arabic Psalter. Neither the Greeks nor the Copts have a school of their own. The Greek convent is dedicated to St. Catherine; and they pretend that the church is built upon the spot where she suffered martyrdom. Mr. Jowett was shewn (as Van Egmont was a hundred years before) the block of white marble with some black specks upon it, on which she is said to have been beheaded. The church is very old. "There are eight or ten pillars of porphyry, which, they say, belonged to the old city, and stood then, where they do now." There were but four or five priests. The Greek patriarch of Alexandria resides at Cairo; and the number of Greek families resident in Alexandria did not exceed ten. To this convent, as there is no Protestant church, the English are indebted for the rites of baptism and burial; and in the yard adjacent are the tombs of five or six English officers who died during the expedition to Egypt.

* Van Egmont mentions a church dedicated to St. George, not far from which he saw "a ruined building of the ancient Franks or Italians, and hard by, the convent and church of the *Succolanti*, where a few fathers perform divine service after the manner of the Roman Church."

† A Catholic, who pointed out the Greeks, called them severally *Greco salato*, a salted Greek, alluding to their baptism, when a little salt is put upon their head.

But the most interesting spot to an Englishman,—the first and the last to be visited, is the "glorious field of the 21st of March," where the gallant Abercromby fell in the arms of victory. "Having cleared the Rosetta gate," says Dr. Richardson, "we travelled about two miles, and came to the elevated position of the French lines, stretching along the heights from what was the Lake Mareotis to the sea. About two miles further on, we reached the station of our gallant countrymen, having passed through a rough and sandy plain. Advancing in front of the ruin where raged the hottest of the battle, we found a six-pound shot lying in the sand. This was the only messenger of death that met our eyes; but numbers of the same description have not unfrequently been found here by others. This ruin has been called the remains of a Roman fort: to me it appeared to be those of a caravansary, and, though greatly dilapidated, would still afford many advantages to the occupant in the hour of conflict. Here we alighted, and led our horses among the tombs of the departed heroes, which are now level with the ground, and almost imperceptible. One monumental stone which his sorrowing companions had erected to the memory of Colonel Dutens, and inscribed with his name, was the only memorial that we saw upon the field.* We raised it from its prostrate situation among the sand, and, having restored it to the erect position, rode over to the canal, and returned to Alexandria." †

And this is all that the modern traveller has to tell

* In 1814, a stone, Captain Light[illegible]s, still marked the spot on which Sir Ralph Abercromby fell. Has this memorial been suffered to perish?

† Richardson, vol. i. p. 26.

us about this once magnificent capital! What precious relics may yet lie buried beneath the shapeless rubbish and the mounds of sand, remains the matter of conjecture; for hitherto the site has never been fairly explored. Yet, this is "the door," as Dr. Richardson justly remarks, "by which the Egyptian antiquary ought to enter upon his researches,—the place to search for the key that may unlock the hidden mysteries of the hieroglyphics. Here, for the first time, so far as we know, the sacred language of the priests was translated into the language of the country, and that of its conquerors." Among the ruins of this "city of interpreters," if any where, therefore, we might expect to discover some polyglot inscriptions that would throw further light upon the hieroglyphic character. Here, the first translation was made of the sacred oracles committed to the Jews, into the language of the Gentiles. For, though we are compelled to give up the pleasing fable of the Seventy learned elders whom tradition reports to have been employed on the task by command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is certain, that the Pentateuch was translated by Alexandrian Jews for the use of the synagogue, about 285 years before the Christian era, and that the Prophets were translated as early as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.* To this venerable version, subsequently completed by the translation of the remaining books, the Apostles and first preachers of the Gospel made their appeal, as being held in equal esteem among the Jews with the original Hebrew. But now, at Alexandria, the language of the Septuagint is almost unknown!—Where shall we find a spot that calls up so numerous a train of interesting yet discordant, and for the most part melancholy reflections?

* See Owen's Enquiry into the Septuagint, 8vo. 1779. p. 2.

The glory of Alexander, the fate of Pompey, the triumph of Cæsar, the beauty of Cleopatra, are among the first ideas which are associated with the obelisks and the pillar which stand as the hieroglyphics of its ancient greatness. Then, the reflective mind adverts to the Ptolemaic Library, the Septuagint, the martyrdom of St. Mark, the school of Origen, the throne of Athanasius, the overthrow of the idol Serapis, the arrival of the Saracens, Saladin and the Crusaders, Bonaparte, and Abercromby!

Of the maritime tract which stretches from Alexandria to Rosetta, we have no very distinct topographical description; and the site of several ancient cities is still doubtful. Aboukir (*or* Bokkier) has been erroneously supposed to denote the site of the ancient Canopus;* but the name seems to identify it with Bucharis.† Other ancient sites are probably covered by the waters of Lake Maadieh.

* Oxford Strabo, p. 1135, note 31.

† Sandys thus refers to it in his route to Rosetta. "On the 2d of February, in the afternoon, we undertook our journey, passing through a desert, producing here and there a few unhusbanded palms, capers, and a weed called *kall* (kali). On the left hand we left divers ruinous buildings, once said to have been the royal mansion of Cleopatra. Beyond which stands *Bucharis*, once a little but ancient city, now only shewing her foundations, where grow many palms, which sustain the *wretched* people that live thereabouts in beggarly cottages. There, on a rock, a tower affordeth light by night to the sailor, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of soldiers there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a *madein* for every head. Seven or eight miles beyond, we ferried over a creek of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome khan, not long since built by a Moor of Cairo." This creek is the mouth of Lake Etkō, which has been supposed to correspond to the Canopic mouth of the Nile, while its distance from Alexandria seems to correspond to that of Canopus, which was fifteen miles E. of that city. The khan might be supposed to occupy the site of the *Heracleum*, were it not on the wrong side of

Captain Light, in proceeding to Rosetta, embarked on Lake Etko. The village of that name, situated on a gentle ascent at its eastern extremity, is remarkable for its apparent neatness as viewed from a distance.* "The lake," says this Traveller, "had the muddy appearance of a river. All its landing-places were so shallow, that it was necessary to wade to the shore, to which I was carried for thirty yards on the shoulders of an Arab boatman. The banks of the lake were covered with palm-trees, growing in thick plantations from a sandy soil: no verdure appeared except in front of Etko. We skirted the lake for an hour through groves of palm, till we left it for the desert,

the creek. Another important site is referred to by Colonel Squire, which deserves further investigation. "Three leagues eastward of Alexandria, immediately on the sea-shore, are the ruins of very superb and extensive buildings. It is imagined, these formed part of the city of *Taposiris Parva*. Here are also, cut out of the solid rock, a number of places which have the appearance of baths. Not far from this spot, at a short distance in the sea, may be seen the fragments of several pieces of ancient sculpture, granite and marble sphinxes, a colossal fluted statue with the head of a dog, an immense granite fist, and other relics, plainly indicating the site of a temple."—MS. Letter in Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 411. Supposing Aboukir Point to be the *Zephyrium* promontory of Strabo (where Thonis once stood), and the site above described to be Taposiris, "the infamous Canopus" could not have been far from the present mouth of Lake Etko, and its ruins may be covered by the lake. The bed of Lake Madaieh was, probably, traversed by the canal which connected Canopus with Alexandria, and along which the votaries of Serapis resorted in their painted boats to celebrate the Canopic orgies. According to Strabo, Heraclium was between Canopus and the Canopic mouth. "*E Canopicâ portâ exeunti ad dextram est fossa, qui lacui jungitur, et Canopi fert.... Post Canopum est Heraclium quod Herculis templum habet. Inde est Canopicum ostium, et ipsius Delta initium.*"—Oxford *Strabo.*, pp. 1135, 6 (cited by Dr. Clarke). See also Sandys's Travels, folio, p. 91.

* This writer speaks of its "mosques and minarets" and sheikhs' tombs, as if it was a considerable town. It was probably an ancient site, perhaps *Naucratis*, of which its name may be a corruption.

where a solitary palm-tree once or twice shewed itself amongst hills of sand, and where the charity or devotion of some Arab generally left a pitcher of water for the thirsty and wearied passenger. This slight specimen of the desert gave me a tolerable idea of what the journey must be across larger portions of it. Our road lay through a succession of ascents and descents of loose sand, into which our animals sank to their knees at every step. We continued thus till we arrived at a plain near Rosetta, where the mirage deceived me by the resemblance to water; but our journey was rendered less troublesome as the sand was firmer. At half-past three, we came in sight of Rosetta, and at five, arrived at the grove of palms near the walls, which springs up amid hills of sand, and was pointed out as the spot where the English detachment under General Wauchop took up its position. I confess I felt no raptures at the sudden appearance of the Nile, Rosetta, and its neighbourhood; for, though, on entering the town and arriving at the river, the eye is much gratified with the opposite shores of the Delta, and the change from desert to cultivation, yet the traveller will look in vain for the paradise of Denon, Savary, and Sonnini." *

ROSETTA.

Dr. Richardson reached Rosetta by sea. The Bay of Aboukir, rendered for ever memorable by the victory obtained over the French fleet by Lord Nelson, is encircled with palm-trees of luxuriant growth, forming a pleasing contrast to the brown sand which covers the surrounding soil. At its entrance is a small island,

* Light's Travels, p. 16.

which, in commemoration of the victory, has received from our sailors the name of Nelson's Island. The passing of the bar at the mouth of the Rosetta branch, is at all times attended with danger. The sands are constantly shifting, and the surf is always high; but the bar once surmounted, the transition to the tranquil waters of the Nile is instantaneous and delightful. The water is immediately fresh, without any brackish mixture, and, notwithstanding the mud with which it is impregnated, is pronounced by the learned Traveller the finest in the world.* The banks of the river, covered with rows of palm-trees, and the rice-fields of the Delta stretching as far as the eye can reach beyond, together with the fertile islands formed by the majestic stream, present a delightful assemblage to the eye of the traveller, fatigued with the unvarying prospect of sea and sand, as, impelled by the breeze against the current, he ascends the stream with great rapidity.

Rosetta is situated on the western bank of the Bolbitinic branch of the Nile, about four miles above its mouth, in lat. 31° 25′ N., long. 30° 28′ 20″ E. Its proper name is Rashid, and the natives pretend that the celebrated Khalif Haroun al Rashid was born here. Dr. Richardson supposes that this, his reputed birth-place, was

* "The only result we have been able to obtain from the most careful chemical analysis of the Nile water, proves it to contain the carbonates of magnesia, lime, and iron, the muriat of soda, and a small portion of silex and alumine. But it is one of the purest waters known, remarkable for its easy digestion by the stomach, and for its salutary qualities in all the uses to which it is applied. (For chemical purposes, it is said to answer the purpose of either rain-water or distilled water.) It is not yet known, what chemical union takes place in Nile water, when the addition of pounded almonds causes it to precipitate the substances it holds in a state of imperfect solution. This is the common mode adopted in Egypt for clarifying the water."—CLARKE'S *Travels*, p. 263.

probably built by his son.* It was not a place of any note till after the decline of Damietta, owing to the increase of the bar which obstructs the navigation of that branch of the river. It was in a flourishing condition, however, about the beginning of the twelfth century. "Rosetta," says Dr. Hume, "has been celebrated by travellers as the paradise of Egypt; but the lofty minarets of the great mosques, the tombs of Arab saints, and some houses of the Franks, which are almost embosomed in woods, give the traveller, as he sails up the river, ideas of populousness and wealth, which are strongly contrasted by the mean and ruinous buildings seen by him on landing. Between the houses and the Nile is a wide space, the parade of Rosetta: in the evening, I found it crowded with people. The longest streets, or rather lanes of Rosetta, for they are extremely narrow, lie parallel to each other on a line with the river, and are irregularly intersected by others, which are shorter. The houses, generally built of brick, are of two or three stories, and, at the top, appear nearly to touch each other, while the small latticed windows projecting into the street, add considerably to the gloominess of the houses. The bazars are narrow, dark, and dirty. The great mosque

* It is said to have been built A.D. 875. According to Quaresmius, however, Rosetta was anciently called *Scheida*, and must have been a place of higher antiquity, if, as he states, the family of Mohammed drew their origin from that city: "*Fertur in partibus illis, ex ea civitate originem traxisse Mahometem.*" But Mekka, the birth-place of Mohammed, had long been the seat of the tribe of Koreish; and little attention is due to the statement of a writer who refers to Mekka as containing the prophet's sepulchre.—See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. v. p. 42. Denon says, that Rosetta stands at no great distance from the ruins of *Bolbitinum*, "which must have been situated on an elbow of the river, where now stands the convent of Abu Mandur, half a league from Rosetta."

is very large, and its roof is supported by a number of columns. It has two minarets of a light and beautiful construction, but of unequal height. From the summit of one, the prospect, on a clear day, is rich and beautiful towards the Delta and the winding of the river; but, westward, the view is that of an arid and burning desert.* Rosetta is nearly surrounded with gardens. A Rosetta garden is a walled enclosure, where shrubs and fruit-trees are planted together without order or regularity. The rude growth of the trees affords an agreeable shelter from the intense heat; and in his garden, the Arab frequently takes his evening meal of *pillau* (boiled rice and fowls). The gardens are watered by the Persian wheel from wells filled by the Nile during the inundation. The small wheels are turned by an ass, the larger by buffaloes. The gardens of Rosetta derive their celebrity from the sudden contrast witnessed by the traveller, on exchanging the barren wastes in the vicinity of Alexandria for a tract of country abounding with trees and the most luxuriant vegetation.

"On leaving Rosetta, I walked to the castle of St. Julian, along the west bank of the city, and through rich fields of clover, the *bersim* of the Egyptians. On some parts of my road, I observed pools of stagnant water, in one of which a few buffaloes had taken shelter from the mosquitoes, every part of them being

* The desert is stated, indeed, to have gained upon the cultivated ground in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. Capt. Light says: "The desert approaches close to the shores of the Nile: a few gardens and the continuation of the palm-grove are all that separates it from the river. Opposite Rosetta, is the island of Sarshes, a fruitful tract of corn-land, about a mile and a half in length, where a few peasants have their hovels under some palm-trees, and which has been occasionally employed as a lazaretto in time of plague. The Pasha has large magazines of corn and rice there."—LIGHT, p. 17.

covered except the nostrils.* The castle of St. Julian, where the *djerm* met me, consists of a tower surrounded with a wall. We passed over the Nile to a mud-built village, exactly opposite, where, the wind being unfavourable, we were detained until next morning. The ground upon which this village stands is rather more elevated than the adjacent country. The houses are poor hovels, several of them being built in the form of bee-hives. The fields around are cultivated with care, and, after the inundation of the Nile, when the river is confined to its proper channel, they are watered by the Persian wheel from cisterns. Where the country is in any degree shaded, not a foot of ground is allowed to be waste; for even under the date-trees, the cucumber and other garden-fruits are seen growing; but where no shade intervenes to weaken the intense heat of the sun, the ground is hard and uncultivated, and bears nothing but thickets of brushwood."†

Sir Robert Wilson speaks of the country in terms still less in accordance with the glowing descriptions of the French travellers; and he represents the mortification of the British officers on arriving there as

* "We were, on the road, persecuted by two kinds of creatures, gnats and buffaloes. The latter especially seemed to be angry with me and my interpreter, because we were dressed in red. Our janissary was obliged to drive the animals from us with his cudgel. Our other enemies, the gnats, though much weaker, could not be subdued by this guard; their number made them intolerable and invincible. The rice-fields, being constantly under water, occasion a swampy ground fit for the support of these vermin, and in these they lay their eggs. . . . I heard a sound which seemed artificial, as if somebody had knocked together two hard wooden sticks. On asking what it was, I was told, that myriads of little frogs which kept under water, emitted this sound."—HASSELQUIST'S *Travels*, p. 54.

† Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 363, 6.

extreme, at finding that its boasted delights consist in the cheering sight of verdure after traversing a barren waste. "For two or three miles immediately on the banks of the Nile, towards St. Julian," he says, "there is certainly a luxuriant vegetation; but, beyond that and over the Delta, the scenery is bleak: to the south, only hills of sand are to be seen. Rosetta is built of a dingy red brick: a great part of the town is in ruins, many of the houses having been pulled down by the French for fuel. The streets are not more than two yards wide, and full of wretches whom the pride of civilized man revolts at acknowledging as human. The quantity of blind persons is prodigious; nearly every fifth inhabitant has lost, or has some humour in, his eyes.* The erysipelas, the dropsy, the leprosy, the elephantiasis, all kinds of extraordinary contortions and *lusus naturæ* constantly offend the sight. Filth, musquitoes of the most dreadful sort, vermin of every kind, women so ugly that it is fortunate their faces (all but the eyes) are concealed by a black cloth veil, stench intolerable, houses almost uninhabitable, form the charms of Rosetta and Savary's garden of Eden. The quay alone is a handsome object, and this certainly might be made noble. The Nile, the celebrated Nile, afforded, uncombined with its bounties and wonderful properties, no pleasure to

* Mr. Jowett was struck in the same manner, in walking through Alexandria, with the number of blind people. Many had lost one eye; some, both; others seemed in the way to lose them; and this among the young, as well as old. Inattention to cleanliness appears to be one cause of the early loss of sight. In Cairo, it is said to be even worse. The greater part of the inhabitants there, Hasselquist says, are afflicted with ophthalmia and psorothalmia. The excessive heat, added to the incredible quantity of fine dust, and the fœtid drains, are assigned by him as the probable causes of their prevalence.—See HASSELQUIST'S *Travels*, p. 389.

the sight. The muddy stream, the rotten banks putrifying with the fatness of the slime left by the waters, and its narrow breadth, not being more than a hundred yards across, impressed the mind with no idea of majesty. But a reflection on the miraculous qualities of the river, and an anticipation of the luxuries which the muddy waters would afford, rendered it an object of considerable interest."*

Volney describes the Nile at Rosetta as rolling between two steep banks, and considerably resembling the Seine between Auteuil and Passy. The woods of palm-trees on each side, and the orchards of lemon, orange, banana, pomegranate, and other trees, by their perpetual verdure, render Rosetta, he says, exceedingly delightful. In accounting for the very different representations given of this spot by various travellers, some allowance must be made for the different season at which they visited it. The gardens, when the fragrant shrubs are in blossom, must, according to all accounts, be well entitled to the admiration they have obtained. Sir F. Henniker says: "These would be valued even after scenes of ordinary verdure. They are not so extensive as I had imagined, but more beautiful than I could have conceived. Every thing is in wild luxuriance, and literally a wilderness of sweets. The banana, the palm, the orange, the lemon, the *cedrato*, and the *henneh*, besides being objects of novelty and beauty, are all in bearing. The banana pleases me most, both in its fruit and in its appearance: the leaves are nearly six feet in length, and of a width to render them just elegant. The *henneh*, loved of women, resembles myrtle. The various species of orange struggle for

* Wilson's Egypt, 4to. p. 63.

room; and the whole is surmounted by the palm-trees, their leaves resembling and drooping like ostrich feathers."*

Except the gardens, no object of curiosity now remains † to detain the traveller. Rosetta has still a few European inhabitants; but its trade is on the decline, and the new canal of Mahmoudieh will probably lead to its total decay, while Fouah will again become the *entrepôt* of the trade between Cairo and Alexandria. The population of Rosetta has been estimated at 9000. Among these, in 1819, there were about fifty families of Copts, and ten of Greeks. The Latins have also a convent there. The Greek convent is a spacious building, and would accommodate between forty and fifty families, according to their usual mode of living, but Mr. Jowett found here only two priests,‡ one from Patmos, the other from Cyprus. In the

* Henniker's Notes, p. 20.

† Dr. Richardson says, "It has nothing either ancient or modern to interest the traveller." Yet, one of the most valuable relics of antiquity was discovered here, that have yet been brought to light by the researches of travellers; the famous *trilinguar* stone now in the British Museum, to which the learned world is indebted for all the ingenious discoveries of Dr. Young and M. Champollion, respecting the phonetic use of hieroglyphic characters in writing proper names. Dr. Clarke mentions a warehouse at Rosetta with a vaulted stone roof, which he represents as "of very great, though unknown antiquity." And among the few curiosities of the place may be mentioned, "a manufactory for hatching chickens by artificial heat without incubation."—RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 37. This seems to be an improvement upon the more ancient mode described by Hasselquist, p. 55.

‡ Jowett, p. 108. Mr. Jowett endeavoured to draw from the Greek priests who accompanied him to the Coptic convent, a statement of their main point of difference with the Copts; but they said, it would infallibly lead to a quarrel. Afterwards, addressing Mr. J., the superior said, "*We* are alike; we marry, bury, baptize for the English; but the Copts—Ah!"

Coptic convent, there was only one priest, but there was a school under a blind master, with ten or twelve scholars. In the church, which is exceedingly dark, Mr. Jowett was shewn a shabby wooden case, of cylindrical form, and about three feet in length, which was said to contain the arm of St. George; but the arm itself, he was told, could be shewn only once a year, on St. George's day!

In ascending the river from Rosetta, the traveller begins to acquire some general idea of the soil, climate, and productions of this singular country. "Nothing," says Volney, "more resembles its appearance, than the marshes of the lower Loire, or the plains of Flanders. Instead, however, of the numerous trees and country-houses of the latter, we must imagine some thin woods of palms and sycamores, and a few villages of mud-walled cottages built on artificial ounds. All this part of Egypt is so level and so w, that we are not three leagues from the coast when e first discover the palm-trees, and the sands on hich they grow. As we proceed up the river, the clivity is so gentle that the water does not flow ster than a league an hour. As for the prospect of e country, it offers little variety; nothing is to be en but palm-trees, single or in clumps, which become wer in proportion as you advance; wretched villages mud-walls, and a boundless plain, which, at different asons, is an ocean of fresh water, a miry morass, a rdant field, or a dusty desert. On every side is an tensive and foggy horizon, where the eye is wearied d disgusted. At length, towards the junction of e two branches of the river, the mountains of Grand iro are discovered in the east, and to the south-st, three detached masses appear, which, from their angular form, are known to be the pyramids."

Dr. Richardson thus describes the voyage from Rosetta to Fouah, in September.

"Nothing could exceed the picturesque beauty of our setting off; it was instantaneous, like the magical operation of an enchanter's wand. In one moment, the two immense lettine sails of the *maash** were given to the wind, and we were going at the rate of five or six knots an hour, with the appearance of going eight or ten. This rapid motion along the rich and verdant banks of the Nile is extremely delightful. The northern breeze so tempered the scorching heat, that we were enabled to remain on deck, and to enjoy the prospect in all its beauty. We soon passed a few scanty ruins on the right, where the bank is high and covered with sand. On both sides, a number of Persian wheels were at work, raising water to moisten the contiguous ground. Rice-fields prevail on the Delta; Indian corn, but chiefly *dhourra*, on the Libyan side. The eye is constantly refreshed with the varying shades of green, the flights of the paddy birds along the fields, and the heads of the buffaloes floating like logs upon the water, while their bodies are immersed beneath. The villages are numerous, and generally large, built of sun-dried brick, and,

* A *maash* is the largest vessel on the Nile; and cannot navigate it above four months in the year. It is fitted up both as a passage and a carriage boat, and has two masts, with two most powerful lettine sails. The forepart is appropriated to goods or grain, of which it will contain 200 tons, and it has two cabins in the aft-part. A *djerm* is a lighter vessel, from 50 to 70 feet long, without a deck, and draws but little water; it has one powerful lettine sail, and passes over shallows where lighter vessels of a different construction would probably be stranded. Besides these is used a *candji*, or skiff, about 18 feet long, with a small sail and a pair of oars: "a *candji*," says Sir F. Henniker, "is to a *maash*, as a gondola to a barge."

with the whitened dome of a mosque, a minaret, or a pigeon-house, embosomed in a grove of palm-trees, present in the distance a most enchanting prospect. They stand on eminences apparently artificial. Many of the houses, or rather huts, are very small, from ten to twelve feet square; the roofs flat and covered with reeds or *dhourra* straw. The streets are mere narrow tracks. In the evening, we arrived at Fouah, about twenty-five miles above Rosetta. Before reaching it, we passed the entrance of a canal on the Libyan side with very high banks, probably the Canopic canal.* About eight miles above Fouah, we passed the canal of Alexandria, at Rahmanieh." †

Fouah (Fuwwah, Βουα, Vua) was, in the sixteenth century, a handsome town, the seat of the trade subsequently transferred to Rosetta, which it seems likely to recover. It is not far from Lake Etko, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Dr. Richardson describes it as still a large town, and at a distance, it has a very picturesque appearance. Rahmanieh is a place of some importance as a military station. The canal of Alexandria, which originates here, runs parallel with the Nile for about three hundred yards, and then takes a direction at right angles to Mehallet-Daoud, while one branch opens again into the Nile, which, at the angle, is not above one hundred and twenty yards

* Or rather, communicating with it, as that arm originates higher up the river.

† Richardson, vol. i. pp. 38-41. To the west of Rahmanieh, and a little to the south of the canal of Alexandria, is the town of *Damanhur-el-Wohsh*, called in the Coptic books *Ptiminhor*, the City of Horus; the *Hermopolis Parva* of the Greeks. It was the residence of a *kashef* under the Mamlouks, and is the chief town in the government of Boheireh, the ancient Libyan prefecture. It is a great emporium for cotton.—SONNINI, vol. ii. p. 141.

distant. A little to the north of Mehallet-Daoud, the boggy bed of a rivulet, supposed to be part of the Canopic arm of the Nile, runs nearly in a right angle from the canal of Alexandria into Lake Etko. That canal is filled with water at high Nile, but, at all other seasons, is dry.*

Among the birds which frequent the Nile, Dr. Clarke principally noticed pelicans, from the mouth up to Rahmanieh. The *sterna Nilotica*, or Egyptian sea-swallow, also appeared in immense flocks near the sides of the river. "Afterwards," he says, "we saw many beautiful birds of whose names we are entirely ignorant; particularly one of the plover kind," (supposed to be the *tringa Ægyptiaca longirostris* of Hasselquist,) "whose plumage displayed the most lively and variegated colours. The pigeon-cones increased very much after passing Amrus, almost every village being furnished with them.† But the most remarkable appearance of living beings may be noticed, by dipping a ladle or bucket into the midst of the river, which is every where dark with mud, and observing the swarms of animals contained in the torrent. Among these, tadpoles and young frogs are so numerous, that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the Nile where the water is destitute of them."

* Sir R. Wilson, p. 92.

† Clarke, vol. v. p. 61. The Author ascended the Nile in August. Sir F. Henniker mentions a beautiful bird of snow-white plumage, in form as graceful as a heron, but not larger than a parrot, which feeds on locusts and grasshoppers. This is apparently no other than the Ibis of the Egyptians, (*Ardea Ibis* of Linn., the *Chapon de Pharaon* of the French,) and which is of great service to the country. The boatmen concealed those which the Englishman shot, "lest the natives should be offended." The *Alcedo Ægyptia*, Egyptian kingfisher, various species of plover, dotterelt, gull, and duck, also frequent the Nile. See HASSELQUIST, pp. 193-210.

A short distance to the south of Rahmanieh, on the eastern side of the river, near the place where a canal runs towards the Damietta branch, is the village of Sa-el-hajar, (Sa of the Stone,) near which are found the supposed ruins of Sais, the ancient metropolis of the Delta, and the mother city of the Athenians.* These interesting ruins, which were first noticed by Van Egmont and Heyman, escaped the observation of the French, but have been more recently visited and described by Dr. Clarke. "The present village seems," says the learned Traveller, "to be situate in the suburban district of the ancient city; for, as we proceeded in an easterly direction, we soon discerned its vestiges. Irregular heaps, containing ruined foundations that had defied the labours of the peasants, appeared between the village and some more considerable remains further towards the north-east. The earth was covered with fragments of ancient terra cotta, which the natives had cast out of their sieves. At the distance of about three furlongs, we came to an immense quadrangular enclosure, nearly a mile wide, formed by high mounds of earth facing the four points of the compass. In the centre was a conical heap, supporting the ruins of some building, the original form of which cannot be ascertained. The ramparts of this enclosure are so lofty as to be visible from the river, although at that distance the irregularity of their appearance might cause them to be mistaken for natural eminences. They seem to correspond to the account given of a similar enclosure at San, the ancient Tanis. The water of the river, in consequence of the inundation, had obtained access to this enclosure so as

* See authorities in Anacharsis, vol. i. p. 130. In Van Egmont's Travels, Sais is stated to have been originally an Athenian colony; and, strange to say, Dr. Clarke has copied the statement.

to form a small lake around the conical heap in the middle. Van Egmont and Heyman found here a very curious inscription in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, its benefactor, certain of whose titles are given. They saw also the colossal statue of a female with hieroglyphics, the head of which had been broken off and removed to Cairo. Fourteen camel-loads of treasure were said to have been found among the ruins. Our inquiry after antiquities was, however, for a long time unsuccessful; and we began to despair of carrying from Sais any thing belonging to the ancient place." The sight of a few newly coined *paras*, however, soon brought round the travellers a number of men, women, and children bringing relics of antiquity for sale. Among these were some fragments of sculpture in granite, porphyry, and basalt, a bronze tripod, a bronze bust of Phtha, a bronze image of Horus, apparently intended to be worn as an amulet, and an earthenware image of a mummy. On examining the mosque of the village, the fragments of some ancient columns appeared in the walls; and before the entrance was found a large slab of polished syenite, which has been the pedestal of a statue, one foot still being attached to the stone, and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription. Within the mosque, among other materials, loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, was discovered the *torso* of a statue in green basalt, its zone covered with an unfinished hieroglyphic inscription.*

There can be no doubt that this was an ancient site; but it may have occurred to the reader, that the learned Traveller has furnished us with no proof of its being

* These remains were purchased by the learned Traveller, and are now in the University Library at Cambridge.

the site of Sais, or even the spot visited by Van Egmont and Heyman. On the third day after leaving Cairo, those travellers tell us, they anchored near a large village called Sa-el-Hajar, where they "saw several ruins of the ancient city of Sais;" and some miles further, several *tumuli* and ruins. "Here is particularly a large statue of a woman in a sitting posture, formed out of a block of bluish marble. The whole is entire, except the head, which has been carried to Cairo; and indeed, the whole statue would have been removed to that city, had not its enormous weight rendered their attempts abortive." This block of bluish marble may be Dr. Clarke's *torso* of green basalt; the mosque may have been built since Van Egmont travelled; the *tumuli* and ruins of the latter, may be the quadrangular enclosure and conical mound of Dr. Clarke; but the identity of the spot is not very apparent. Dr. Richardson seemingly refers to another spot under the name of Sath-haggar, much higher up the river,* and about *three* miles inland, which he represents as occupying the site of Sais. A scanty village and an immense mound of rubbish are,

* Dr. Richardson left Fouah at 9 A.M., and about 5 P.M. they were opposite Sath-haggar or Sa-el-haggar. In Sir Robert Wilson's map of the Rosetta branch, Salhaggar is placed a few miles below the mouth of the Canal of Farestak, which answers apparently to the Sath-haggar of Dr. Richardson: whereas Dr. Clarke places Sais nearly opposite Rahmanieh, a little below the mouth of the Canal of Damanhur, as stated at p. 60. It is hard to say which place Sir F. Henniker refers to in the following passage: "In the neighbourhood of Salthaggar are the ruins of Sais....Sais is under water; nothing to be seen except the mounds that denote the ancient site, and the excavations that indicate the labour of the Arabs. They tell us, that Franks, foolish Franks, come there to buy whatever is found; that only one statue or monument is left, and that because it cannot be taken away: 'not even an Englishman can move it.' It is at present under water."—P. 27. This cannot be the *torso* of Dr. Clarke.

he says, all that remain of its ancient grandeur; "nor has excavation discovered any thing further than a few coins with the head of Minerva on one side, and that of her beloved owl on the other." It is to be regretted, that the learned Traveller does not state by whom they were discovered, nor even refer to Dr. Clarke's visit to the supposed Sais. Such coins would, indeed, afford a strong presumption in favour of the identity of the site. It is scarcely probable, however, that all the colossal works which once adorned the city of Sais, have been removed or destroyed; and few spots, even in Egypt, seem more to invite and to deserve investigation. Amasis, we are told, constructed at Sais, a *propylæum* in honour of Neith or Minerva, which, in magnificence and grandeur, surpassed every thing before seen, of so enormous a size were the stones employed in the building and in its foundation. Herodotus enumerates among the decorations, prodigious colossal statues under the name of *androsphinges*. But the most astonishing work was a monolithic shrine or temple, 21 cubits long, 14 broad, and 8 high, the size of the chamber within being 18 feet by 12, and 5 feet in height: exclusively of the time required for working it, it occupied 2000 men for three years in bringing down this enormous block from Elephantine in Upper Egypt, a distance of above 600 miles. A celebrated colossus given by Amasis to the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, had also its duplicate at Sais.* Within the sacred enclosure were buried the sovereigns of the Saitic dynasty; and it may be supposed, Dr. Clarke remarks, that the ran-

* The colossal hand, in granite, now in the British Museum, which was found by the French on the site of Memphis, is believed to have belonged to one of the statues mentioned by Herodotus as being near the temple of Vulcan.

sacking of such a cemetery would lead to the discovery of many curious antiquities. The solemnities in honour of Minerva at Sais, were reckoned to hold the third rank among all the festivals of Egypt.*

Not far from Amrus, the canal of Bahireh (or Boheireh) passes from the river in a north-westerly direction to the Lake Mareotis, forming a barrier for the province of that name against the sands of the Libyan desert; and about six hours further southward, the Rosetta river receives the *Bahr Yusuf* or *El Asarah;* called also the Canal of the Pyramids. At Nadir, the great canal of Menouf joints the Rosetta arm. This canal, which is thirty miles in length, was formally navigable throughout the year. Sir Robert Wilson describes it as "a noble work, appearing a large river, and always full of water, as the Nile flows into it with a fall of ten feet." But, owing to this circumstance, it occasioned such a diminution of water in the eastern arm of the Nile, that it was found necessary, in 1807, to close the mouth of the canal, which was done by order of the Pasha.

Sir F. Henniker, however, who ascended the Nile in 1820, during the inundation, entered this canal, and proceeded to *Menouf*, which he thus describes: "Menouf is a large village: the inhabitants call it a town. It is surrounded with an embankment of rubbish. At first, it is almost impossible to conceive how such mounds can be formed; but considering the cheapness of crockery ware, and the fragility of mud-houses, the laziness of people who never repair, and who are not compelled to carry rubbish beyond the

* See authorities in Clarke, vol. v. pp. 293, 298. The three principal festivals, according to Herodotus, were those held at Bubastis, in honour of Diana; those of Busiris in honour of Isis; and those of Sais in honour of Neith.

outskirts of the town, the wonder nearly ceases. At Menouf is a manufactory of mats, made of the rushes from Natron: they are exported throughout Turkey. No remnants of ancient buildings, except that in a mosque are some columns of cypoline and granite." * On leaving Menouf, this Traveller, wishing to explore the eastern branch, had his boat dragged over-land into a "garden ditch" communicating with the canal of *Karinein* or *Sheibin-el-Koum*, by which means he passed into the Damietta branch, and floated down to Semenhoud (or Semennud). The canal of *Sheibin-el-Koum* is, in fact, the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, which, at the place so called, divides into two branches; the western passing into the Rosetta branch near Farestak, and the other, called *El Melij* (or *Karinein*), flowing north-eastward by *Mehallet-el-Kebir*, and, at the distance of fifteen miles, joining the great canal of Thabanniyeh.†

* Henniker, p. 31. Sir R. Wilson says: "Menouf is a wretched place, and has a fort of a miserable construction." It stands, however, in the midst of a very fertile tract, and is said to be one of the healthiest spots in Egypt. Its ancient name is supposed to have been Panuf, and it was once an episcopal see under the patriarch of Alexandria, but its Greek appellation is unknown. It still gives its name to a province, of which it is the head town, called from it El Menuffiyeh. It is about twenty-four miles from the Fork of the Nile. About six or seven miles below the mouth of the canal of Menouf, near the eastern bank of the Rosetta river, and to the north of the island of Benu-Nasr, is the site of Ibshadeh, Beshade, or Pshati, the Prosopis or Nicius of the Greeks, which gave its name to the nome of Prosopites. In the same nome was Athorbaki, the Atarbechis and Aphroditespolis of the Greeks. See *Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt*.

† See page 49. The navigable canal which waters Mehallet, is also called the canal of Belkinah. Mehallet-el-kebir (*i.e.*, the great street) is now the capital of the western province, *El Gharbiyeh*. Lucas, Sicard, and Pococke represent it as ranking next to Cairo in importance. "Though still the largest manufacturing town in the Delta, it has many streets in ruins. It had, till lately, the only silk-

Ascending the canal of Menouf, we arrive at the village of Beershamps (*Beer-Shemss?*) near which place a detachment of the British army were encamped for a fortnight in the summer of 1801. Dr. Clarke erroneously makes it stand upon the southern point of the Delta, whereas, in fact, it is situated at the angle where the canal of Menouf diverges from the great eastern arm of the Nile. The bifurcation of the river, where it divides into the Rosetta and Damietta arms, and which must be considered as the head of the Delta, is several hours further southward, at the place called *Batn-el-bacarah** (the cow's belly), supposed to be the ancient *Cercasorum*. Here, then, will be the proper place to suspend our progress southward, for the sake of completing, so far as our materials will enable us, the description of Lower Egypt.

The first canal below the fork of the Delta, on the eastern side, is the canal of Moez, which, leaving the Damietta branch immediately below the *ruins* near Athrib, divides into two branches. The western, after a course of seventy-two miles, falls into the Lake of Menzaleh, about nine miles below the ruins of Tanis or Zoan, and is the Tanitic arm of the ancients. The Damietta river, which we are now to descend, is believed to be the Pathmetic or Bucolic branch. Yet Semenhood, D'Anville and Quatremère have supposed to be Sebennytus†, which gave its name to an arm of

manufactory in Egypt. Some mounds of earth near it shew the place of the ancient Cynopolis."—*Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt.*

* Sometimes erroneously written *Bahr-el-bacareh*, which we have inadvertently copied at p. 8. Twenty-seven miles below the Fork, on the western bank of the Rosetta arm, is Terraneh or Terranut, the Terenuthes of the Greeks, formally an episcopal see. It is now a mere village, the *entrepôt* of the trade in Natron; but heaps of rubbish and fragments of sculpture attest its ancient splendour.

† See Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt. "Jemnuti," it is added, "the

the Nile, and to a distinct nome. It is now an inconsiderable place on the west side of the Damietta river. "The remains of an ancient building are to be seen here; that is," adds Sir F. Henniker, "a piece of masonry has been discovered and re-covered, but it is uncovered as often as any one will give *beksheesh* (money)." This town is celebrated for its numerous and excellent pigeons.

Two hours below Semennood, this Traveller tells us, he landed on the west bank opposite to Wheesh, and in half an hour reached the ruins of *Beybait*. "Here was once a granite temple, the material, the style, and the hieroglyphics of which rendered it, perhaps, one of the most beautiful in Egypt. There is not now one stone upon another, in the order they ought to be in: it is fallen into a mass like the temple of Hercules at Girgenti. An Arab of the neighbouring village gave me the following tradition: Mohammed, passing by this temple, applied to a Christian for a bit of bread; the Christian refused; the temple fell immediately, and the town went to ruin. You Franks, he added, come here to look for treasure, because your ancestors built these temples; there were a great many more in the kingdom, but Mohammed destroyed them all. The relics of Beybait are worth the visit: the hieroglyphics are on granite, beautifully sculptured, and there is nothing to disturb you but owls and jackals."

From this place, our Traveller floated down to Man-

Coptic name of Semennud, appears to signify the god of might; but it seems never to have been called Heracleopolis by the Greeks, as would have been the case, had it been consecrated to Hercules (*Jom* or *Jem*)." Between Jemnuti (or Djemnouti) and Sebennytus, there is, however, nothing in common; and for the present, Sebennytus may be assumed to be Sheibin-el-koom.

soura, of which he gives no account. Van Egmont describes it as "a handsome town, delightfully situated on the eastern shore, and surrounded with gardens. It is nearly as large as Damietta, and we counted above twenty minarets in it. The houses, like those of Damietta, are built of brick. Here St. Louis, King of France, having, in the year 1250, been defeated and taken prisoner by the Saracens, was confined; and they still shew in the castle, the place of his imprisonment. Whether the town derives its name from this adventure, I will not presume to determine; *Mansoura*, however, in Arabic, signifies conqueror. From this place, we have the best sal-ammoniac. Some leagues up the country, are still seen the remains of a large city, anciently called *Themaise*, in Greek Θυς, (Θμυις), where, we are told, there is still subsisting a beautiful marble temple. The country people also, often find medals and stones with inscriptions." *

At Mansoura, Sir F. Henniker entered the canal leading to Menzaleh, and proceeded to a place which he calls Mersy. About four miles S.E. of this place is a mound of rubbish, to which he was directed in answer to his inquiries for antiquities. "The waters," he says, "were out; the way dangerous and intricate; a considerable part of the distance, we waded nearly breast-high. As to temples, there are only two small parcels of worthless granite. The rushes that grow here, are of a three-sided or prismatic form,—perhaps the papyrus. There were cattle upon the mound; and it was remarkable that, wherever a hoof had been impressed at the water's edge, the indenture was covered with a lamina of salt, having the appearance of ice; yet, the water is per-

* Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 59.

fectly fresh; the sand alone is impregnated with salt. This excursion occupied four hours. From Mansoura to Menzaleh cost us three days, between which place and Mersy we saw other rubbish mounds, but were informed that there were not even stones there."*

Menzaleh is a large town, but would not deserve particular notice, were it not for the extensive lake to which it gives its name, and which abounds with fish and with fishermen, a savage and half amphibious race. A great deal of the fish is salted, and forms an article of trade with Syria. The islands of Matarriyeh in this lake, have been represented to be populous and covered with houses, some of brick and others of clay. In some of the islands, there are remains which attest the former existence of considerable towns. Sir F. Henniker, who landed at Matarriyeh, says: "Matarieh gives name to two small islands covered with wretched habitations. The trade consists in salt-fish and *podargue*.....Tennys has been thoroughly ransacked. The virtuosi have carried away every sign of its former grandeur, except a small cistern, incrusted similarly to those of the *Sette Sale* at Rome."† As he sailed over the lake, rows of pelicans, stretched along the smooth surface, had a very beautiful appearance. They resemble swans, but part of their plumage is rose-coloured, and glistens in the sun. In four hours he reached a wood of palm-trees, which extends from the shore of the lake to Damietta.

* Henniker, p. 33.

† "Tennis, the largest island in the lake, anciently Thennesus, was extremely populous and flourishing in the middle ages, being enriched by its excellent manufactures. In the ninth century, it had about 30,000 Christian inhabitants, but has now long been entirely deserted. Its walls, flanked with towers, some vestiges of baths, and some stuccoed vaults (probably reservoirs), are all the remains of this once wealthy city."—*Ency. Metrop.*, art. Egypt.

DAMIETTA.

DAMIETTA (the Dimyat of the Arabs and the Tamiati of the Copts), once the emporium of the eastern part of the Delta, is situated on the eastern bank, on the narrow neck of land between the river and Lake Menzaleh, about ten miles from its mouth. It does not appear to occupy the site of any ancient town of note, nor did it rise into consideration till the destruction of the more easterly mouths had brought almost all the maritime commerce of Egypt to its port. It may be considered, indeed, as having risen upon the ruin of Pelusium. As well as the neighbouring town of Tennis, it was also famed for the excellence of its manufactures. Idrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says: "In Dimyat, they manufacture excellent leathers and other materials for clothing, almost equal to those made at Tennis;" and he speaks of the "gown pieces" or "striped cloths" made at Dimyat and Tennis, as unrivalled in value and beauty. As these were all exported, probably, from Damietta, they became known to Europeans under the familiar name of dimity. Damietta was at that time regarded as the key of Egypt, and was fixed upon by the leaders of the sixth crusade, as the most important object of that expedition. It was taken by assault, but not before it had been reduced, by the horrors of famine and pestilence, during a siege of seventeen months, to a vast charnel-house. Of its population of 70,000, 3000 only were the relics. The mosques, the houses, and the streets were strewed with dead, and the conquerors marched through a pestilential vapour. After it had been eight months in the possession of the Latins, its surrender became

the price of a safe retreat for the invading army. This took place about A.D. 1218. In 1249, Damietta again fell into the hands of the Christians, in the eighth crusade, headed by Louis IX., and its surrender was a second time the price of safety. The city, however, which the Christians captured, was five miles and a half to the north of the modern Damietta, and was destroyed by the Moslems themselves in 1250; the present situation being probably chosen as more secure against maritime invasion.* In the fifteenth century, an Arabian writer describes Damietta as a considerable place, surrounded with gardens, and one of the principal sea-ports on the Mediterranean; carrying on a lucrative fishery and a large trade in sugar. He also notices the singularity and beauty of its birds and fishes.†

Van Egmont describes it as equal to Rotterdam in size, and handsomely built, the houses being all o brick, with several stories, and more sightly than those of Constantinople. "It has a great many spacious khans or mansions for merchants, magazines for goods, and mosques, whose minarets give the town a grand appearance. Its chief trade consists in rice, wheat, and coffee, which the Franks, however, are not suffered to export. Its commerce renders it populous; and there is something very pleasing in the great number of small vessels which are continually coming in and going out."‡ As early as 1737, however, the bar at the mouth of the river had increased so much as not to allow even vessels of thirty or forty tons burden to cross it without being unladen; and its

* See Mills's Hist. of the Crusades, vol. ii. p. 175.
† Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt. ‡ Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 55

navigation has suffered still more from the enlargement of the Canal of Menouf.

Hasselquist (in 1750) describes the place in much less favourable terms than the learned Hollander. "Damietta," he says, "is a little town, built on the shore of the Nile, in the form of a half-moon, situated on the right hand in coming from Cairo. The Nile makes a little turning to the east before it reaches the sea. This reach, which is somewhat broader than the river in other places, stretches beyond the town, and serves for its harbour, which is fit only to receive the vessels of the town, the *musches* (*maashes*) from Cairo, *chembeks* from Cyprus, Syria, &c., *sheomeoni* from Alexandria, and other small craft of the kind. The European vessels must anchor in the open road, without the mouth of the Nile, where they are no longer safe, than while the weather favours them. In bad weather, they have no other chance than slipping their cables and running to sea, or stretching for the harbour of Cyprus. On this account, Damietta is a miserable place, and frequented by few European vessels. The houses near the shore are tolerably well built after the Egyptian manner; but those in the town are the most miserable huts one can any where see. I counted about twelve mosques....On one side of Damietta is a large river, or rather gulf,* which empties itself into the sea, and likewise receives an arm of the Nile; by which the land whereon the town is built, becomes an island. The mixture of sea and river water causes this gulf to be neither salt nor sweet, but between both....The Greeks alone have a church

* Lake Menzaleh is referred to. The fish caught are stated to be chiefly mullet (*burri*) and different species of *sciænæ arted i.*

in Damietta: it has a number of priests, and a pretty large congregation, particularly since a number of those Greeks who were driven from Cyprus by the tyranny of the Turks, have taken refuge here. There are some rich Greek merchants, and the inspector of the customs is a Greek, who pays 400 purses for his office; but, in most of the Greeks here, their national misery shews itself. The Papists have neither chapel nor missionaries here, which is the only place of any consideration in Egypt, destitute of this kind of apostles. The Syrian merchants, about 200 in number, and all considerable people, have two monks from the mountain of Lebanon, of the order of St. Anthony, who read mass in their chambers, which even the French captains frequent. The principal part of the inhabitants consists of Turkish janizaries, who are all merchants governed by *sirdahs*: most of them are rich, but then they are chiefly knaves and runaways, who, for great misdemeanours, having quitted Constantinople, Karamania, or the Islands, have taken refuge in Egypt, and there live in safety. There are many Greeks here; a few families of Copts; of Jews a pretty large number. The brokers are all Jews; a few of them rich, but the greater part poor. They have no synagogue here, but worship God in their own private houses. The Franks were obliged to quit the place entirely, after the French had been expelled.* I left Damietta with pleasure, as it is the most miserable

* In consequence of a riot occasioned by what the French call an affair of gallantry, in which the French consul was detected. The remembrance of this circumstance is much more likely to have produced the strong prejudice against Europeans which is attributed to the people of Damietta, than, as Captain Light supposes, the tradition of the Crusade of St. Louis. Van Egmont charges the Syrians with exaggerating and fostering this prejudice.

place in Turkey for a Frank to dwell in. We had two hours' voyage on the Nile from Damietta to the sea: the shore on the right hand consisted of sand-hills, with reeds near the water, and on the left, rich land."*

Damietta is, however, still a place of some importance, being the great depôt for rice: that which is produced in this district is the most esteemed of any in the Levant. Savary states the population at 80,000 souls,—an obvious exaggeration. A more probable estimate makes it 30,000. The official census referred to in a preceding part of this volume,† rates the native population at 13,600, which is probably below the truth; and as the proportion of Syrians, Turks, Jews, and other foreigners, has always been very considerable, it may be safely estimated at between 25 and 30,000. Capt. Light was surprised at its populousness. "It was with difficulty," he says, "we were able to pass through its narrow streets. The description of one town in the Delta and on its opposite banks, answers for all: houses of burnt or unburnt bricks; projecting casements that obscure the light, and seem incapable, from their being of wood pierced with holes, of admitting it; small shops in the different bazars, in which a single man sits cross-legged on a board, dealing out his wares to the customers; narrow streets, and offensive smells. The gardens are of the same neglected kind as in other parts of Egypt: they are generally enclosed with reeds, espaliers, and brushwood, within which are plantations of palm and orange-trees. The rice-grounds are numerous, and irrigated by water-wheels.‡ The inhabitants of the town and the

* Hasselquist, pp. 110—115. † Page 58.

‡ In another place, this Writer describes the tracts of rice-ground appearing above the waters, intermixed with willow and sycamore

fellahs of the country, being more immediately under the oppression of the Turkish chiefs, seem to have less energy than those in Upper Egypt.

"Damietta has little worthy of notice but its magazines of rice, which are large: those belonging to the Pasha would do credit to any European government. They are in an extensive oblong building, with a wooden colonnade along the front of the lower story; this is divided into a variety of apartments, in some of which the rice undergoes its processes of refinement. Previously to being used, it requires three operations. It is first placed in heaps, under a number of wooden levers, at the end of which are hollow tin canisters, with the hollow downwards, of six or eight inches long, and about three in diameter. The levers are raised by a wheel moved by two oxen, and strike the canisters into the rice, which is received into them, and is thus beaten without being bruised; the husks are shaken off, and after the third operation, the rice becomes white and fit for use, though a little reduced. One of these machines with four rammers, worked by two oxen, ought to purify forty *ardebs* (fourteen bushels and a half English each) in a month." *

We shall transcribe one more description of this town, furnished by a female pen. The Writer is a little disposed, perhaps, to view objects under the "magic violet tint" which she speaks of as overspreading an Egyptian landscape after the setting of

trees, as having (in August) an agreeable aspect; but the swarms of mosquitoes which the rice-grounds generate, prevented him from much enjoying the prospect.

* Light's Travels, pp. 128—132. Hasselquist states that, when it is clean, they add a thirtieth part of salt to the rice, and pound them together, by which the rice becomes white, which before was grey: after which fining, it is passed through a sieve, to separate the salt from the rice.

the sun; but it is interesting to compare the opposite impressions produced by the same scene.

"On leaving the boat, I was agreeably surprised with the most pleasing and diversified prospect. The city of Damietta is built on the right bank of the river; and its first appearance reminded me of some of the quarters of Venice. The houses, looking all on this side towards the Nile and towards the country, with their balconies, terraces, and pavilions, have not such a dull, monotonous effect as most of the houses in the East, which, when seen from the street, resemble, with their flat roofs, and from their want of windows, a mere garden wall. Every house at Damietta has its own little port, to facilitate the approach of vessels of all kinds; for the trade of this city, in coffee, rice, beans, and linen, is very brisk, and extends into Syria and all parts of the Levant. Numerous boats and gondolas, called *canjes*, elegantly decorated, were sailing up the river; and, not to leave this moving picture without some contrast to give it additional interest, groupes of Turks were gravely seated before the houses, cross-legged, on rich carpets, smoking their long pipes with the most unalterable composure."*

Baron Minutoli and his lady remained for some time in this city, during which the Writer continued to wear her European dress, without being subjected to insult from the detachments of Albanian soldiers whom they continually met with in their walks, although they were unaccompanied by a janizary; a precaution found necessary at Cairo and in Upper Egypt. The security and even respect which the

* Recollections of Egypt by the Baroness Von Minutoli, p. 176. Who would suppose this to be the same place of which a recent traveller (Mr. Carne) thus speaks? "Few places can be more monotonous or stupid than Damietta, situated on a perfect flat."

Christians now enjoy, in a city formerly notorious for its fanatical hatred of the Franks, is ascribed to the vigour and policy of the present Pasha.

"In these walks," continues the Baroness, "we often passed by the burying-ground, situated at some distance from the city. Small brick tombs, instead of a mound of earth, indicate the place of sepulture. I frequently saw women and old men sitting on these tombs in profound meditation. It seems, that the present inhabitants have inherited from the ancient Egyptians their veneration for the dead. Though they no longer embalm them, nor dig catacombs to deposit them, I have seen stone tombs in the poorest villages, the houses of which were built of clay. Diodorus says, that the ancient Egyptians displayed more magnificence and wealth in their tombs, than in their dwellings; alleging as a reason, that the houses of the living were only resting-places, whereas the tombs are permanent and eternal mansions.

"It was in one of our morning-walks, that we met with the papyrus-plant: it is a kind of *three-cornered reed*,* which is now to be found in no other part of Egypt than the environs of Damietta and the banks of Lake Menzaleh. The scarcity of this plant appears less strange, when we recollect what Strabo says on the subject of the papyrus; that the government, to secure a monopoly, caused it to be pulled up in a great part of Egypt, and suffered it only in some appointed districts, where its cultivation and the use made of it could be superintended. According to Pliny, the membranes of the plant were glued together in such a manner as to render the places at which they were joined imperceptible. Perhaps the ancients prepared

* This answers to Sir F. Henniker's description of what he supposed to be the papyrus. See p. 236.

the papyrus by pressing it, as is still done by the South Sea Islanders with their stuffs, which they also manufacture of the membranes of various plants, and which, in some measure, bear a close analogy to the papyrus of the ancients. We still find on the latter, indubitable traces of this process. Several papyri in my husband's collection, which are now in the museum at Berlin, have still such a degree of solidity, that twenty centuries have not been able to impair it; and they may still be unrolled with the same facility as any other roll of paper or parchment. They are of a yellow or brown colour, according as they have been more or less exposed to the air. My husband is still in possession of one, the hieroglyphic figures on which are painted in very lively and various colours, in perfect preservation. A peculiarity which I have had occasion to remark, is, that the two ends of the papyrus are hermetically closed with a stopper of byssus covered with resin, which has so wonderfully preserved them from the influence of the air. M. Reynier says, that this plant was made use of in the manufacture of paper as late as the ninth century." *

Very opposite representations have been given as to the healthiness of this place. By some writers, the air, notwithstanding that the city is surrounded with water, has been stated to be very salubrious; but during the months of May, June, and July, the rice-grounds uncovered by the waters, render it far otherwise. In the vicinity are extensive salt-pans, which do not contribute to its salubrity. The territory, with the city itself, is said to be threatened with serious danger from the encroachments of the lake towards the river, by which the peninsula is gradually diminishing.

* Recollections, pp. 191—6

Another apprehension is, that this branch of the Nile, which is annually becoming shallower, may at length cease to be navigable. The want of a harbour must also operate at all times greatly to the disadvantage of its commerce; but this inconvenience is common to all the Egyptian ports except Alexandria. As to the apprehended sources of danger, it is probable that they, as well as the obstruction created by the bar, would yield before a spirit of enterprise guided by European science.*

The entrance to the Damietta river is guarded by two Martello towers, enclosed in a circular battery. That on the Delta side was built by the French, of masonry, and mounts seven or eight guns: it is well situated to defend the mouth of the river, and is protected from shipping at sea. The tower on the right bank, which is of brick, appears larger, and contains a mosque within the outer enclosure. About a mile from the entrance of the river, on the Syrian side, is a large fort of irregular shape, close to the river, and situated among marshy land intersected by rivers. It is said to have been repaired or enlarged, if not entirely built, by the French. When Capt. Light visited it, there were many guns, but all badly mounted and in appearance old: those towards the river were *en barbette*. The fort is revetted with brick, and without ditch or covert way; its scarp, about twenty feet, commanding all the country round; and the approach to it is rendered difficult by the nature of the ground. It seemed ca-

* There is, throughout the Delta, a small inclination from east to west, so that all the streams have a tendency towards the western arm. The observation of this fact by the French engineers, led them to predict such a diminution of water in the eastern arm, as has rendered it necessary to close at low Nile the canal of Menoof.

pable of containing a garrison of between 3 and 4000 men, but there were not, in 1814, more than thirty or forty soldiers. It has a good range of barracks, a mosque, and detached houses. The walls are weak. The principal entrance is from the river, and there is another on the south side.*

Of the country lying between the Rosetta and the Damietta arms, we have no detailed description. Between Damietta and Lake Burullos, is an extensive tract of desert or morass, supposed to be the *Elearchia* or *Bucolia* of the ancients, the country of marshes and buffalo-herds. This district was called by the Egyptians, Bashmûr; the name given also to a dialect of the Coptic. The savage Bashmurians lived sometimes in their boats, and sometimes among the reeds of the marshy banks; and such is said to be still the condition of the fishermen who inhabit the shores and islets of Lake Burullos. This lake, separated from the sea by a narrow sandy strip of coast, extends across a considerable portion of the basis of the present Delta. It takes its name from the ancient Paralos (or Paralion), situated on the western side of the Sebennytic mouth, which was formerly a place of some consideration, being an episcopal see subject to the patriarch of Alexandria. The Arabian name, *Burullos-el-rimal* (Burullos of the Sands), indicates the nature of the soil, which produces the finest water-melons (*cucurbita citrullus*) in the country. On the southern side of this lake was the ancient Buto, Pteneto, or Phthenothes, which was decorated with several splendid temples,

* Light's Travels, p. 261. This is apparently what the Baroness Minutoli calls the fort of Esbe. Hasselquist, describing the Damietta mouth nearly a century ago, says: "At the mouth of the Nile, on the left hand, was a tower, which, they say, was founded in St. Louis's age. On the right was a village, near which we brought-to for the night." Van Egmont calls the village Hisba.

particularly one dedicated to Buto, the Egyptian Latona, the nurse of Horus. It is now called Tentu, but little remains to attest its ancient magnificence. An island in the lake contained another celebrated temple, dedicated to Hermes, whence it was called Chemmis or Hermopolis. At *Busir-Benna*, there are some traces of the ancient Busiris (P'Osiris); and "at *Bohbeit-el-hijarah*, near the Isle of Xois, just below Semennoud, is a large enclosure full of sculptured fragments, the site of *Na-Isi* or *Iseum* (the town of Isis)." * The most populous town in the Delta now, is Tantah (Tandeta, Tantatho), said to contain upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. It is situated nearly in the centre of the Delta, in the midst of a very fertile tract, but is said to owe its prosperity chiefly to the wonder-working sepulchre of Seid Ahmed-el-Bedawi, a Moslem saint, born at Fez, but buried at this place A.D. 1199. "Twice a year, at the vernal equinox and summer solstice, thousands of pilgrims repair to say their orisons at his tomb, and obtain the pardon of their sins through his intercession. Not much less than 2800*l.* sterling is said to be annually expended by these devout and speculating pilgrims." †

* Ency. Metrop. from Champollion. This must be the *Beybait* of Sir F. Henniker. See p. 235.

† Their number has been estimated at 150,000: they come from Hedjaz, Abyssinia, and even Dar Fur. Denon speaks of a place called *Desuk* as the great centre of attraction to the Egyptian pilgrims. Proceeding from Rosetta through the villages of Madie, Elyusera, Abugueridi, Melahue, Abuserat, Ralaici, Beredi, Ekbet, Estaone, Elbat, Elsezri, Suffrano, Elnegars, and Madie-di-Berimbal, the detachment reached Berimbal at night; a distance of four leagues. The next day, at the end of twelve hours, passing through as many villages, they reached Metoobes, notorious for its *almehs* or dancing women. From this place, the Writer went to *Koum-el-hhamar* (the red mountain), so named from a mound of red bricks of indeterminate character, which is the only vestige of an ancient site. The

We must now return to Sir F. Henniker. Having again embarked in his little skiff, he sailed in four hours to Matarieh, his account of which has already been given. He thence steered for Sann, which he reached in twelve hours. "At Sann," he says, "are six obelisks, their bases varying from six to seven feet, on each a perpendicular row of hieroglyphics. They are all prostrate, but it appears that they did stand in a direct line drawn E. and W., in length about 160 yards. At each end are blocks of granite, so that this place was probably once worth seeing." The French found here, in 1800, fragments of seven obelisks, remains of a colossus, of monolithic temples, and other edifices of vast dimensions; and the ruins cover a vast extent of ground. There can be no doubt that these are the remains of the ancient

country eastward from this place towards Lake Burullos, is described as a mere uncultivated morass. The next day, they proceeded through Sindion to Fua; thence to El Alavi and Therafa. To the north-west of the latter place are extensive but shapeless ruins, called *Koum-hhamar-el-Medineh;* possibly Cabaza. The following day, passing through Gabrith, a village fortified with walls and towers, and Salmie, they reached the canal of Ssa-idy, which is sufficiently wide for the passage of boats from the Nile to Lake Burullos. "Desuk, a large village, is distant from it about half a league, and has a mosque which is resorted to twice a year by all the nations of the east, and in which 200,000 souls pay their devotions. The *almehs* repair thither from every part of Egypt; and the greatest miracle which is performed by Ibrahim, who is so devoutly worshipped at Desuk, is to suspend the jealousy of the Mussulmans during the time that this festival lasts, and to allow the women the enjoyment of liberty." Not far from this village is *Sanhoor-el-Medin*, an ancient site, which exhibited, however, nothing but a heap of shapeless ruins. Further to the N.E. is another ruined site, called Shaabas-ammers, which was the limit of his excursion.—Denon's Travels, vol. i. c. 7. Malte Brun mentions a "monastery of St. Geminian in the north of the Delta," as a place of pilgrimage for both Christians and Moslems: the festival lasts eight days.

Tanis, which gave its name to the Tanitic arm of the Nile, on the eastern side of which it was situated, not far from its mouth; nor is there much room to question that Tanis is the Zoan of the Hebrew Scriptures, notwithstanding the learned doubts that have been raised by Bryant and Larcher.* "Surely, the princes of Zoan are become fools. Where are they? Where are thy wise men?"

From San, Sir F. Henniker proceeded along the Tanitic branch, to the opening called *Om Faredje*. This mouth is about a hundred yards in width, but too shallow for even the boats to pass. Dolphins were sporting round, which the sheikh who accompanied our Traveller, requested him not to fire at. Here he landed, and, after a three hours' walk, arrived at "the Bubastic mouth," a hundred yards wide, which he forded, and found "knee-deep." At a short distance, he came to an outpost of a Bedouin encampment, near *Djebel Romano*. This is a lofty ridge of sand, where, *it is said*, Pompey was killed; and hence the name, the Roman mountain. By the Arabs, our Traveller and his party were hospitably received. The next day, a march of four hours over a plain of

* Bryant (vol. vi. p. 359) confounds it with Tennys (Thennesus), and argues from this mistake. It is certain that Tanis was a royal residence, the seat of the twenty-first and twenty-third dynasties of Manetho: of the latter dynasty was Cetes or Proteus. Tanis is called San by the Arabs, as Tyre is called Soor; but in both cases, the Hebrew is different, Zoan or Zaan, and Tzor. By the Copts, it is called Jani. Bryant tells us, that Tzoan signifies the shepherd province, *i. e.*, abounding with flocks; but that is a different word from Zoan, which appears to signify a *lake* or *marsh*. See Calmet's Dictionary. The Chaldee renders *Zaananim*, marshes, Josh. xix. 33. Zoan is referred to as a chief city of Egypt, Numb. xii. 22. Psal. lxxviii. 12. Isa. xix. 11., xxx. 4. Ezek. xxx. 14. For an account of the situation and appearance of San, see Hamilton's Ægyptiaca, p. 382, and Denon, plate 17.

and brought them to the site of Pelusium. Four columns of red granite and some few fragments of others, are the only remains of its boasted magnificence. The castle of Tinneh is a small stone building, with "broken, honey-combed guns." In the sandy plain they had passed over, a lamina of salt, about an inch thick, of a pale rose colour, was found on the surface of many hollows, forming natural salt-pans. Having regained Lake Menzaleh, they moored off the islet of Tennys. To the west of this is the island of Toomah, where is the tomb of a sheikh,—"a small room hung with strings of wooden beads, like a button-maker's shop, with a square frame covered with green cloth in the centre, on which is embroidered a text from the Koran." The next day, our Traveller visited the mouth "Debbee" (or Dibeh), supposed to be the Mendesian: "it is as impassable as the Bubastic branch, and is called the False Mouth." In the evening he returned to Damietta. Throughout this excursion, this Writer says, he could never find a stone or pebble: "the country is a lump of mud."*

Pelusium, called by Suidas "the Key," and by Ezekiel "the Strength of Egypt," † was the last town in the Syrian frontier. It was situated a little to the east of the mouth to which it gave name, at the distance of two miles from the sea. It was guarded, not only by solid walls, but also by extensive morasses (*barathra*) on every side. These morasses form part of Lake Menzaleh. The walls, which still remain,

* Henniker, pp. 38—48. We transcribe from Malte Brun the geographical position of the following places: Dibeh, lat. 31° 21′ 4″ N.; long. 32° 8′ E. Om Faredge, lat. 31° 8′ 16″ N.; long. 31° 31′ 54″ E. Island of Tennis, lat. 31° 12′ N.; long. 32° 12′ 30″ E. Damietta, lat. 31° 25′ N.; long. 31° 50′ E.

† Ezek. xxx. 15.

are now ten miles from the sea. The last part of the Pelusiac arm, reduced to little more than a wide stream of mud, crosses the arid plain which intervenes between the lake and the sea. On its bank is the Turkish fortress called the castle of Tineh; and a little to the east of this are the ruins of Pelusium and Farama. M. Champollion supposes, that the latter was built by the Arabs after the sea had retired from Pelusium, so that it was no longer serviceable as a maritime town. "*Peremun*, the Egyptian name of Pelusium, whence the Arabs formed *Furama*, *Farama*, or *Fermah*, signifies *muddy*, as Pelusium does in Greek, Sin in Hebrew, and Tineh in Arabic; so that all the denominations of this celebrated fortress on the eastern frontier, referred to the peculiar character of the soil on which it stood."*

* Ency. Metrop., *art.* Egypt. Bryant has cited, in support of his theories, some ancient routes, which may throw light on the obscure topography of this part. The first is that of Titus, who marched from Alexandria to Pelusium in his way to Palestine, viz.: from Alexandria to Nicopolis; thence by water to Thmuis (near Mansoura); thence to Tanis; to Heracleopolis Parva; to Pelusium. (*Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib.* iv. c. 11.) The author of the Itinerary gives the places with their distances, beginning from the east.

From Pelusium to Heracleus	22 *m. p.*	
—— Heracleus to Thanis	22	(San.)
—— Thanis to Thmuis	22	(Tmai.)
—— Thmuis to Cyno	25	(Mehallet.)
—— Cyno to Tavam	30	
—— Tavam to Andro	12	(Shabour.)
—— Andro to Nithine	12	
—— Nithine to Hermopol	24	(Damanhour.)
—— Hermopol to Chercu	24	
—— Chercu to Alexandria	20	
	213	

Another route, from Pelusium to Memphis, makes the first stage, to Daphne, the ancient Taphaanes, 16 *m. p.* (Bryant's Anal., vol. vi.

The road from the sea to Memphis along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, passed by Bubastis (Phi-Basti, the Pi-Beseth of Ezek. xxx. 17), some remains of which may still be seen on the south-eastern side of the canal of Moez, where it throws off what was anciently the Tanitic arm of the Nile. In *Tel-Bastah* (the hill or mound of Bastah), the Arabs have preserved a part of the ancient name. The ruins, which are visible at a great distance, are enclosed by a mound measuring three quarters of a mile each way, which marks the bounds of the ancient city, and appears closely to resemble the enclosure at Sa-el-hajar, described by Dr. E. D. Clarke. A fine fragment of a cornice adorned with hieroglyphics six feet high and eight broad, and an obelisk, the side of which was covered with stars, attest the ancient magnificence of the place. Bubastis was the capital of a nome, and is said to have been founded by Bochos, the first king of the second dynasty; and it was the seat of the 22nd dynasty of Manetho, to which is assigned a date extending from 970 to 850 B.C. It was famous for possessing a temple distinguished by the beauty and richness of its sculpture, and surrounded with a lofty grove, dedicated to Bubastis, the sister of Horus, the Egyptian Artemis or Lucina: the annual festivals celebrated here in honour of this goddess, held the first rank in the Egyptian calendar, and are said to have brought together more than 700,000 persons. To the north-east of Bubastis, on the eastern side of the Tanitic arm, was *Pharbæthus*, which gave its name

p. 355.) The site of this city (referred to Jer. ii. 16; xliii. 7; xliv. 1. Ezek. xxx. 17; and where Jeremiah, according to tradition, was buried) has not been ascertained; but was probably near Salahieh, where the route from El Arish to Cairo separates from that which leads to the Delta.

to a nome, and was an episcopal see. It is now a mere village, surrounded with ruins, in the midst of a low, marshy plain, and is still called Pharbeit by the Copts, and Horbeit by the Arabs. A *torso* and the foot of a colossus were found here in 1798; but the extent of the mounds shews that it was not more than one-fourth the size of Bubastis. At the head of the canal of Moez (the Pelusiac arm), on the eastern side of the river, are the ruins of Athribis, which still bear the name of Athreb, or Atreeb. This was also an episcopal see under the lower empire, and appears to have been at one time a considerable place. Remains may still be traced for nearly three-quarters of a mile one way, and a mile the other: a square and two wide streets crossing each other at right angles, may be easily distinguished. It gave its name to the nome Athribites, but is now included, together with Pharbeit, in the province of Sharkiyeh.*

The route from Syria by way of El Arish, Katieh, and Salehiyeh,† runs from the latter place in a south-

* These topographical details are taken chiefly from the article in the Ency. Metrop. so often referred to, and rest on the authority of the French *savans;* more especially MM. Malus and Champollion.

† Salehiyeh is now the last town at which the traveller halts in his route to Syria, by the desert of Suez. On leaving it, the road plunges almost immediately into the desert, but a thick grove of palm-trees stretches along on the left for an hour. The first day's journey is to Cantara, distant about six hours, where is a large well of brackish water. The next day's route crosses several pools and inlets of salt water proceeding from Lake Menzaleh, and traces of a canal, which would seem to be part of the Pelusiac arm. Dr. Richardson mentions an old ruined bridge two hours beyond Cantara, (but to which it appears to have transferred its name,) where a long, winding canal, too deep to be forded except by dromedaries, bounds a beautiful verdant spot covered with flowers and shrubs. Had there been any fresh water near, he says, this favoured spot would probably have been enlivened by the residence of several

westerly direction to Belbeis (called by the Copts *Phelbes* or *Phlabes*), mistaken by D'Anville for Pharbæthus. This was formerly the capital of the *Hauf*, one of the eastern divisions of Lower Egypt; and under the Arabian government, was a flourishing town, but had become ruined and almost deserted at the beginning of the fifteenth century.* It is pleasantly situated on an eminence, near a considerable mound of ruins extending north and east of the town; but these, consisting entirely of brick, do not indicate any ancient magnificence. The water at Belbeis is brackish, but it stands not far from the *Bahr Abu 'l Munejji*, which, beginning six miles below Cairo, runs for twelve miles to Belbeis, and thence passes into *Wadi Tumilat*; while a cut from it runs northwestward by Tel Bastah, and, after a course of ninety-six miles, falls into the canal of Moez. The *Bahr Abu 'l Munejji* (or *Ibn Menji*) is said to have been dug under the direction of a Jew of that name, A.D. 1112, who was shamefully requited for his skilful completiou of the work. It communicates with the *Birket-el-Hadji*, or Pilgrim's Pool, which receives the Great Canal (*El khalij el kebir*) of Cairo. Between Belbeis and Abousal, Dr. Richardson mentions the village of Zamlé as extremely beautiful, surrounded with good cultivation, plenty of wood, and water

families. Although no ruins are mentioned, this has probably been an inhabited spot. Capt. Mackworth, at three hours and a half from Cantara, halted at Catieh, "where a village is said once to have existed;" but he "saw no traces of it: there are a few date-trees, a pool of rain water become brackish, and a well of water so salt that camels alone can use it." It is about five days' journey from Salehiyeh to El Arish.—See RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, vol. ii. pp 178—191. MACKWORTH'S *Diary*, pp. 351—7. MOD. TRAV., *Palestine*.

* "It was an episcopal see, and perhaps the *Bubastis Agria* of Josephus. (*Antiq. Jud.* xiii.)"—*Ency. Metrop.*

formed into numerous lakes and canals, winding round the village and through the groves in every direction. At six hours from Belbeis is El Hanka, or Hanghé, a large and well-built village; and at *Birket-el-Hadji*, there is a considerable village, surrounded with palm-trees, where the Mohammedan pilgrims assemble previously to their setting out for Mekka. In the insulated tract between the canal and the Nile, is Kelyub, the capital of the south-eastern province of Lower Egypt, to which it gives its name: it was a large and flourishing city in the middle ages, but had fallen into decay as early as the fifteenth century. Thus, the whole of the way from the coast to Cairo, ruined sites and decayed towns are interspersed with miserable villages, the memorials of an extinct population, and the signs of existing misery and oppression. Most travellers escape all the inconveniences of the land route, by taking the high road of the Nile. Thirty-six hours will suffice to transport the stranger, who does not fancy himself in Egypt till he has caught sight of the pyramids, from Rosetta to Boulak, the port of

CAIRO.

ABOUT five hundred houses, from one to two stories high, almost heaped one upon another, occupy the banks of the harbour. The new-built palace of Ismael Pasha has, however, a somewhat princely appearance, presenting "a strange mixture of Italian, Greek, and Arabian taste: it has a wide front of handsome windows and balconies, Greek painting on its walls, much gilding on its iron work, and a wing for the harem quite eastern." * The traveller is still two miles from

* Scenes and Impressions, p. 154. Sir R. Wilson describes the

the capital. "Let me have a hackney-coach,"—*Si Signore, Signor si*, resounds from a crowd of *facchini*, and donkeys are brought: his luggage is carried to the custom-house.* "The ass of Cairo, even the hired ass," a lively and picturesque writer informs us, "is a lineal descendant of the *Sprightly* in the Arabian Nights;—a fine-sized animal, with a parti-coloured pack-saddle, having a high pommel covered with red leather, on which you may lounge, lean your hand, or suffer your reins to lie. He is provided with stirrups and bridle half European. Away he goes, trotting or cantering, the ragged driver running after him, and crying, *Taieeb, Signor, taieeb, lashy lee breed* (*lachez le bride*). Whether you do or not, he carries you, winding his way between loaded camels, workmen's stalls, porters, beggars, crowds mounted and crowds on foot, in a manner that quite puzzles you. It is necessary to have your eyes open and your wits ready, or you will be knocked off by the mountain-load of

town of Boulak as having been reduced to one heap of ruins by the French during the siege of 1799. "A few wretched hovels and two or three barracks were the only remaining buildings of this once large and populous fauxbourg." In 1814, however, it had so far recovered as to be the most flourishing part of the city. "While Cairo appears neglected," says Capt. Light, "Boulak, its port, increases. New houses are built by merchants, to which they retire for change of air from Cairo. It contains the naval arsenal and dock-yard of the Pasha, the custom-house, and government warehouses."—LIGHT, p. 21.

* Henniker, p. 56. There is but one carriage in Egypt, the Pasha's; "a cardinal's at second hand, similar to our Lord Mayor's waggon," says this Traveller; "a pretty berlin," says the Baroness Minutoli, who had a ride in it. There are, indeed, scarcely any wheel-carriages. "All the time I was in Cairo," says Dr. Richardson, "I saw only one cart, which was drawn by buffaloes; it carried a dead man who had been shot in a scuffle a few minutes before." The streets are too narrow to admit of carriages.

some camel, or, what might be worse, you would run against some surly Albanian.

"A fine and rather wide bit of road leads from Old Cairo to the new city. Here you may look before and around you, and ask questions. Mounted on sleek, beautiful, well-groomed asses, you meet numbers of respectable-looking figures in their ample and distinguishing robes; the Coptic and Armenian merchants with dark robes and dark turbans; the Mohammedans in brighter colours, and turbans white or of shawls. Mingled with these, you may see Greek and Latin monks in their blue and black garments, with beards and turbans. There is green corn on each side of you (April). The city does look, as you approach, like a capital. You enter and cross the *Birket Eskebequieh*, an open, irregular square.* The houses on one side are lofty, latticed, mean, and out of repair, but novel and picturesque. To the right are the palaces of Ali Pasha; Ahmed Pasha, and other grandees; large white buildings, with a small garden before one of them, before the others bare walls, with nothing palace-like about them. Their front is to the

* "Place Bequier is a large open square, where most of the Beys resided; but many of their houses have been destroyed by the French: indeed, one whole side is in ruins. This place has, however, been otherwise improved by them, trees being planted on each side of the roads which cross the square at right angles, and fosses having been dug to retain the water, with the view of checking the dreadful quantity of dust which flies from the sand and ruins always in the evening.... The palaces of the Beys are large; two or three of them are very fine buildings; particularly Cassau Bey's, where the Institute was held, and the house in Place Bequier, in which Kleber lived, and in the garden of which he was murdered."—SIR R. WILSON'S *History*, p. 151. According to M. Nouet, the position of Cairo, as taken from the House of the Institute, is lat. 30° 2′ 2″ N.; long. 31° 18′ 45″ E.

street beyond, but they are not much better in appearance on that side. You pass out of this square, and again find yourself in Cairo's crowded streets." *

A large wooden gate, which is closed at night, leads into the Frank quarter; here are three hotels. One of them is the residence of the representative of his Britannic Majesty;—an excellent house, with a small, but pleasant walled garden, to which, on certain days in the week, the principal Franks resort as a promenade. The Franks in general are by far the least respectable-looking class in Cairo. "Image to yourself," says the writer above cited, "a set of needy, indolent, adventurous, dissipated, sharp-visaged men, whose offences, or fortunes, or hopes, have driven them from Trieste or Venice, Genoa or Marseilles; and clothe them from the Monmouth-streets of those places, with such coats, hats, and caps as they alone can furnish; and you have before you the *many* of that Frank population at Cairo, which represents the European and the Christian to the eye of the haughty Mussulman. Where is the merchant of Venice in his scarlet cloak? Where the Genoese in his rich and glossy velvets? That Cairo, the Cairo of the Khalifs, is no more; but you shall yet see the streets along which they rode, the mosques in which they prayed, and the bazaars where the Jewish and Arabian merchants brought and displayed the costly goods of India to the purchasers from Europe." †

"From the brilliant descriptions given me of the celebrated Masr," says the modern Anastasius, "of the *kalish* (canal) that runs through its centre, and

* Scenes and Impressions, pp. 156-8.

† Scenes and Impressions, p. 158. "On a Sunday, all, however, are to be seen in something looking new. How they live, is a matter of wonder, as many are without employ."

of the *birkets* (pools) that adorn its outskirts, I expected, if not an earthly, at least an aquatic paradise. On first reaching this vaunted city, I saw nothing but filth and ruins on the outside, and filth and misery within. So much, exclaimed I, for travellers' tales! 'So, too, said I,' echoed my companion, the Caireen, somewhat nettled, 'on first entering Stamboul.' What! would you compare Cairo with Constantinople? Where can you find the least resemblance? Is it between the vile offensive swamps which here have confounded the river with its banks, and the verdant hills which there hem in the very sea? between the yellow, muddy stream here treasured up for refreshment in sooty pitchers, and the crystal rills there gushing forth from golden fountains? or, finally, between the smoke-dried men, tattooed women, and blear-eyed, bloated children of this overgrown, beggarly place, and our population of patriarchs, houries, and cherubs? In Constantinople, the very cemeteries of the dead look like portions of elysium: here, the habitations of the living already seem charnel-houses."*

"To describe the interior of the city," says Dr. Clarke, "would only be to repeat what has often been said of all Turkish towns, with this difference; that there is not, perhaps, upon earth, a more dirty metropolis. Every place is covered with dust; and its particles are so minute, that it rises into all the courts and chambers of the city. The streets, destitute of any kind of pavement, appear like a series of narrow, dusty lanes between walls. By means of the canal which intersects the city, and which was now (Aug. 12) filled with its muddy water, we visited a great part of Cairo in a boat. The prodigious number of

* Anastasius, vol. ii. p. 1.

gardens give to it so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in these gardens are so new to the eyes of a European, that, for a moment, he forgets the innumerable abominations of the dirtiest city in the world. The most beautiful among them, is the *mimosa lebbek*, which grows upon the banks of the canal, its long, weeping branches pendent to the surface of the water.....The gardens are filled with turtle-doves, whose melancholy notes suit the solitary disposition of the Turks. The houses of the city are larger and better built than those of Constantinople, the foundations being of stone, and the superstructure of brick and mortar; but they have the same gloomy appearance externally: the interior consists principally of timber.....In the best houses, the taste shewn in decorating the apartments, is of the kind called Arabesque. Where the windows are glazed, (they more frequently exhibit an open lattice-work,) they are ornamented with coloured glass, representing landscapes and animals, particularly the lion. No writer has paid any attention to the origin of the painted glass in Cairo; yet, the glaziers of this city seem to have preserved an art which is supposed to be imperfectly known in Europe. From the open terraces in many of the principal houses, and from the flat roofs of all, the view is extended over the numerous gardens of the city. But every thing is disfigured and rendered uncomfortable by dust. All the foliage is covered with it, and the boasted vegetation of Cairo, instead of displaying that pleasing verdure with which Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, fill their imaginations, when reading descriptions of a city crowded with groves and gardens, rather exhibits the uninviting and uniform colour of the desert.....That its gardens, from the novelty of the plants found in them,

are sometimes pleasing to the eye of a European, may be admitted; and it has been acknowledged, that the plantations adorning the sides of the canal, may for a a short time render a stranger unmindful of the filth and wretchedness of the city. But the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are received, particularly the famous *Esbequier Birket*, would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilised world. The dam of the canal had been cut about three days when we arrived; and every one was still telling of the rejoicings and ceremonies which that event had occasioned. We entered the canal in our *djerm* about noon, and after making the tour of nearly the whole city by means of the canal and a series of dikes filled with the muddy water of the river, we at last entered the Esbequier Lake at six o'clock p. m. Having crossed this piece of water, we landed, and went to the house we had hired, observing every where the same wretched appearances of dirt and degradation. How Europeans describing Cairo, can call any thing magnificent which is surpassed even by the poorest parts of Venice, is really surprising."*

Denon describes the distant view of Cairo as highly picturesque. At more than ten leagues from the city, in ascending the Nile, the points of the pyramids are discerned piercing the horizon. Soon afterwards, the ridges of the Mokattam are seen, and opposite to them, the Libyan chain, which forms a barrier against the sands of the desert; "but, in the eternal conflict between this destructive scourge and the beneficent river, the inundation of sand often overwhelms the country, changes its fertility to barrenness, drives the

* Clarke, vol. v. pp. 73—110.

labourer from his house, covering up its walls, and leaves no other mark of vegetable life than the tops of a few palm-trees, which add still more to the dreary aspect of destruction." The vast distance at which the pyramids are distinguishable, gives them an "almost transparent hue;" and the blue tint of the sky causes their angles to appear sharp and well defined, though they have been rounded by the decay of years. As the traveller draws nearer Cairo, he sees numerous minarets surrounding Mount Mokattam, and proceeding from the gardens on the banks of the Nile; while Old Cairo, Boulak, and the island of Rhoda, appearing as part of the town, give it an appearance of verdure and freshness, and add to its seeming magnificence. "As we approached, however," continues this Writer, "the illusion vanished. Every object returning, as it were, to its proper place, we saw only a heap of villages near an arid rock, and remote from the beautiful banks of the river.

"I had resided nearly a month in Cairo," he adds, "and still I had to seek for 'the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the prophet smile;'—for thus the Orientals describe it. I did indeed see a numerous population, and a vast extent of buildings, but not a single handsome street, nor one fine monument. The only place of consequence was Esbequier, the residence of Bonaparte; and this too has the air of a field; but, during the inundation, it pleases by its agreeable coolness, and by the nocturnal excursions made in boats, which have a striking effect. The palaces of this town are all surrounded with walls, which render the streets gloomy; and the habitations of the poor, which are still more neglected here than in other parts of the

country, add to the afflictive view of extreme poverty; though the climate allows of much carelessness in the article of shelter. One is tempted to ask, where were the houses inhabited by twenty-four sovereigns? Within these fortified palaces, however, some convenience and luxury are to be found: they are adorned with handsome marble baths and voluptuous vapour-stoves, saloons with mosaic floors, in the middle of which are basins and fountains of water, large divans composed of tufted carpets, raised beds covered with rich stuffs and magnificent cushions. The windows, when there are any, never open; and the day-light which they admit, is darkened by coloured glass and very close lattice-work; the light principally coming in through a dome in the ceiling." Speaking of the gardens, he says, they appeared by moon-light not unworthy of the florid description given of them by Savary. "We do not, indeed, here find those long alleys which are the pride of the French gardens, nor the serpentine walks of the English, where health and appetite are the reward of the exercise required to survey them; but, in the East, where indolent repose forms one of the chief luxuries, the tents or kiosks are reared under the thick branches of a cluster of sycamores, and open at pleasure upon a fragrant underwood of orange and jasmine.

"The inhabitants of this country build as little as possible, and repair still less. If a wall threatens to come down, they prop it up. If, notwithstanding, it falls in, it only makes the fewer rooms in the house, and they quietly range their carpets by the side of the ruins. If, at last, the house falls altogether, they either abandon the spot, or, if they are obliged to clear it out, they carry away the rubbish to as short a distance as possible; which is the cause that, in

almost every town in Egypt, and especially in Cairo, the eye of the traveller is constantly arrested by heaps, or rather mountains of rubbish, the cause of which he is at a loss to discover." *

New Cairo, the present capital of Egypt, or, as it is called by the orientals by way of eminence, Grand Cairo, was built (according to Abdul Rashid) in A.H. 360, (answering to A.D. 971,) by the Khalif El Mansour, (or Almanzor,) the first of the Fatimite dynasty who reigned over Egypt. The name, properly *El Kahira*, signifies the victorious.† It is situated about a mile and a half from the Nile, and extends eastward nearly two miles to the mountains, being, according to Pococke, about seven miles in circumference. It is surrounded with a stone wall, surmounted by fine battlements, and fortified with lofty towers at every hundred paces; which is said to have been the work of Salah-el-Din (Saladin), about A.H. 572 (A.D. 1176). There are three or four beautiful gates built by the Mamlouks, uniting a simple style of architecture with an air of grandeur and magnificence. The Canal (*Kalish*) which traverses it, comes off from the Nile a little below Old Cairo, and having passed through immense and innumerable heaps of rubbish, enters the new city on the south, goes out on the north, and winding round by the northern wall, enters again on the west, and ends in the *Birket Esbequier*. The figure of the city is nearly that of a quadrant, being

* Aikin's Denon, vol. i. pp. 255-7; 273-9.

† The city was, properly speaking, founded by the Khalif El Manscor's general, Jawhar, or Gehor, a Moggrebin Arab, (or, according to other authorities, a Dalmatian Mamlouk,) A.H. 356. He laid the foundations under the horoscope of Mars, and for that reason gave the new city the name of *Al Kahirah*, the victorious; an epithet applied by the Arab astronomers to that planet. It became the residence of the Khalifs of Egypt in A H. 362.

square towards the north and east, and circular towards the south and west. The canal is from fifteen to twenty feet broad. From the river to the city, Norden says, it is only "an ill-kept ditch." Along this canal there are a number of square excavations, which, during the inundation, seem so many small lakes or ponds, and, when covered with pleasure-boats, present a lively appearance. On the subsiding of the waters, these ponds are converted into offensive marshes; but, being quickly dried up by the intense heat of the sun, they are soon covered with the most brilliant vegetation. It is to this singular transformation which every thing in Egypt periodically undergoes, that we may in part ascribe the enthusiastic descriptions of the orientals, and the very opposite and discordant representations of European travellers.* The canal, when dry, becomes a theatre for jugglers, tumblers, and other performers of a similar kind. As the opening of this canal is an important event in the Egyptian year, and may be considered as in fact the Lord Mayor's show of Cairo, a particular description from an eye-witness will not be unacceptable to our readers.

* Three of these ponds are within the city; the *birket-el-fil* (elephant pond) and *birket-el-karoon* (pond of the horns) on the east of the *Kalish*, and the *birket esbequier* on the west. Five more are without the walls; they are called *birket-el-nassr* (the pond or lake of victory), *birket-el-Kahira* (lake of Cairo), *birket-el-Omar*, *birket-el-Guni*, and *birket-el-rotola*. Though poor substitutes for the river, they are great conveniences for the inhabitants, while the inundation continues; but, for seven or eight months in the year, they are nearly dry and covered with dust and sand. The *birket-el-Kahira* is the only one in Cairo that produces the lotus. "We saw it growing in heaps;" says Dr. Richardson, "in the middle of the lake; but all its bloom was shed, and we were about a fortnight too late for seeing the flower." (vol. i. p. 62.) The author was at Cairo the last week in September.

As soon as the waters of the Nile begin to increase, the mouth of the *Kalish* is closed with a little mound of earth, on which is placed a mark to indicate the time for opening this canal and all the others in the kingdom.* "The 16th of August," says Mr. Carne, "was the day fixed on for the celebrated cutting of the bank of the Nile; a time of great rejoicing with the Egyptians, the inundation being now at its height. It is the custom for a vast number of people of different nations to assemble and pass the night near the appointed spot. We resolved to go and mingle among them, not doubting that something highly interesting would occur. We arrived at the place about eight at night, it being distant a few miles from the city. There was firing of cannon, illuminations in *their* way, and exhibitions of fire-works. The shores of the Nile for a long way down from Boulac, were covered with groupes of people, some seated beneath the large-spreading sycamores, smoking; others gathered around parties of Arabs, who were dancing with infinite gayety and pleasure, and uttering loud exclamations of joy, affording an amusing contrast to the passionless demeanour and tranquil features of their Moslem oppressors. After some time, we crossed to the opposite shore. The scene was here much more interesting.

* See Norden, p. 41. Dr. Clarke says: "Some of our officers saw the pillar or statue of mud which is raised every year between the dike of the canal and the Nile, called *Anes*, the Bride, and which is afterwards carried away by the current." This curious custom is supposed to have given rise to the tradition, that the ancient Egyptians annually sacrified a virgin to the Nile; which horrid custom, according to Murtadi, an Arabian writer, was abolished by the Khalif Omar. That such sacrifices, if ever made by the ancient pagans of Memphis, should have been continued down to the time of Omar, is next to impossible. See Clarke, vol. v. p. 109, *note;* and Gibbon, c. li., note 128. Niebuhr states, that he pillar serves as a sort of nilometer.

Ranks of people were closely seated on the shelving banks of the Nile; and behind them was a long line of persons selling various articles of fruit and eatables. A little to the left, amidst widely scattered groupes of trees, stood several tents, and temporary coffee-houses canopied over, and lighted with lamps. Perpetually moving over this scene,—both shores and river, and groupes of palms,—being illumined by the most brilliant moonlight,—were seen, Albanian soldiers in their national costume, Nubians from the burning clime of further Egypt, Mamlouks, Arabs, and Turks. At a number of small sheds, each of which had its light or small fire, you might have meat, fish, &c. ready dressed. We entered one of the coffee-houses, or large tents, to the top of which a row of lamps was suspended; and, the front being open, we could sip the refreshing beverage, and still enjoy the animated spectacle around. Being much fatigued, I wrapped my cloak round me, and slept for a couple of hours upon a rush mat on the floor, so soundly as to hear nothing of a loud and desperate quarrel between some Arabs and Albanians in the same tent; but there was little cause for uneasiness in any situation while my faithful Michelle was near; he knew so well the manners of these people, and possessed such perfect presence of mind. The night was wearing fast away, and leaving the tent, we again joined the various parties in the shade or on the shore; some feasting and dancing, others buried in sleep. The other side of the beautiful river, which shone like glass in the splendid light, still presented a gay appearance; lights moving to and fro among the trees, boats pushing off with new comers, and sounds of gayety, with the firing of musketry, being still heard.

"At last, day broke, and soon after, the report of a

cannon announced that the event so ardently wished for was at hand. We proceeded to the spot, around which immense crowds were rapidly gathering. The high and shelving banks of the canal, into which the Nile was to be admitted, were crowded with spectators. We obtained an excellent situation for observing the ceremony, by fortunately meeting with Osmin, a Scotch renegade, but a highly respectable man, and the confidential servant of Mr. Salt. The Kiaya Bey, the chief minister of the Pasha, soon arrived with his guards, and took his seat on the summit of the opposite bank. A number of Arabs now began to dig down the dike which confined the Nile, the bosom of which was covered with a number of pleasure-boats, full of people, waiting to sail down the canal through the city. Already the mound was only partly demolished, when the increasing dampness and shaking off the earth induced the workmen to leave off. Several Arabs then plunged into the stream, and exerting all their strength to push down the remaining part, some openings were soon made, and the river broke through with irresistible violence. For some time, it was like the rushing of a cataract. According to custom, the Kiaya Bey distributed a good sum of money, throwing it into the bed of the canal below, where a great many men and boys scrambled for it. Several of them had a sort of net, fastened on the top of a pole, to catch the money as it fell. It was an amusing scene, as the water gathered fast round them, to see them struggling and groping among the waves for the coin; but the violence of the torrent soon bore them away; and there were some who had lingered to the last, and now sought to save themselves by swimming, still buffeting the waves, and grasping at the money showered down, and diving after it as it disappeared.

Unfortunately, this sport costs, every year, a few lives; and one young man was drowned this morning. The different vessels, long ere the fall had subsided, rushed into the canal, and entered the city, their decks crowded with all ranks, uttering loud exclamations of joy.

"The overflowing of the Nile is the richest blessing of Heaven to the Egyptians: as it finds its way gradually into the various parts of the city and neighbourhood, the inhabitants crowd to drink of and wash in it, and rejoice in its progress. The vast square called the Birket, which, on our arrival, had presented a sad and dreary area, was now turned into a novel and beautiful scene, being covered with an expanse of water, out of the bosom of which arose the fine sycamore-trees. On one side of this square is the palace of the Pasha; on the opposite side is the Coptic quarter: the palace of the chief of the Mamlouks, of a poor appearance, with some houses, fortifications, and ruins, forms the rest of this square. In walking round the city, and observing so many flat and naked parts, destitute of verdure, and encompassed with piles of ruins, one can hardly conceive how the waters can ever reach them; but every day, after the cutting of the bank, it is interesting to see how, silently and irresistibly, space after space is changed from a dreary, useless desert into a smiling bed of water, which brings health and abundance with it. The sounds of joy and festivity, of music and songs, are now heard all over the city, with cries of 'Allah! Allah!' and thanks to the Divine bounty for so inestimable a blessing."*

Cairo contains, of course, like every Mohammedan

* Carne's Letters from the East, vol. i. pp. 98-103.

capital, a vast number of mosques; and some are very splendid, being ornamented with many beautiful granite columns, the plunder of Heliopolis and Memphis. Some are said to contain as many as five hundred, and others even a thousand columns, as the ruined mosque that stands between Old and New Cairo. The largest in Cairo, Dr. Richardson says, is the mosque of Azhar; it stands in the middle of the city, and is much frequented by the indigent blind, many of whom are maintained out of the revenue attached to the establishment.* The mosque of Sultan Hassan, built near the gate leading to the castle hill, is also

* Van Egmont says: "Among the multitude of mosques at Grand Cairo, the finest and largest, and, at the same time, the richest, is that of *Elsgami Lazar*, *i. e.* the church of Lazarus. We were told that, every day, between five and six thousand persons received their subsistence from it, and that every night two thousand lie in it. It was added, that the persons belonging to it, and those who partake of its revenues, amount to 40,000; though many of them live in different parts of the country. This opulent mosque is, however, a very terrible structure to strangers not acquainted with the customs of the country; for, if any person happens to enter it, he is immediately thrown into prison, where he has no other choice than to turn Mahometan or suffer death."—Vol. ii. p. 67. This would seem to be the mosque above referred to. But the celebrated mosque of *El Azahar*, *i. e.* mosque of flowers, was famous for the celebrated school attached to it, founded by the Khalif Al Moez, to which learned men of every tribe formerly resorted, and the sons of sheikhs and beys came for education. Van Egmont was assured, that there were above fifty professors or masters on the establishment, and that the number of scholars and other persons then belonging to it, amounted to 13,000. "These masters also judicially determine all disputes and processes cognizable by law, and for this reason it is that no mufti resides at Cairo, as is common in other cities of the Turkish dominions." Ali Bey (Badhia) mentions it as the favourite resort of the Moggrebins as far west as Morocco. It has now lost its celebrity. "Fez, the Athens of Western Africa, El Azahar, the portico of the East, and Mekka, their holy city, are all nodding to their fall." See Jowett's Researches, p. 120.

large, although inferior in size to that of Azhar: it is in the form of a parallelogram, and has a deep frieze running all round the wall, adorned with Gothic or Arabesque sculpture.

The castle is situated to the east of the town, on a projecting point of Mount Mokattam. It completely commands the city, but is itself commanded by a higher ridge of the mountain behind, where a square fort of masonry, large enough for a garrison of four hundred men, has been erected by the present Pasha.* The road to the castle is cut out of the rock, in some places into steps, but can be ascended by the traveller without dismounting. The gates present an imposing appearance. The interior is very spacious, and contains many houses in ruins. The Pasha's palace is a small, plain building without any exterior decoration, except a greater number of glass windows in front than Turkish houses usually have. It gives the idea altogether of an officer's quarters in ordinary barracks. Lord Valentia was received in the room which was formerly the *zenana* of the Pasha, when he lived in the citadel. In the middle is a fountain, but, in other respects, it has nothing but its size and its consequent coolness to recommend it. It commands a view over the walls towards Old Cairo and the Pyramids. His Lordship was thence conducted to the mint, where they coin in gold, sequins, half sequins, and

* See Light's Travels, p. 259. This fort is approached from the intervening valley by a sloping causeway, about sixteen feet broad, on high, narrow arches. It is built about a hundred yards from the crest of the hill, the ground in front being cut away into an esplanade. It is of masonry, casemated, and bomb-proof against small shells. The principal entrance is to the west, and there is a sally-port to the east. The other parts of the Mokattam behind, command the fort at about musket-shot distance; but the neighbouring ground is completely isolated, and might be fortified so as to form a mutual support with the fort.

quarter sequins, and in silver, piasters and paras.* As these are much debased, the profits of coining are considerable, bringing in from 1000 to 1200 purses. The machinery for striking the coin is similar to that used in Europe before the inventions of Mr. Bolton, but of inferior merit. In the middle of the fortress is the famous well, which retains the name of the extraordinary man by whose orders it was sunk; Youssouf, better known as Saladin. Dr. Richardson has furnished the best description of this vaunted work.† "It is about 45 feet in circumference at the orifice, and is perforated through the soft calcareous rock to the depth of about 270 feet, where it opens a spring of brackish water on a level with the Nile, from which it is derived, having acquired the saline impregnation from the ground it has filtered through. The water is raised in buckets by two wheels, each drawn by a buffalo. One of the wheels is at the top of the well; the other at the depth of 150 feet. The shaft is descended by a broad, winding stair, with a low para-

* Norden mentions the following pieces of money as the currency of Egypt in his time: the *maidin*, or *parah*, a piece of iron silvered over, about the size of a silver threepence, worth about three-farthings English; the *fendoukli*, a gold piece worth 146 *maidins*; the *genzerli*, a gold coin worth 110 *maidins*; the *mahbub*, of the same value. The sequin of Venice is equal to 154 *maidins* The piaster, 33 *maidins*.

† This is not, in fact, the only work of the kind in the neighbourhood of Cairo. M. Maillet found five other wells of a similar description in the ruins of Old Cairo, at the foot of the mountains. As an example of human labour, Niebuhr considers it as not comparable to the works of the ancient Hindoos, who have excavated whole pagodas in the hardest rocks. "Yet," says Dr. Clarke, "if the skill which has been shown in the excavation be considered, the perforations for admitting light all the way down, and the general perfection of the work itself, it may be compared to the labours of the ancient Egyptians, rather than to any modern undertaking."

pet, both cut out of the rock. The steps are easy, but dirty and slippery. Arrived at the wheel, we found an ample space round it: the driver sat upon the frame, smoked his pipe, and drove round his buffalo in tolerable comfort. From this place, the descent is not quite so commodious. Entering by a narrow opening, it leads down a narrow stair without any parapet, to the depth of 120 feet: the descent is extremely disagreeable, and it is not worth the trouble, merely to see a pool of brackish water. Such as it is, however, when raised to the surface, it is conducted in pipes all over the citadel, to irrigate the gardens, and keep alive the little verdant sod within its walls; and were the fortress besieged, this would be the only water the garrison could obtain."

From Joseph's Well, Lord Valentia was conducted to the divan, "which has nothing to recommend it but its great size, being 149 feet long, 86 broad, and between 30 and 35 high. Formerly, indeed, it was splendidly ornamented, but now it is rapidly falling into decay. The French used it as a hospital, for which it is admirably adapted. The view hence, as from every part of the ramparts, is very beautiful, extending over the ruins of Old Cairo, the suburbs of Boulak and Djizeh, the great pyramids, the pyramids of Sakhara, and the Nile. The new and the old citadel cover a great extent of ground: they were formerly separated, but the French opened a communication between the two. All the splendid remains of antiquity are in the new citadel, where is also a very handsome *place d'armes*. The houses are chiefly in ruins. In the old citadel are a great many houses in better condition, but no noble public building. The walls have a parapet and towers at equal distances, of two or three stories high, built of solid stone with vaulted roofs, in each of which

are cannon." From the divan, the noble Traveller proceeded to the hall of Joseph, "a noble apartment, but in ruins: four enormous pillars of red granite, each of one piece, sustained the roof, which is now gone. The capitals are Egyptian, and seem to have been removed from some more ancient building."*

"We next passed," continues his Lordship, "to a very noble room, supported by numerous pillars of granite, each a single piece: all of these, except four, were Egyptian; the others had Corinthian capitals. The roof had fallen in, but, at a great height, a cornice of wood four feet broad, still remained, ornamented with inscriptions from the Koran.† All the pillars appear to have belonged to some more ancient building.‡ Opposite to this room is another, which overlooks the city: it had been entirely covered with mosaic, of which a considerable part remained, though the buildings themselves had fallen to ruins, and were now filled with rubbish, instead of being occupied by the manufacturers who used here to embroider the rich covering of the *Kaaba* at Mekka.‖ It is indeed a melancholy circumstance, that the many splendid

* Valentia's Travels, vol. iii. p. 365.

† Among these, Mr. Hammer deciphered one in excellent preservation, which seems to establish the tradition respecting the date and founder of the building: it is to this effect: *Salah-ed-din, destroyer of infidels and heathens.*

‡ This is the saloon usually called Joseph's Hall by travellers, although Lord Valentia distinguishes it from the one previously described under that name. Sir F. Henniker says, it contains "thirty-two well-proportioned columns of red granite, four feet in diameter." Part of it is now converted into a magazine, part into a granary; and the whole has a very dilapidated and melancholy appearance.

‖ In Pococke's time, who says: "This part of the castle is now only used for weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings or coverings they send every year to Mekka."—See Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 240.

remains of the ancient sultauns which the citadel contains, should be so rapidly disappearing." Dr. Clarke says, that the French did great injury to all the apartments, destroying, more especially, the Mosaic paintings with which the stately cielings and walls were ornamented, and which correspond, in a striking manner, to the Mosaic ornaments of St. Sophia at Constantinople. The walk along the ramparts, on this side, is as beautiful as on the other, commanding a view of New Cairo with its numerous domes and minarets, intermixed with trees, the river beyond, the Island of Rhoda, thickly planted with sycamores, the verdant plain, and the pyramids. The line of forts erected on the different hillocks from the citadel to the Nile, are seen to a considerable distance to the right; the aqueduct of Old Cairo extends to the same distance on the left; and the noble mosque of Hassan forms a bold foreground to the view, looking towards the N.E. Few spots present, in so small a compass, such an extraordinary assemblage of interesting objects. Ancient and modern times are strangely blended in the associations which they awaken. Towards the north-east, the obelisk of Heliopolis and the ruins of Matarea stretching towards the fields of Goshen, recal the days of the Pharaohs, of Joseph and Moses. Westward, the site of Memphis, with its pyramids in the background, at the base of the Libyan mountains, calls up ideas connected with the romantic annals of Egypt in the day of her glory. Below, the aqueduct, the Saracenic fort, the dome and minaret, the mosque, the monastery, the mounds of ruins, and the eternal Nile, preserving, amid all the revolutions of four thousand years, its beneficent course, combine to form a scene unrivalled, perhaps, in its picturesque and impressive effect.

Old Cairo, now called *Fostat** and *Misr* (or *Masr*) *el Atteek*, that is, Old Misr, is supposed to occupy the site of the Egyptian Babylon, which was built, according to Strabo, by the followers of Cambyses, and named after their own metropolis. "The city of Misr," says Idrisi, "is named in the strange tongue, the city of Babilonah, and is now a large and flourishing city: its length and breadth are each nine miles." It was first made the seat of government by the Mohammedan conqueror Amru Ibn el Aasi, about the year 640. It is now reduced to a very small compass, not being above two miles in circumference. Norden

* The following account of the origin of this name, is given by Benjamin of Tudela, on the authority of Elmacin, an Arabian writer. "Amru Ibn Alash, general of the Khalif Omar, having taken Misraim, encamped there. When they came to remove his tent or tabernacle, they found in it a pigeon's nest with several young ones. Amru said: It is the month of Maharram: we are forbidden to kill the least thing. He thereupon ordered his people to leave his tent there, and to take care of the pigeon. They founded there a town, which they named *Fustaat*, that is to say, Tent or Tabernacle. Amru, having taken it A.H. 20, (A.D. 641) environed it with a wall." (Cited in Light's Travels, p. 22.) Another writer cited by Renaudot, gives a somewhat different explanation: "Cairo, in the Arabic, *Cahar*, he hath overcome, was so called by the Saracens in commemoration of their victory, they having taken it from the Greek emperors, and afterwards enlarged it; so that it answers to the Greek word Nicopolis. Al Moez-ledan-alla, the fourth of the Fatimites, gave the above name to this city, which was formerly called Babylon. Under Amru Alhasus, general to Calif Omar, it was called *Fossatæ*, or moated, the tents being pitched there, and a ditch or moat of circumvallation thrown up round it for fortifying the camp." (In Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 66.) This account so far tallies with the story above cited, as to render it probable, that Fostat was originally built on the ground on which the Saracens encamped before Babylon, rather than on the site of that city. Pococke asserts, that a *third* city, "called *Kebaseh*," was built between Old and New Cairo, which has since been destroyed, of which the ruins may now be seen; but he does not cite his authorities.

thus describes it nearly a century ago. "This ancient city is situated on the border of the great canal that separates the island of Rodda from the continent. Its length, to reckon from the machine that raises the water of the aqueduct, quite to the bazar, is a quarter of a French league; and its greatest breadth, from the Monks' hospital to the canal, is 500 paces. The rest is very unequal. The greater part of the buildings, except the habitations of workmen, consists of houses of pleasure, where the great men and persons of distinction at Cairo go to divert themselves at the season when the waters of the Nile have begun their increase. But the gardens are in great number; and palm-trees, as well as vine-arbours, take up a great deal of ground. There may be at Old Cairo, a half dozen of mosques adorned with minarets; the Jews have there a synagogue; the Roman Catholics a hospital, occupied by the fathers of the Holy Land; the Copti, a convent (*contrade*), with divers churches; among others, that where the grotto is, in which a tradition runs, that the Holy Virgin reposed herself when she retired into Egypt; and the fathers of the Holy Land pay the Copti a certain sum annually, to have the privilege of saying mass in this grotto as often as they please. The water-house is a work of the Saracens: it might have served anciently as a palace. At present, one sees there four mills that turn ropes of vile earthen pots; oxen work them; and it is this that furnishes with water the aqueduct which supplies the castle of Grand Cairo. The whole is built of free-stone. One of the most considerable edifices is Joseph's Granary. It occupies a square surrounded with a wall, and they have contrived within it divers partitions. They deposit there the corn that is paid as a tax to the Grand Signior, and which is

brought from different cantons of Egypt. This corn, that continues there quite uncovered, feeds every day a great number of turtle-doves and other birds that come to pillage it. The doors are shut with only wooden locks, but the inspectors of this granary, after having shut a door, put on it their seal upon a handful of clay, which they make use of as wax. This granary has nothing antique: its walls are partly of the time of the Saracens. They have employed in them some free-stone; but the greater part is of bricks and clay, such as they make use of every day at Cairo for building.

"In the neighbourhood of Cairo, particularly towards the east, one discerns nothing agreeable to the sight. It is all barren hills, that seem to be composed of ashes and rubbish. It may be said, that the town is entirely open; for it has only, on the eastern side, a little piece of a wall which has subsisted ever since the time of the Saracens: they have contrived lodgements in it, to which the peasants bring their poultry and other commodities for sale. There may be a quarter of a league from Old Cairo to the inclosure of Grand Cairo and half a league from Old Cairo to Boulak."

Dr. Richardson visited the holy grotto, and we shall avail ourselves of his description of Old Cairo. "We passed through the Moggrebin quarters, and in a short time were without the walls of the city. After which, the track (it cannot be called a road) is continued among heaps of rubbish, consisting of the cleanings of the city, broken pottery, and the ruins of former buildings, that wall the traveller on each hand, to the walls of Massr, Fostat, or Old Cairo; with the intervention of a small grave-yard, where the Mahommedan females go to weep and howl over the tombs of their

departed relations, and a drill-ground, in which the Pasha exercises his troops every Tuesday and Thursday, in firing at the target or throwing the *djereed*. Before reaching the town, we passed by an aqueduct with many arches, which conveys the water of the Nile to the castle,* and the bridge of the *khalish*. Opposite to this ancient city is the island of Rhouda, which, we learn from Strabo, was joined to Babylon by a bridge of boats, when Memphis, in her metropolitan pride, occupied the opposite bank. At the gate on our left is a manufactory of saltpetre. Having entered the town, we proceeded along a straight street, till we came to the place where the passage-boats land from Gheesa; where, turning to the left, we filed up a narrow lane, and proceeded to the Coptic church, to see the grotto of Saint Sergius, in which Joseph and Mary (are said to have) dwelt with the infant Jesus. This holy place is now formed into a small chapel, and is entered from the sanctuary of the church by a descent of ten steps. It is divided into three compartments by two rows of columns, after the manner of our cathedrals. Going down from the left hand side of the church, (for there are two entrances,) there is an altar at the end of the first compartment, at which, though the whole chapel belongs to the Copts, and must be entered through their church, yet every Christian, of whatever sect, is allowed to perform his devotions according to the rites of the church to which he may belong. At the end of the middle compartment is the cave, which is covered, in the form of a small arcade, with smooth stones or tiles, cemented

* Denon says: "The aqueduct which brings water to the castle by a route of 160 fathoms, would be a work of art worth celebrating, if, in its course, it was not rendered faulty by many imperfections."

with lime, and very much resembles a baker's oven. According to the statement of the hierophant, it was fitted up in this manner by Saint Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, and has remained untouched from that time to the present day. It is so small, that a person can merely creep in and sit down in it. At the end of the third lateral compartment, there is a large baptismal font belonging to the Copts, who perform the ceremony by immersing the child. The whole has very little appearance of being a natural grotto; and the report of its ever having received the Saviour of mankind, is, probably, one of the pious frauds of St. Sergius, or some of his equally crafty successors.

"From this holy cave, we proceeded to the adjoining castle of Babylon, to pay our respects to the Greek patriarch of Alexandria, who resides in the highest pinnacle of this lofty edifice. The ascent is difficult; but, the summit once attained, the charms of the prospect compensate for the labour of reaching it. In turning the conversation upon the antiquities of Egypt, the worthy patriarch said, that there was no doubt that the castle in which he resided, was built by the Persians, although I believe most European travellers are inclined to assign it no higher origin than the Romans.... On rising to go away, he pressed me to prolong my visit; and seeing that the approach of night rendered this impossible, he sprinkled me with rose water, and perfumed me with incense; he accompanied me down stairs, to shew me the church of St. George, which contained nothing remarkable, excepting a magical ring, which possessed the extraordinary virtue of bringing fools to their senses."

The *Terra Santa* convent in Old Cairo, belonging to the Latins, did not at this time possess a single

ecclesiastic; and in the *Terra Santa* convent situated in the Frank quarter of New Cairo, the superior was the only one, but two Franciscans arrived shortly afterwards from Jerusalem. To this convent is attached a small library, and there is an excellent chapel, in which divine service is performed every day. At a short distance from this, the Latins have another convent, belonging to the *Della Propaganda*, which extends its jurisdiction over the convents in Upper Egypt: * it has a small library and a school. The number of Roman Catholics in Cairo, is stated by Dr. Richardson to be about 1,500. The Greeks, according to information given to Mr. Jowett, amount to 500; chiefly artisans and people in trade. † There is also an Armenian bishop of Cairo, improperly styled patriarch, who has a flock of from 100 to 150 Armenians in Cairo, and between 50 and 60 in Upper Egypt, where they exercise the office of bankers to the Government: they are generally unmarried. Of Copts, there are are said to be in Cairo 15,000 families, which is, probably, below the truth. Mr. Jowett visited a Coptic school kept opposite the patriarch's gate,—"a dark room containing forty children, the schoolmaster nearly blind." Here, as at Alexandria, the Greek gives burial ground to the Protestant, and some English lie in the convent garden.

The number of Jews in Cairo is estimated by M. Mengin at 3000: Dr. Richardson is disposed to think double that number below the truth. The streets of

* South of Cairo, there are four Roman Catholic convents, but no Greek Christians, and no Jews.—JOWETT, pp. 114; 119.

† Jowett's Researches, p. 117. Families or householders must be intended. Dr. Richardson says: "There are 150 Greek families in Cairo, who are *natives*, and the number of settlers has considerably increased of late."

the Jews' quarter are so narrow as to be all but impassable; the houses are crowded, dark, and filthy; and the consequences of the plague breaking out here, may easily be conjectured.* "I walked all through the Jewish quarter," says the Author of Scenes and Impressions, "and was shewn their largest synagogue, (they have seven,) a building somewhat mosque-like, of stone, with handsome small pillars: they had, in the ark or recess, seven copies of the Law, written and on rollers. They also shewed me an old Bible, illuminated and written in beautiful characters; together with other books and copies of the Talmud. They asked me to put my shoes from off my feet when I went into their synagogue: I did so. They shewed me a school of little boys at their Hebrew lessons. Their quarter is dark and dirty, and you see many meanly-clad figures; yet, do they seem to be far more at ease here, than I had seen them in Arabia. They purchase dearly their protection."

Cairo contains, according to M. Mengin, 240 principal streets, 46 public places, 11 bazars, 140 schools for the instruction of children, 300 public cisterns, 1166 coffee-houses, 65 public baths, 400 mosques, and *one* miserable hospital for the infirm and insane. †

* "Yet such is their affection for this wretched abode, that an Egyptian Jewess meeting M. Mengin in Paris, said to him with an accent of regret, '*Ah! Monsieur, où est le Kaire! où est le quartier Juif!*"—*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxx. p. 505.

† "We visited a hospital, founded five hundred years ago. Four large vaulted recesses, spacious and airy, are the chambers; they surround an open court with a fountain. We walked round the cots of the patients: it appeared to me that they were but fed and sheltered. There are native physicians, but I believe the wisest of them attempt little in the way of treatment. You make a present here in bread, not money. We were shewn a smaller court with a fountain in it, and a few small cells around with iron-grated fronts.

The population is stated to have decreased, within the last five and twenty years, nearly one-fourth, but is still supposed to amount to upwards of 250,000 souls.* One class of the population must not be overlooked. "There is in Cairo," says Mr. Jowett, "a slave-market, where man sells man! It is a large building, with a square court-yard in the centre. There were few slaves in the khan when I visited it; perhaps about thirty. Some of these were young men, who asked us for a present, and who were very glad to earn a trifle by taking care of our asses, while we went over the premises. All these were from Darfur. In one miserable dungeon were several young slaves. In another similar place were two or three more, lying on the bare ground, or crouching round the embers of a small fire. In the upper part of the khan were female slaves.† In one of the

I have seen beasts of the forest in the like. They were some of them tenanted, and by human beings,—men stricken of God; a sad, a fearful sight."—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 173.

* See p. 58. M. Mengin's estimate of 25,000 houses and 200,000 inhabitants, must be far below the truth. Some authorities carry the estimate as high as 300,000. Henry Blount, who travelled in 1634, was told, that Cairo then contained 24,000 principal streets, and of "meskeetoes" (mosques), that is, churches and chapels, 35,000. The extent was between 35 and 40 miles in circuit. If Fostat, Boulak, and Djizeh were included in the estimate, Capt. Light remarks, this would not be far from the truth.

† "There was a gallery above with other rooms, and slave-girls leaning on the rail,—laughter, all laughter; their long hair in numerous falling curls white with fat; their faces, arms, and bosoms shining with grease. Exposure in the market is the moment of their joy. Their cots, their country, the breast that gave them suck, the hand that led their tottering steps, not forgotten, but resigned, given up as things gone for ever, left in another world. The toils and terrors of the wide desert, the hard and scanty fare, the swollen foot, the whip, the scalding tear, the curse,—all, all are behind. Hope meets them here, and paints some master kind,

rooms, there were about ten girls from Darfur. Immediately on seeing us, they set up a loud laugh, which they are taught to do, in order to seem happy, and induce people to buy them; and one among them, who appeared dejected, received a blow from the brutal man who had charge of them: they soon became so noisy and rude that we left them. In another room were two Abyssinian slaves: one of them, who had been a mother, had a very dejected air; the other behaved with great propriety. There was a manifest superiority in these above the Darfur females: their comparative value is discernible in their respective prices; the Darfur were rated at about 1200 piastres (30*l.*) each; the Abyssinians at 2400; but no doubt this demand was exorbitant.* It perfectly accords, however, with Ludolf's statement of the superior character of the Abyssinians to all other natives of Africa.....This was not the season for slaves. Sometimes the court-yard is so full, that one can hardly stir in it. Twenty years ago, it was not permitted to Europeans to go into the slave-market; for, as the masters of the slaves make them all

some mistress gentle, some babe or child to win the heart of. As bond-women, they may bear a son, and live and die the contented inmates of some quiet harem. You see they laugh, and some even wear a wanton look; they are quite happy. No,—look at that scowling, dark-browed Moor; he is their owner: it is to please or to escape from him they smile. You think otherwise of that one: well, perhaps it is nature prompts her; but the many, and those wild, shy groupes within—could we hear and understand the simple history of every smiler there, we should go home and shudder.

'Then what is man? and what man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man?'"

Scenes and Impressions, pp. 172, 3.

* Mr. Jowett mentions two Abyssinian girls who were sold for sixty dollars, or about 15*l.* each. See p. 175, *note*.

Mohammedans, it was deemed insufferable for a Mohammedan to be slave to a Christian; but now, though the Franks may not buy slaves openly in the market, yet, through an agent, they may, and they have them openly in their houses. Whether the slaves are at all bettered by this circumstance, is more than doubtful."*

Not far from the city, in the way to the Desert, is the burial-place of the Mamlouks, the most splendid cemetery in Egypt. "Here repose the Beys, with their followers, for many generations. The forms of the tombs are various, and often magnificent: over the sepulchres rise domes, supported by slender marble columns, and some of these are finely carved. The tombs of the Kalifs are distant a mile and a half in another direction from the city, amidst the sand: they are beautiful monuments, in the light and elegant style of the Saracenic architecture, and are in a very perfect state of preservation. They are built of fine limestone, and are lofty square buildings with domes and minarets, some of the latter of exquisite workmanship."† Sir F. Henniker says: "The cemeteries form a novel and not unpleasing appearance. The desert is studded with tombs, mosques, and mausolea. These mansions of the dead would be preferable to the habitations of the living, were it not that the air is

* Jowett's Christian Researches, pp. 122—5. While Mr. Jowett was at Cairo, Pearce, whom Mr. Salt had left in Abyssinia, arrived there by way of Massowah and Cairo. Troubles in Abyssinia had compelled him to quit the country. His journey and voyage had occupied eighty-nine days. In the vessel by which he came from Massowah, there were about 200 slaves, chiefly females. Mr. Pearce stated, that the slaves caught in Abyssinia, are eight times transferred by sale before they reach Massowah, where they are embarked for Suez.

† Carne's Letters, vol. i. p. 104.

polluted; for nothing disturbs the solitude, except on a Friday, when the houses of mourning resound with the *ullulu* of Cairine women." "In quitting the rubbish of Cairo," says Denon, speaking of the cemetery of the Mamlouks, "the stranger is astonished to see another town, all built of white marble, where edifices raised on columns and terminated by domes, or by painted, carved, and gilt palanquins, form a cheerful and inviting picture. Trees alone are wanting to render this funereal retreat a delightful spot." These tombs, however, Sir F. Henniker says, are fast going to decay. The handsomest monument is that of the Pasha's son. The tombs of the Khalifs he does not appear to have seen. These also are in a ruinous condition, like every thing else in Egypt; though they are still very striking objects to a European stranger. But "he who has looked upon the remains of Moorish magnificence in Hindostan, those vast and costly edifices raised by the Mogul emperors on the plains of Agra, is surprised at the comparative inferiority of these, and indeed of all the works of the khalifs." A little beyond the "Victory Gate" (*Bab-el-Nassr*), under a small tomb not easily distinguishable among the closely crowded graves, lie the remains of "poor Burckhardt,"—"just on the edge of that immense desert he was preparing to traverse."

About four miles N.E. of Cairo, towards the Syrian desert, is Matarea, a village containing about 600 inhabitants, close to which are the ruins of the city of On, the Heliopolis of the Greeks. The spot is now sanctified to superstition by one of those many childish legends which, to use the words of the Writer just cited, have diverted Christians "from the spirituality and simplicity of faith." "We rode," he says, "to Mata-

rea; saw the well, the garden, and the sycamore where, tradition says, Joseph and the Virgin and the infant Saviour reposed, oppressed with thirst, and water welled forth miraculously to refresh them; while the sycamore, they say, opened to receive our Saviour and his mother, their pursuers being at hand. Two centuries back, Paul Sandys found the tree hacked for relics; so did we, and rudely carved all over with names and crosses.....A tall, lone obelisk stands in a spacious field, which each year is flooded by the Nile, and yields a harvest to the husbandman. It is just such a monument as should mark the site of a renowned and perished city,—majestic, solitary,—no columns, walls, statues; nothing for the antiquary to display his learning upon, save the hieroglyphics which mock him." *

Among the Arabs, the miraculous well still bears the name of *Ain Shemss*, the Fountain of the Sun, in which we appear to have preserved a trace of the original name of the city, which probably owed its existence to this fountain,—the Beth-Shemesh of the Old Testament. The obelisk, "from the coarseness of the sculpture, as well as the history of the city to which it belonged," may be considered as one of the oldest monuments in Egypt. "Nearly thirty years before the Christian era, the ruins of Heliopolis were visited by Strabo; and his description of them proves that the condition of this once famous seat of science was almost as forlorn then as at the present period. When Pococke visited the place, he observed the fragments of sphinxes yet remaining in the ancient way leading to the eminence on which the Temple of the Sun stood, between the principal entrance to its

* Scenes and Impressions, p. 187.

area, and the southern side of the obelisk standing before it. The sphinxes which Pococke saw, were, in fact, a part of the identical antiquities that were noticed by Strabo so many centuries before; whence it is reasonable to conclude, that very little labour would be necessary to excavate even the pavement of the temple. From the observations made by Pococke, he deduces an inference, that the utmost height to which the soil has accumulated, does not exceed seven feet and a half." At the time that Dr. Clarke visited this spot, the surrounding plain was inundated, so that the obelisk appeared as in the midst of a lake. Its present height, according to Pococke, is 67½ feet; Shaw makes it 64; its breadth, at the base, is six feet. The whole is of one entire mass of red granite. Each of its four sides exhibits a repetition of the same hieroglyphic inscription, in a style remarkably rude. Diodorus states, that Sesostris erected two obelisks at Heliopolis, which were 120 cubits high and 8 broad; while Pliny mentions that Sochis and Ramises each erected four obelisks; those of Sochis being 48 cubits (about 72 feet), and those of Ramises 40 cubits in height. This Ramises, he says, reigned at the time that Ilium was taken.* The columns of Ramises must have been considerably smaller than the one which now remains; and there is, therefore, every reason to suppose that this is one of the four erected by Sochis, the remaining feet, required for the pedestal, being now beneath the surface of the soil. If so, supposing this Sochis to be the Asychis of Herodotus and the Osochon of the 21st (Tanite) dynasty of Manetho,

* See authorities in Shaw's Travels, p. 413. Dr. Richardson makes the obelisk 70 feet high, and 8 feet square at the base. It bears the mark of the water of the Nile about five feet above its base.

this obelisk must have been erected about 1020 years before the Christian era. Could it have been identified with the era of Sesostris, it would have carried us 450 years further back. "To the west of the obelisk," says Dr. Richardson, "and beyond the reach of the inundation, are the fragments of an ancient colossal statue, of the same chrystallised quartzy sandstone as the statue of Memnon at Thebes; and near it is a pedestal of large-grained granite, several masses of which lie scattered about; but no substructions of any regular ancient building are discernible. The ruins are in the form a square, about a mile and a half in circumference. The remains both of the houses and the walls, from the freshness and the quantity of burned bricks among them, appear to be of more modern date than the obelisk, and are probably Roman." Such are the only remains of a city, in whose far-famed college Herodotus was instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians!

Perhaps, we ought not to take leave of Cairo, without mentioning some of its other sights and scenes which engage the attention of European strangers,—its baths and bazars, its jugglers and serpent-charmers, its santons and dervishes, its dancing-women and mourning-women. These, however, are not peculiar to Cairo, nor are they exclusively characteristic of Egypt.* We shall

* "Their serpent-charmers and dancing-women I did not see; but, from what I hear and readily credit, they are inferior to like exhibitions in India."—Scenes and Impressions, p. 182. "These *psylli* still form a separate class, who employ themselves in taking and taming serpents. We were told, there are now 300 of them at Cairo. Some days before the caravan of Mekka leaves Cairo, and also on the birth-day of Mohammed, these *psylli* go in procession through the streets of the city, (as well as at Rosetta,) having large serpents suspended round their necks, and reciting prayers or

therefore content ourselves with a brief reference to some of these in the note below, and close our description of the capital with an account of the Pasha's country-palace and favourite residence at Shoubra, furnished by the Author of Scenes and Impressions in Egypt.

"We cantered or ambled pleasantly along a fine road, between avenues of Syrian and Egyptian mulberry-trees. The country harem happened to be cleaning, repairing, and empty, so that we saw all the apartments. There is a large central one for the

hymns. They exert themselves to such a degree that they fall, or pretend to fall, into paroxysms of fanatic rage. They bite the serpents, and rend them with their teeth, uttering frightful cries and howlings, accompanied with convulsive motions, till, exhausted with fatigue and foaming at the mouth, they fall down half dead."—Minutoli's Recollections, pp. 67, 68. This lady describes a performance of the kind to which she was witness, but the magician was a bungler. As to the *almehs* or dancing-women, Niebuhr's ingenuous testimony will sufficiently explain how it is that Franks can become reconciled to so disgusting an exhibition: "However much disposed to receive entertainment, they did not please us at first. Their vocal and instrumental music, we thought horrible; and their persons appeared disgustingly ugly, with their yellow hands, spotted faces, absurd ornaments, and hair larded with stinking pomatum. But, by degrees, we learned to endure them; and, for want of better, began to fancy some of them pretty, to imagine their voices agreeable, their movements graceful though indecent, and their music not absolutely intolerable." The *almeh* are professional singers and mourners; they are also the instructresses of the harem, and give the young women lessons in dancing, singing, and other *Egyptian* accomplishments. With regard to the particular dance alluded to, which is nearly allied to the Moorish fandango, it appears that the *almeh* require to be bribed by money and stimulated by brandy, before, dissolute as they may be, they will perform it; and even then, if Sir F. Henniker may be believed, the Levantine ladies go beyond them; while the superlative degree of the "brutally disgusting" is attained only by the male *almeh*. The Egyptian name for the privileged caste of *almeh* or *hatmé* (in the plural *halwalem*) is *gavanikti*. Those who only sing, enjoy a better reputation than the dancers.

women; small apartments at the angles for the more distinguished; one, rather handsome, for the Pasha's wife. There are summer apartments below; one with a fountain, a small bath of marble, and a large eastern kitchen for the cooks and slaves. There is also, above, a private apartment of the Pasha's, and one appropriated to youthful slaves, whom the crimes and customs of the east condemn to effeminacy and degradation. Some of these apartments have the walls decorated with Greek paintings of a bright, tawdry colouring, representing palaces, kiosks, fountains, and, alas for the poor inmates! scenes of open country or natural landscape; they are ill-executed, but with all the minuteness and laborious attention of eastern artists..... *. The gardens are pretty; the larger one has less stiff formality than I had expected; the smaller one has arbours and trellis-covered paths, which are formed of the small pebbles of Rhodes. There were orange-trees with their golden fruit, in the larger; in the smaller, many beautiful plants and creepers, also reservoirs of water, and little ducts of stone, guiding the sparkling treasure. The gardeners had an air and countenances that pleased: they were Greeks from the gardens of Scio. Poor fellows! the men of whom they learned to use the pruning knife, and tie up the drooper, and the girls with whom they danced, *where are they?* Greek

* The Baroness Minutoli thus describes the palace: "It is a pretty palace in the Constantinopolitan style, and appeared to me but very slightly built. The rooms are very high, and loaded with a profusion of gilding and mirrors. The carvings in wood of the ceilings are really very fine, gilt, and painted in lively colours. The floors of the saloons were covered with magnificent carpets; and, if the whole does not display much taste, the splendour and diversity of the ornaments of these apartments have an agreeable effect to the eye."

artists, too, with an Italian directing them, are building a sort of marble pavilion or a water-palace. It promises to be handsome; a large square reservoir, a fountain which will pour its waters from the mouths of crocodiles, (the crocodiles are vile, stiff, and ill-suited to the purpose,) verandahs all round, marble pillars, urns, lions, and the ceiling of the pavilion and walls painting in fresco, by Greeks. The whole is paving with fine squares of white marble, which are ready prepared in Sicily and Italy for laying down, and are then sent hither, as are all the other ornaments of marble.

"The last thing we went to visit was a cameleopard, sent from Nubia by the Pasha's son; a most extraordinary, beautiful, and gentle creature. Nature has given it the eye and the closed nostril of the camel; a neck as long, but the proportion and grace of it peculiarly its own; a something in its body, especially in the rounded, compact hind-quarter, of the horse; a cloven hoof; has adorned it with the spottings of the leopard, but gifted it with the tameness of the fawn. Not often is it caught; and it then generally becomes a state prisoner. It has been led up in Roman triumphs, and since that day, has had its very existence disputed. It stood ten feet high to the crown of the head, between six and seven to the top of its shoulder.....From an apprehension of the effects of the evil eye, they prevented us from going round the Pasha's stud; about twenty of his horses, however, we saw, by no means fine animals." *

The Proprietor of Shoubra and Lord of Egypt is thus described. "We rode to the palace he occupied

* Scenes and Impressions, pp. 160—3. This beautiful animal has since been transported to Constantinople,—we presume as a present to the Grand Signior.

(one of Ahmed Pasha's); found a court-yard filled with a number of men, soldiers, and other attendants, with a few horses, but nothing having an air of order or show, and no persons, either from dress or manner, looking or assuming consequence. We were introduced into a large apartment: the Pasha was at one end, on the divan; Mr. Salt on his right; a shrewd-looking Italian interpreter standing up directly opposite to the Pasha, in the Frank habit, with his hat in his hand. We were received courteously; the common questions were addressed to us, and then coffee was brought. We sat there a very long time. Not one attendant of any kind was in the room, and the *khawajee* and assistants only in the moments of their service. Almost the whole time, the Pasha was carrying on an animated laughing conversation with Mr. Salt. The interpreter appeared to me fearlessly familiar and voluble, and to aim at and succeed in making the Pasha laugh. Turkish and Italian were the languages. The Pasha every now and then addressed some questions to us; two or three about the Persians, and their adoption of our discipline, but all inconsequent. I sat on the divan with my eyes fixed upon him. There he sat,—a quick eye, features common, nose bad, a grizzled beard, looking much more than fifty, the worn complexion of that period of life; and there seemed to be creeping upon him that aspect which belongs to and betrays the 'grey decrepitude of lust.'.....They tell you that he is not sanguinary. Men grow tired of shedding blood, as well as of other pleasures*; but, if the cutting off

* A sanguinary disposition, however, generally displays itself most in the last stage, the decrepitude of ambition. Mohammed Ali, as this writer justly characterises him, is "a Turk, a very Turk," and the Turk is not sanguinary. See remarks on the Turkish character, MOD. TRAV. Turkey, p. 211

a head would drop gold into his coffers, he would not be slow to give the signal. His laugh has nothing in it of nature; how can it have? I can hear it now,—a hard, sharp laugh, such as that with which strong, heartless men would divide the booty torn from the feeble. I leave him to his admirers."*

From the ephemeral palace, the "blackened mosque" and ruined castle, from Cairo with its motley crowds and faded grandeur, we turn to the eternal Pyramids.

THE PYRAMIDS.

WHEN the Nile is low, the direct route from Cairo to the Pyramids of Djizeh, or Ghizeh, is not above ten miles†; but, when the inundation is at its height, a very circuitous route becomes necessary, and the distance is not less than twenty miles. The journey, however, is described by a recent traveller as a most agreeable one, leading at times through woods of palm and date-trees, or over barren and sandy tracts without a vestige of population. "The Nile, in its overflow, had encompassed many villages and their groupes

* Scenes and Impressions, pp. 164—8. See also p. 164 of this Volume; Richardson's Travels, vol. i. pp. 98—109; and Henniker's Notes, p. 63. The latter describes the Pasha as having "a vulgar, low-born face, but a commanding, intelligent eye."

† Dr. Richardson says, only an hour's ride. The Author of Scenes and Impressions, who arrived at Ghizeh from Upper Egypt, says: "From the moment that you leave Ghizeh until you reach the Pyramids, they seem continually near to you; you would think that you had but a narrow field to cross, to reach their base: you have *four miles* to ride. They certainly have an awful look; everlasting as it were, compared to any other structure which you have either seen or can imagine. But this does not arise, perhaps, so much from their apparent size, as from your knowledge of what that really is, and also from the sublime purity of design, solidity of construction, and severe simplicity of their once sacred form."—p. 148.

of trees, and was slowly gathering round cottage and grove and lonely palm. Its fantastic course was beautiful, for its bosom was covered with many green isles of every possible form. Here, a hamlet seemed floating on the wave, above which hung the foliage and fruit of various trees, the stems being shrouded beneath; there it warred with the desert, whose hills of sand, rocks, and ruins of temples, looked like so many mournful beacons [redacted]y waste. We passed several very lo[redacted]rected over the flat land to preserve a passa[redacted]midst the inundation; and the sun set as we entered on the long expanse of soft sand, in the midst of which the Pyramids are built. The red light, resting for a time on their enormous sides, produced a fine effect: for a long time, we seemed at no great distance from them; but the deception of their size on the flat expanse of the desert, long misled us, and it was dark before we arrived. As we drew near, we heard the loud voice of welcome from the Arabs, who came out of the apartments of the rock on which the Pyramids stand, and surrounded us. We ascended a narrow, winding path, to a long and low chamber in the rock, that had formerly been a tomb. Here, M. Caviglia, his assistant, M. Spinette, a German, and myself, sat down on the floor, and supped on some boiled fowl and Nile water; and, being much fatigued, they soon left me to my repose."*

The Pyramids of Djizeh, the largest and most remarkable of this stupendous class of monuments, stand upon a bed of rock 150 feet above the desert,† which contributes to their being seen at so great a distance. The largest of the three, which, on the authority of

* Carne's Letters, vol. i. pp. 111—113.

† "163 feet above the river."—DAVISON in Walpole

Herodotus, is ascribed to Cheops, is a square of 746 feet, and its perpendicular height is 461 feet, being 24 feet higher than St. Peter's at Rome, and 117 feet higher than St. Paul's at London. For want of some neighbouring object with which to compare this immense pile, no adequate idea is formed of its real dimensions, till the traveller, having arrived at its base, measures its len[illegible] his steps, and finds the first tier of stones [illegible] ghest.* The illusion is increased by t[illegible] atmosphere, owing to which the upper grad[illegible]ons of the pyramid are as distinctly visible as the upper layers of a pile of bricks. The whole consists of 206 tiers of different dimensions, (varying from four feet in height to one foot,) the square of each tier being smaller than the one below, so as to leave the space of two or three feet all round, forming what are called the steps. Each step is from a foot to a foot and a half in breadth, and the average height is about two feet and a quarter; so that the ascent is easy, and accompanied with a feeling of perfect security. Towards the middle, the steps are much broken, but at the angles they are perfectly entire. On the summit is an area about 30 feet square, consisting of six square blocks of stone irregularly disposed, on which the knives of visiters have been ambitiously employed in sculpturing their names.† It is

* The line of the base, Sir F. Henniker remarks, "about equals in length the longest unbroken street in London, South Molton Street." Its circumference is little short of 3000 feet.

† "The top consists of six stones." Davison in Walpole. "Nine large stones," says Dr. Clarke. The latter represents the platform to be 32 feet square. Sir F. Henniker says, 11 yards square. Between 25 and 30 feet, says Dr. Richardson. Mr. Carne says: 28 feet square. Among the inscriptions on the summit, we are told, there are some in Greek, many in French, a few in Arabic, one or two in English, and others in Latin. (Clarke, v. 174). We offer no other remark on the feeling which prompts the traveller to

supposed, that eight or nine layers of stones have been thrown down,* although there is now no trace of any cement on the surface of the highest tier. The ascent occupies about twenty minutes; the descent, fifteen. The quantity of stone used in this pyramid, is estimated at six millions of tons, "which is just three times that of the vast break-water thrown across Plymouth Sound;" and a hundred thousand men are said to have been employed for twenty years in raising this empty sepulchre!

The prospect from the summit is not extensive, being bounded on the east and west, and partly on the south, by the mountains on both sides of the river; but it is unique and highly impressive from association. "He who has stood on the summit of this most ancient, and yet most mighty monument of man's power and pride," it is remarked, "and has looked round to the far horizon where Libya and Arabia lie silent, and has seen, at his feet, the land of Egypt dividing their dark solitudes with a narrow vale beautiful and green, the mere enamelled setting of one solitary, shining river,—must receive impressions which he can never convey, for he can never define them to himself."† Amid all the uncertainty

leave this memorial behind him, than that it is not peculiar to the English. Viscount Chateaubriand was at Cairo, but left Egypt without visiting the pyramids! By way of apology for this unpardonable omission in so sentimental a traveller, he requested another gentleman to inscribe his name on them the first opportunity;—"for I like," he adds, "to fulfil all the little duties of a pious traveller!"—(Vol. ii. p. 216.)

* "Gemelli, 127 years ago, gives the number of steps 208, the height 520 feet, the area at the summit 16 feet 8 inches square."—HENNIKER, p. 78.

† Scenes and Impressions, p. 149.

which hangs over the design, and date, and builders of this vast pile, "one thing," adds this interesting Writer, "you *know*; that the chief, and the philosopher, and the poet of the times of old, have certainly been here; that Alexander has spurred his war-horse to its base; and Pythagoras, with naked foot, has probably stood upon its summit."

Mr. Carne thus describes the prospect which presented itself to [redacted] this extraordinary spot. "On one side, a fearful and melancholy desert, either level or broken into wild and fantastic hills of sand and rocks; on the other, scenes of the utmost fertility and beauty, marked the course of the Nile, winding as far as the eye can reach into Upper Egypt; beneath, amidst the overflow of waters, appeared the numerous hamlets and groves, encircled like so many beautiful islets; and far in the distance, was seen the smoke of Cairo and its lofty minarets, with the dreary Mount Mokattam rising above." To the south are seen the pyramids of Sakkara, and to the east of these, smaller monuments of the same kind; while, on an eminence near the Libyan side of the Nile, is seen a monastery of considerable size. Upon the south-east side, is the gigantic statue of the Sphinx, beyond which, amid the sandy waste, are traces of a magnificent building. Immediately beneath, upon the eastern and western sides, are vast numbers of tombs of an oblong form, with sloping sides. The second pyramid, that of Cephrenes, stands to the S.W., at a distance of about 120 yards. Near its vertex, it has remains of the stone covering in which it was formerly encased. A third pyramid, of much smaller dimensions than the second, appears beyond the Sphinx to the S.W.; and "there are three others, one of which is nearly

buried in sand, between the large pyramid and this statue to the S.E." *

The internal structure of this wonderful pile is not less amazing than its exterior appearance. The entrance is upon the sixteenth step, on the side facing the north, nearly (but not quite) in the centre.† It is reached by ascending over a heap of stones and rubbish that have fallen down from the Pyramid, or been thrown down in the attempt to find or force an entrance. A small, narrow passage, about three feet and a half square, lined above and below and on each side, with broad blocks of red granite highly polished, descends into the interior at an angle of 27°, for about ninety-two feet from the external orifice. It then turns off to the right, and winds upwards by a forced way for a considerable time, till it leads to a steep ascent of eight or nine feet. This surmounted, the traveller finds himself again in the natural passage, which is about five feet high and one hundred feet long, forming a continual ascent till he reaches a sort of landing-place, in a small recess of which is the orifice of the shaft which has obtained the name of the Well. Proceeding straight onward along a low, narrow passage, you come to a chamber seventeen feet by fourteen, and about twelve feet high, with an arched roof of flat stones meeting at an acute angle: this has been named the Queen's Chamber. Immediately above this, ascending by means of an inclined plane about one hundred and twenty feet in length, ‡

* Clarke, vol. v. pp. 179, 180.

† It is 350 feet from the N.E. corner, and 396 feet from the N.W corner.—DAVISON.

‡ According to Dr. Richardson, two abutments, fourteen inches in breadth, rise from the floor in the form of an inclined plane, leaving between them a space, by which a person who prefers such

is "the King's Chamber," which is thirty-seven feet three inches by seventeen feet two inches, and about twenty feet high. It is lined all round with broad stones of large-grained red granite, highly polished, each stone ascending from the floor to the ceiling, which is formed of nine large flat stones of the same material, stretching from wall to wall: these are, consequently, nearly eighteen feet long; and in what manner they were conveyed to such a situation, it is difficult to conceive. In the middle of the room, towards the west end, stands a sarcophagus, also of the same red granite: it is sunk in the floor; which has been torn up in order to examine a small apartment below. The length of the sarcophagus is seven feet six inches; the depth, three feet three inches and a half; the breadth, three feet three inches: it is highly polished, but without either hieroglyphics or any other sculpture or ornament; nor are there any hieroglyphics or ornaments in any part of the chamber. There is no lid to the sarcophagus, and its only contents are some fragments of granite and dust. In the south-west corner of the chamber, sloping upwards, is a small tunnel, apparently designed to communicate with the external air; and at the bottom of the granite flags with which the walls are lined, is a small "rut" or cavity of about ten inches in width, "apparently left for their admission, and neglected to be filled up." As this chamber does not reach beyond the centre of the Pyramid, Dr. Richardson remarks, there are probably passages leading off to other chambers, which may be concealed by some of the large stones. The sarcophagus is exactly the size of the orifice which forms the entrance to the Pyramid,

a staircase, may climb up between them, small holes being cut on each side for the reception of the feet.

and could not have been conveyed to the place it now occupies by any of the known passages in their present state; it must, therefore, either have been deposited there during the building of the Pyramid, or before the passage was finished and narrowed by its present polished and beautiful casing.

Immediately over "the King's Chamber" is what has received, in honour of its discoverer, the name of Davison's Chamber; a room of the same breadth, but four feet longer. "In the lower room, you see only seven (entire) stones, and a half of one on each side of them; but, in that above, the nine are entire, the two halves resting on the wall at each end. The covering of this room, as of the other, is of beautiful granite, but it is composed of eight stones, instead of nine." * This room had escaped the notice of every previous traveller of modern days. M. Maillet, though he had been forty times within the Pyramid, had no knowledge of it; and Niebuhr, though aware of Mr. Davison's discovery, could not find it. To the same enterprising discoverer, we are indebted for the first examination of the Well, which is referred to by Pliny as being eighty-six cubits in depth. By means of a rope tied round his body, he descended the first shaft, twenty-two feet in depth; for, though he found a sort of steps or holes cut in the rock, yet, the lower part of them was so worn away as to render it unsafe to trust to such precarious footing. Here, on the south side, at the distance of about eight feet from the first shaft, a second was found to descend perpendicularly to the depth of about five feet only; and at four feet ten inches from the bottom of this, a third

* Davison in Walpole, p. 356. Mr. Davison was British Consul at Algiers, and accompanied Mr. Wortley Montague to Egypt in 1763. He resided eighteen months in Cairo.

shaft was discovered, the mouth of which was nearly choked up with a large stone, leaving barely room sufficient for a man to pass. With great difficulty, one of the Arabs was prevailed upon to come down to this spot, and hold the rope, while Mr. Davison again set forth on his downward journey. Having proceeded some way, he came to a grotto about fifteen feet by four or five, and about the height of a man. From this place, the third shaft is sloping. Calling to the Arab to loosen the rope gently, he gradually proceeded by the help of little holes made in the rock, pushing his lantern before him; till, at length, the shaft, inclining a little more to the perpendicular, brought him speedily to the bottom, where he ascertained the passage to be completely closed by sand and rubbish. Here he found a rope-ladder which had been used by his precursor in this enterprise, Mr. Wood,* sixteen years before, which was still as fresh and strong as ever. That gentleman, however, had stopped short at the grotto. The total depth of the three shafts was found to be one hundred and fifty-five feet, about thirty feet more than the measurement given by Pliny.

In January, 1817, Mr. Caviglia, (a gentleman whose name has since become familiar to every person interested in the study of Egyptian antiquities,) unacquainted, as it should seem, with the previous exploits of Mr. Wood and Mr. Davison, resolved on the same investigation. He describes the several shafts in nearly the same terms as the latter gentleman, with this additional circumstance; that the shaft was found to be lined with masonry, both above and below the grotto, "to support, as was supposed, one of those insulated beds of gravel which are frequently found in

* The author of a Description of Balbek and Palmyra.

rock, and which the masons call flaws." Mr. Caviglia was, however, by no means satisfied with the result of his supposed discovery of the bottom of the Well. The ground was perceived to give a hollow sound beneath his feet, and he was persuaded that there must be some concealed outlet. He therefore determined to set about excavating the bottom of the Well. The offer of enormous wages, backed by an order from the *Kiaya-bey*, procured the reluctant assistance of the Arabs in drawing up the rubbish; but, after he had succeeded so far in subduing their indolence and their prejudices, the suffocating heat and impurity of the air in so confined a place, where, after the first hour, a light would not burn, rendered it impracticable to proceed in the excavation. The further progress of his researches, we give in the words of a narrative drawn up from information communicated to the writer by Mr. Salt, the British consul-general.*

"Thus discouraged, Mr. Caviglia next turned his attention to the clearing of the principal entrance or passage of the pyramid, which, from time immemorial, had been so blocked up as to oblige those who entered to creep on their hands and knees; hoping by this to give a freer passage to the air. He not only succeeded in carrying his purpose into effect, but, in the course of his labours, made the unexpected discovery, that the main passage, leading from the entrance, does not terminate in the manner asserted by Maillet. Having removed several large masses of calcareous stone and granite, apparently placed there to obstruct the passage, he found that it still continues in the same inclined angle downwards, is of the same dimensions, and has its sides worked with the same care, as in the

* Quart. Rev. vol. xix. p. 397 *et seq.*

channel above, though filled up nearly to the top with earth and fragments of stone. Having proceeded to the length of 150 feet in clearing out this passage, the air began to be so impure, and the heat so suffocating, that he had the same difficulties again to encounter with regard to the working Arabs. Even his own health was at this time visibly impaired, and he was attacked with a spitting of blood; nothing, however, could induce him to desist from his researches.

"By the 14th March, he had excavated as low down as 200 feet in the new passage without any thing particular occurring; when, shortly afterwards, a doorway on the right side was discovered, from which, in the course of a few hours, a strong smell of sulphur was perceived to issue. Mr. Caviglia now recollected, that when at the bottom of the well, in his first enterprise, he had burned some sulphur for the purpose of purifying the air, and he conceived it probable that this doorway might communicate with it; an idea which, in a little time, he had the gratification of seeing realised, by discovering that the channel through the doorway, opened at once upon the bottom of the well, where he found the baskets, cords, and other implements which had been left there on his recent attempt at a further excavation. This discovery was so far valuable as it afforded a complete circulation of air along the new passage, and up the shaft of the well into the chamber, so as to obviate all danger, for the future, from the impurity of the atmosphere. Mr. Salt, after this, made the tour of the long passage, and up the shafts into the great gallery, without much inconvenience.

"The new passage did not terminate at the doorway which opened upon the bottom of the Well.

Continuing to the distance of twenty-three feet beyond it, in the same angle of inclination, it became narrower, and took a horizontal direction for about twenty-eight feet further, where it opened into a spacious chamber, immediately under the central point of the pyramid. This new chamber is sixty-six feet long by twenty-seven feet broad, with a flat roof, and, when first discovered, was nearly filled with loose stones and rubbish, which, with considerable labour, Mr. Caviglia removed. The platform of the floor, dug out of the rock, is irregular, nearly one half of the length from the eastern or entrance end being level, and about fifteen feet from the ceiling; while in the middle it descends five feet lower, in which part there is a hollow space, bearing all the appearance of the commencement of a well or shaft. From hence it rises to the western end, so that at this extremity there is scarcely room between the floor and the ceiling to stand upright, the whole chamber having the appearance of an unfinished excavation; though Mr. Salt thinks, after a careful comparison of it with other subterranean chambers which have been disfigured by the combined effects of time and the rude hands of curious inquirers, that it may once have been highly wrought, and used, perhaps, for the performance of solemn and secret mysteries. Some Roman characters, rudely formed, had been marked with the flame of a candle on the rock, part of which having mouldered away, rendered the words illegible. Mr. Salt says, he had flattered himself that this chamber would turn out to be that described by Herodotus as containing the tomb of Cheops, which was insulated by a canal from the Nile; but the want of an inlet, and its elevation of thirty feet above the level of the Nile at its highest point, put an end to

this delusive idea. He thinks, however, from an expression of Strabo, purporting that the passage from the entrance leads directly down to the chamber which contained the θυια (the receptacle of the dead,) that this new chamber was the only one known to that author. Whatever might have been the intention of this deeply excavated chamber, no vestige of a sarcophagus could now be traced.

"On the south side of this irregularly formed or unfinished chamber, is an excavated passage, just wide and high enough for a man to creep along on his hands and knees, continuing horizontally in the rock for fifty-five feet, where it abruptly terminates. Another passage at the east end of the chamber, commences with a kind of arch, and runs about forty feet into the solid body of the pyramid. Mr. Salt alludes to some other passage noticed by Olivier, in which the names of 'Paisley' and 'Munro' were now found inscribed at its extremity."

These laborious exertions do not appear to have been rewarded with any new discovery of antiquities. Mr. Caviglia has, however, to a certain degree, determined one long-disputed point, namely, how far the living rock had been made available in the construction of the pyramids. "This rock, which shews itself externally at the north-eastern angle of the Great Pyramid, appears in the main passage, and again close to the mouth of the well; the highest projection into the body of the pyramid being about eighty feet from the level of its external base."

Much more, however, there can be no doubt, remains to be discovered within these "gloomy mansions of mystery and wonder." "We have now," it is remarked, "the knowledge of three distinct chambers in that of Cheops, all of which had evidently been opened by the Saracens, and, perhaps, long before by

the Romans; but, for any thing that is known to the contrary, there may be three hundred, and might be ten times three hundred such chambers yet undiscovered." * All the rooms at present discovered, are on the west of the general passage; that is, in the north-west quarter of the pyramid; with the exception of the one discovered by Mr. Caviglia in the centre of its base; and till examination shall have ascertained the contrary, it may be presumed that the other three quarters have also their chambers. The insulated tomb of Cheops, the founder, if the statement furnished by Mr. Salt be correct, must be an excavation far deeper than has yet been discovered; and the channel by which the waters of the Nile could be brought into any part of the pyramid, remains altogether concealed. Yet, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that no such communication ever existed. The excavated passage, which leads off from the great chamber, and abruptly terminates at the end of fifty-five feet, can never have ended, originally, in a *cul de sac*, but must have had some design, and some outlet.

"The next operations of Mr. Caviglia," the Narrator proceeds, "were directed to a minute exami-

* "To assist the mind to form a just idea of the immensity of the mass, let us take the great chamber of the sarcophagus, whose dimensions (it being about 35½ feet long, 17¼ broad, and 18¾ high,) are those of a tolerably large-sized drawing-room; which, as the solid contents of the pyramid are found to exceed 85,000,000 cubic feet, forms nearly $\frac{1}{7\,160}$ part of the whole; so that, after leaving the contents of every second chamber solid, by way of separation, there might be three thousand seven hundred chambers, each equal in size to the sarcophagus chamber within the pyramid of Cheops." —*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xix. p. 401. Lincoln's Inn Fields, (the area of which corresponds to the base of the pyramid,) wholly filled up with an edifice higher by a third than St. Paul's, may give some idea of its vast dimensions.

nation of those numerous ruined edifices and tumuli which, when viewed from the top of the great pyramid, appear in countless multitudes, scattered without order among the other pyramids, as the graves in a churchyard round the church, and extend on the north and on the south, along the left bank of the Nile, as far as the eye can reach. These remains of antiquity have been noticed by Pococke and other travellers, but, we believe, never examined with that attention which they are now found to deserve. The successful efforts of Mr. Caviglia in laying open the interior apartments of several of these, will give them a new interest in the eyes of future travellers. The stone buildings, which Mr. Salt supposes to be mausoleums, are generally of an oblong form, having their walls slightly inclined from the perpendicular inwards, the peculiar characteristic of ancient Egyptian architecture; flat-roofed, with a sort of parapet round the outside, formed of stones, rounded at the top, and rising about a foot above the level of the terrace. The walls are constructed of large masses of stones, of irregular shape, seldom rectangular, though neatly fitted to each other somewhat in the manner of the Cyclopean buildings in various parts of Greece. Some have door-ways ornamented above with a volute, which is covered with hieroglyphics, while others have only square apertures in the sides, gradually narrowing inwards for the purpose of admitting light into the chambers. These doors and windows are found invariably on the northern and eastern sides; perhaps because these two sides are the least liable to be incommoded by the sand from the Libyan desert.

"The first of these edifices, examined by Mr. Caviglia, when freed of the sand and rubbish with

which it was choked, was found to have the inside walls covered with stucco and embellished with rude paintings, one of which, though much defaced, evidently represented the sacred boat, and another a procession of figures, each carrying a lotus in his hand. At the southern extremity were several mouldering mummies, laid one over the other in a recumbent posture, with a few fragments of wooden cases. Many of the bones remained entire, and among the rest was a skull, with part of its cloth covering inscribed with hieroglyphics.

" The second edifice he examined had no paintings, but contained several fragments of statues, both of calcareous stone and granite. In one of the chambers were found two pieces, composing the entire body of a figure almost as large as life, in the act of walking, with the left leg stretched forwards, and the two arms hanging down and resting on the thighs. From the position of this statue, and from that of a pedestal, and the foot of another statue in a different chamber, both facing the openings into the respective chambers, Mr. Salt is of opinion, that they were so placed for the express purpose of being seen by the friends of the deceased from an adjoining corridor; the statues themselves bearing, as he thinks, evident marks of being intended as portraits of the persons whom they were meant to represent. The several parts were marked with a strict attention to nature, and coloured after life, having artificial eyes of glass, or transparent stones, to give them the air of living men. A head was discovered, but it did not exactly fit the statue in question, though it probably belonged to the foot and pedestal. ' This head,' says Mr. Salt, ' even in its present state, I consider as extremely valuable from its similarity in style and features to that of the

Sphinx, having the same facial line, the same sweetness of expression and marking in the mouth, and the same roundness and peculiarity which characterise the rest of the features; circumstances which tend to prove its almost equal antiquity.' In removing the fragments, eight hours were employed in enlarging the opening of the chamber, to enable the workmen to force them through; so that the statue must have been placed in its cell prior to the finishing of the edifice. Many of the granite and alabaster fragments found in these chambers, give a higher idea of Egyptian sculpture than has usually prevailed; a close attention, it seems, being shown to the marking of the joints and muscles. In the fragment of a leg, Mr. Salt observed 'a fulness of the parts, and strictness of proportion, not unlike the school of Michael Angelo;' 'while,' he adds, 'the alabaster fragments evince that the Egyptians, in finishing, were not behind even the sculptors of Greece.' Nor is Mr. Salt singular in bearing this honourable testimony to the skill of the ancient artists of Egypt. Mr. Hamilton, after giving an animated description of the sculptures which cover the eastern wing of the propylon of the temple of Luxor, observes, 'It was impossible to view and to reflect upon a picture so copious and so detailed as this I have just described, without fancying that I here saw the original of many of Homer's battles, the portrait of some of the historical narratives of Herodotus, and one of the principal groundworks of the description of Diodorus; and to complete the gratification, we felt that had the artist been better acquainted with the rules and use of perspective, the performance might have done credit to the genius of a Michael Angelo or a Julio Romano.'

"In another of these stone edifices was sculptured

a boat of a large size, with a square sail, different from any now employed on the Nile. In the first chamber of this building were paintings, in bas-relief, of men, deer, and birds; men engaged in planning and preparing certain pieces of furniture, hewing blocks of wood, and pressing out skins either of wine or oil. The top of the second chamber is hollowed out in the form of an arch. 'In this apartment,' says Mr. Salt, 'the figures and hieroglyphics are singularly interesting and beautiful. On the right, is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit; and a little further on, a number of men engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture,—ploughing, hoeing up the ground, bringing in their corn on asses, stowing it in the magazines, and in other similar occupations. On the west, are several vases painted in the most vivid colours; and on the south side, a band of musicians, playing on the harp, flute, and a species of clarionet, together with a groupe of dancing women, tinged of a yellow colour, as is the case in most of the temples of Upper Egypt.' In the same building are two other chambers, one unembellished, the other having carved on its walls a variety of figures and hieroglyphics. In a fifth chamber were several hieroglyphics on a thick coat of white plaster, executed, as it would appear, with a wooden stamp or mould.

"Many others of these oblong buildings were cleared out, and found to consist of different numbers of apartments, variously disposed, but similarly decorated with bas-reliefs and paintings, according, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them: one in particular, from the delicacy of its colours, its general pleasing effect, and superior style of execution, was deemed deserving of the closest attention. Mr.

Salt observes, that in all the mausoleums which they opened, were found fragments of bitumen, great quantities of mummy-cloth and of human bones, which seemed to remove all doubt of their having served the purpose of entombing the dead. A very important circumstance yet remains to be noticed. In one apartment or another of all these monumental edifices was a deep shaft or well, from the bottom of which, a narrow passage conducted to a subterranean chamber. One of these shafts, cleared out by Mr. Caviglia, was sixty feet deep; and in the chamber a little to the south of the lower extremity, was standing, without a lid, a plain but highly finished sarcophagus, of the same dimensions nearly as that in the chamber of the pyramid of Cheops, but of a superior polish. This discovery supplies a strong argument in favour of the pyramids being tombs. In summing up the result of the researches made in these mansions of the dead, (if such they really be,) Mr. Salt observes, 'I shall here venture to offer a few cursory remarks on the very peculiar specimens of sculpture-painting above described, which may fairly be considered as presenting the most ancient examples of art now extant in the world.

"'The objects in which the artists have best succeeded, are the animals and birds, several instances of which may be pointed out, that are executed with a boldness of outline, and an attention to nature in the form, which evince a considerable progress in design. The human figures, it is true, are in general drawn sadly out of proportion, though the action in which they are engaged, is almost always intelligibly, and, sometimes, energetically expressed.

"'The colours in many of the chambers retain all their original freshness, and present (from their

being generalized, perhaps, by the reflexions of the surrounding sand, pale-coloured stones, and clear-blue sky,) a softened and harmonious effect, notwithstanding their vivid colours, that is very grateful to the eye. In one chamber in particular, I have remained for hours contemplating, with peculiar delight, the effects of these singular and early efforts in art; the combination of bas-relief and of colouring after life serving to embody the forms, and to present a species of reality that mere painting can with difficulty produce.

"'A considerable portion of the pleasure derived from these paintings, must undoubtedly be attributed to the association of ideas arising from local circumstances connected with them; but, let a man divest himself, if possible, of these feelings, and he must still allow, that their simplicity, the highly-finished manner in which they are executed, the unbroken tints which are employed, the variety of subjects which are delineated, and the occasional elegance of form, together with the infinite variety of hieroglyphics used to balance and fill up the several designs, display a rich assemblage of ornament that renders this style of art particularly adapted for the embellishment of apartments.'

"An examination of the catacombs in the neighbourhood, tended to confirm these general remarks on Egyptian art, as far as refers to the correct delineation of animals; the composition of the gazelle, in particular, being stated to be in every respect beautiful, both in the natural simplicity of the action, the correctness of the form, and the admirable feeling which pervades the design. This subject, Mr. Salt observes, became afterwards a favourite one among the Romans in adorning their walls, as is evinced by the several examples of it at Herculaneum and Pom-

peii, which contributes to prove that, even in painting, the Romans did not disdain to copy from the Egyptians."

Mr. Salt is disposed to assign to these buildings an antiquity higher than the pyramids themselves; and he thinks that this vast cemetery may have been connected with the city of Heliopolis, before the seat of empire had been transferred to Memphis. This is very improbable; and it is suggested as more likely, that many of these edifices have been constructed from the dilapidated casing of the pyramids, as they consist of the same kinds of stone. Indeed, a circumstance mentioned by Mr. Salt seems decisive of their posterior date. One of the stones, he says, bearing a hieroglyphic inscription, is built into the walls upside down; proving beyond a doubt, that it had constituted part of some other edifice previously to occupying its present position. "It is probable, that the *tumuli* are nothing more than similar buildings of higher antiquity, mouldered away to their present shape; or that they were constructed originally of more perishable materials, like the brick pyramid of Dashour, which has every appearance of gradually changing its form into that of the rude tumulus."

But by far the most brilliant of Mr. Caviglia's discoveries are those to which he was led in the laborious process of uncovering the great Sphinx in front of the Pyramid of Cephrenes. His first attempt was not satisfactory, owing to the great difficulty of the undertaking. He commenced his operations by digging a very deep trench on the left or northern side, near the shoulder, about twenty feet wide at top, and three only at the base; but, in spite of all their planking, the wind drove back, at night, more than half of the sand which they had cleared away in the day. By this

trench, however, he ascertained that the external surface of the body below is composed of irregular-shaped stones, built up with much care, and covered with red paint; and that the joints mentioned by some authors, are nothing more than veins in the stones. His second attempt was made in front. Commencing in the early part of March, he continued his operations till the end of June, and, with the assistance of from sixty to a hundred persons a day, he succeeded in laying open the whole figure to its base, and in exposing a clear area extending a hundred feet from its front.* The discoveries to which these operations led, are thus stated.

"On the stone platform in front, and centrally between the outstretched paws of the Sphinx, was found a large block of granite, fourteen feet high, seven broad, and two thick. The face of this stone, which fronted the east, was highly embellished with sculpture in bas-relief, the subject representing two sphinxes seated on pedestals, and priests holding out offerings, beneath which was a long inscription in hieroglyphics, most beautifully executed; and the whole design was covered at top, and protected, as it were, with the sacred globe, the serpent, and the wings. Two other tablets of calcareous stone, similarly ornamented, were supposed, with that of granite,

* Of the immense difficulties which Capt. Caviglia had to encounter, some idea may be formed from the statement, that the slightest breeze or concussion was sufficient to set in motion the loose particles of sand, and to occasion the sloping sides of the mass to crumble down, forming a cascade of sand. On the southern side of the paw, the whole body of Arabs were employed for seven days without making any sensible advance, the sand rolling down in one continual torrent. When Dr. Richardson visited the Pyramids in October of the same year, "the Arabs and the wind had replaced the greater part of the covering, and the lower extremities of the Sphinx were as invisible as before."

to have constituted part of a temple, by being placed one on each side of the latter, and at right angles to it. One of them, in fact, was still remaining in its place: of the other, which was thrown down and broken, the fragments are now in the British Museum. A small lion *couchant* in front of this edifice, had its eyes directed towards the sphinx. There were besides, several fragments of other lions rudely carved, and the fore part of a sphinx, of tolerable workmanship; all of which, as well as the tablets, walls, and platform on which the little temple stood, were ornamented with red paint, a colour which would seem to have been here, as in India, appropriated to sacred purposes. In front of the temple was a granite altar, with one of the four "horns" still retaining its place at the angle. From the effects of fire evident on the stone, this altar, it would seem, had been used for burnt-offerings. On the side of the paw of the great Sphinx, were cut several indistinct inscriptions in Greek characters, addressed to different deities, one of which appeared to be a mere play upon words; another, commencing with the usual phrase, *το προσκυνημα* (adoration), ended with the name of Aurora; and a third contained the word *παχων*, one of the Egyptian months. On the second digit of the paw was sculptured, in pretty deep characters, an inscription in verse, of which the following elegant translation has been furnished by Dr. Young, to whom the learned world are indebted for supplying the illegible words in the original.

'Thy form stupendous here the gods have placed,
Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land;
And with this mighty work of art have graced
A rocky isle, encumber'd once with sand;
And near the pyramids have bid thee stand:
Not that fierce Sphinx that Thebes erewhile laid waste,
But great Latona's servant mild and blai

Watching that prince beloved who fills the throne
Of Egypt's plains, and calls the Nile his own.
That heavenly monarch [who his foes defies],
Like Vulcan powerful [and like Pallas wise].
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ARRIAN.'

The signature gives it a more than common interest, which will not be weakened, if it should be decided, that it is to be ascribed to the celebrated historian whom Gibbon has dignified with the epithet of the 'elegant and philosophical Arrian.'

"On the digits of the southern paw were only discovered a few of the usual dedicatory phrases in homage of Harpocrates, Mars, and Hermes. One inscription gives, as Mr. Salt reads it, to the Emperor Claudius, the extraordinary appellation of 'αγαθος δαιμων;' an instance of flattery which can only be outdone by that of another inscription, lately discovered in Upper Egypt, where Caracalla is styled 'piissimus,' on the very same stone from which the name of his murdered brother Geta had, probably, been erased by his own orders. On another small edifice in front of the Sphinx, was an inscription with the name of Septimius Severus, in which the name of Geta was erased, as in the former, and as it also is in the triumphal arch erected by the same emperor at Rome. The former inscription, however, is not to Claudius, but to his successor NEPΩN, as may be distinctly traced in the first line through the imperfect erasure." *

* This stone is now in the British Museum. The inscription, with a translation, is given in the paper from which this account is taken, Quart. Rev. vol. xix. p. 414. It purports to have been erected, by the inhabitants of Busiris in the Letopolitan district, near the Pyramids, to the Emperor Nero. Another inscription, found near the same spot, is dated in the reign of Antoninus Pius and his son Verus.

The edifices on which the inscription appeared, were placed on two elevated platforms, on the outside of the altar, and directly in front of the animal; as if "intended as stations for the Roman emperors or prefects, to view the solemn rites performed in the temple and at the altar in front of the Sphinx."

This singular monument has been, like every thing else in Egypt, the subject of very opposite representations. Dr. Richardson says: "The features are Nubian; the expression is particularly placid and benign." Denon speaks of it in similar language. The expression of the head, he says, "is mild, benign, and tranquil, the character African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a sweetness of expression and a fineness of execution truly admirable: it is flesh and life." The Author of "Scenes and Impressions" confesses that he was disappointed by it. "It has neither the size, nor the majesty, nor the sweetness with which it is usually represented." Mr. Salt states, that, like many other travellers, he felt, at first, that the praises lavished by Norden, Denon, and others, were greatly exaggerated; but, he adds, "the more I studied it at different hours of the day, and under differents effects of light and shade, the more I became satisfied that they had barely done justice to its real merits." This gentleman had the advantage of contemplating at his leisure this imposing monument, when laid open in front to its very base, with the fragments of its supposed beard resting beneath its chin; its huge paws stretched out fifty feet in advance from the recumbent body; with all the appendages of a temple, granite tablet, and altar spread out on the platform before it; and he admits, that these interesting objects, which had for ages been buried deep in the sand, undoubtedly tended to exalt

the main figure in his estimation. For want of these objects by which to judge of the scale of its dimensions, travellers would be very liable to underrate at least the magnitude of the figure; nor should it be forgotten, that it was intended to be looked up to from its base.

The Arabs call the Sphinx *Abou-el-hol*, the father of terrors, or *Abou-el-haoun*, the father of the column; in allusion, possibly, to the stone tablet between its paws.* Herodotus makes no mention of this enigmatical figure; yet, from the great disintegration that it has suffered, Dr. Richardson supposes, that it can hardly be less ancient than his time. Pliny, the first author who mentions it, merely states its position to be in front of the pyramids, adding, that the natives called it the tomb of King Amasis, and said that it was brought there; which, he remarks, could not be true, as it is cut out of the rock; but he offers no opinion as to its design or origin. The sphinx, in the Greek mythology, is generally represented with the countenance of a beautiful female and the body of a lion. The head of this sphinx, however, is now supposed to be that of a man; the *beard* found between its paws being considered as decisive on this subject. "The expression of almost all the Egyptian figures," remarks Dr. Richardson, "is so particularly mild and interesting, that, without the accession of the beard, they might all pass for females. This figure was entire in the time of Abdallatif, who describes its graceful appearance, and the admirable proportion in the different features of its countenance, of which he particularly mentions the nose, the eyes, and the ears; adding, that they excited his astonishment above

* Dr. Richardson states, that "both on the temples and on the tombs, the Sphinx is frequently represented with a pyramid or an obelisk between its paws."

every thing that he had seen in Egypt." But is it certain, that what is styled the beard, is really intended for such an appendage? We must confess that there appears to us strong reason to question the accuracy of the statement; and the inscription seems at direct variance with such a supposition. The Theban monster was certainly not an "androsphinx;" nor can we bring ourselves to believe, that Latona's chaste attendant (προσπολον αγνοσατην) was of a different sex. There can be no doubt, we think, that the figure is allegorical; and it seems clear from the inscription, that it was connected with the worship of the sun.* If so, it might be supposed to be an astronomical symbol,—the sun passing out of *Leo* into *Virgo*, during which time the Nile continues to rise.

The second pyramid, that of Cephrenes, stands upon a rather higher elevation than that of Cheops: it is built of the same species of stone,† and joined by the same kind of cement. The coating, which is also of limestone, remains upon the top for about a fourth of the way down: the rest is quite uncovered, and the

* In the dedicatory inscription to the Emperor Nero, that monarch is stated to have been present at the "lawful rites" celebrated here, and to have worshipped *the sun*, "the overseer and saviour of the world."

† According to Dr. Clarke, "a soft limestone, a little harder and more compact than what some of our English masons call *clunch*, whereof King's College, Cambridge, and a great part of Ely Cathedral is built." It is of a greyish white, and, when broken by a smart blow, exhales a fetid odour, like the dark limestone of the Dead Sea, owing to the disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogen. Dr. Richardson describes it as a compact limestone containing many shells and small hard substances like *acini*, of a more compact texture than the stone itself. These small concretions are particularly numerous in the rock round the base of the pyramid. It is no longer doubtful; that the stones of which the pyramids are built, were supplied by the rock on which they rest. Within half a mile to the E. and S. are extensive quarries.

steps are splintered and broken, more especially on the north side, as in the other pyramid. It may be ascended, however, on the southern side without much difficulty up to a certain height, from which a smooth, inclined plane leads to the apex. An Arab would scramble up this for sixpence, or a British tar for nothing; but the traveller will prefer accomplishing it by proxy, as M. Chateaubriand visited the pyramids. Niebuhr, however, climbed to the summit. The base of this pyramid is 684 feet; its height 456 feet. For our knowledge of the interior, we are indebted to the enterprising labours of Belzoni. Herodotus was informed, that this pyramid had no chambers within it; and modern travellers had taken for granted, that this venerable *on dit* was correct; but experience proved a surer guide to the discoveries of the sagacious Italian, than tradition and classic lore. His practised eye detected certain indications which led him to believe an entrance might be found. On the eastern side, there is part of a portico of the temple which stood before the pyramid, and which has a causey descending straight towards the Sphinx. Here he set forty Arabs to work, to open the ground between the portico and the pyramid; and they soon came to the lower part of a large temple, reaching within fifty feet of its base. Its exterior walls are formed of enormous blocks, some of those in the porticoes being twenty-four feet in length. The interior is built of calcareous stones of various sizes, many of them finely cut at the angles. In order to find the basis of the pyramid on this side, and to ascertain whether any communication existed between it and the temple, he had to cut through an accumulation of materials, consisting of large blocks of stone and mortar from the coating, which rose forty feet from the

base. At last, he came to a flat pavement cut out of the solid rock, which appears to run all round the pyramid; and he gives it as his opinion, that the sphinx, the temple, and the pyramid, were all three constructed at the same period. No other discovery was made on this side; and on the north side, the Arabs were not at first more successful. After sixteen days of fruitless labour, one of them perceived a chink between two stones, which led to the detection of a false entrance, evidently forced; but the upper part had fallen in, and it was found impossible to penetrate beyond a hundred feet. "However," says Mr. Belzoni, in his ingenuous narrative, "I did not despair. I strictly noticed the situation of the entrance into the first pyramid, and plainly saw that it was not in the centre of the pyramid. I observed that the passage ran in a straight line from the outside of the pyramid to the east side of the king's chamber; and this chamber being nearly in the centre of the pyramid, the entrance must consequently be as far from the middle of the face, as the distance from the centre of the chamber to the east side of it." This simple observation proved the right clue. On returning to the second pyramid, he was not more astonished than delighted to perceive the same marks which he had noticed on the other spot in the centre, and which had led him to make his first unsuccessful attempt, about 30 feet distant from where he stood. The discovery of the first granite stone was made on the 28th of February (1816); on the 1st of March, he uncovered three large blocks of granite; and on the following day, came to the right entrance; a passage 4 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and descending towards the centre, for 104 feet 5 inches, at an angle of 26°. This passage, like that in the pyramid of

Cheops, was found to be lined with large blocks of granite; it was filled up with stones which had fallen down and slid into it; and when these were cleared out, they came to a fixed block of stone, which appeared to present a *ne plus ultra* to their operations. On a close inspection, however, Mr. Belzoni perceived that, at the bottom, this immense block was raised about eight inches from the groove cut to receive it, and that it formed, in fact, "a portcullis of granite, one foot three inches thick." To raise it, was a work of immense difficulty, but it obeyed Mr. Belzoni's talisman, perseverance; and he then found himself in a passage similar in dimensions to the first, about 22 feet and a half in length. At the end of this is a perpendicular shaft of 15 feet, which he descended by means of a rope, and then entered another passage, running downward at an angle of 26° towards the north; he then ascended an inclined passage, which brought him to a horizontal one leading to the centre. After passing the portcullis, all the passages are cut out of the live rock. On advancing, the sides of the horizontal passage were found covered with "arborizations" of nitre, some projecting in ropes, others resembling an endive-leaf, and the fleece of a lamb. At length, he came to a door leading into the central chamber. He entered, and found, towards the western end, buried on a level with the floor, a sarcophagus, 8 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep. It is surrounded with large blocks of granite, apparently intended to prevent its removal. It is itself of the finest granite, but, like that of Cheops, has not a hieroglyphic upon it. The lid was half removed, and disclosed, amid a great quantity of earth and stones, some bones which, on being sent to London, were declared to be those of a bull—of the god Apis

himself!* The chamber was found to be 46 feet 3 inches by 16 feet 3 inches, and 23 feet and a half high. It is cut out of the solid rock from the floor to the roof, which is composed of large blocks of limestone, forming a sort of pointed roof of the same slope as the pyramid itself. On the walls were observed many scrawls executed with charcoal in unknown characters, which, for the most part, at the slightest touch, rubbed off into dust; but the following inscription, in Arabic, was transcribed by a Copt who accompanied the Author: "The Master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them, and the Master Othman attended this (opening); and the King Alij Mohammed at first to the closing up."† Thus, though Herodotus knew nothing of this chamber, the Saracens had been here. On several parts of the well were beautiful incrustations similar to those in the passages.

Other passages were subsequently explored, one of which, running with a descent of 26° towards the west, led to a similar chamber, 32 feet by 9 feet 9 inches, and 8 feet and a half long; containing some small blocks of stone, and several unknown inscriptions. At the end of a horizontal passage were found the grooves of another portcullis, the granite block of which had been removed, and was lying amid some

* Dr. Richardson remarks, that the shape of the sarcophagus is "a mighty odd configuration, if made to contain the embalmed carcase of a bull." He states its dimensions to be 8 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet and a half broad, and 2 feet 5 inches deep; the breadth of the edge 7 inches and a half.—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 157.

† In the Quarterly Review (vol. xix. p. 201), a different translation is given, in which the word rendered *lapicide*, is made a proper name. "This pyramid was opened by the Masters Mahomet El Aghar and Otman, and was inspected in presence of the Sultan Ali Mahomet the first, *Ugloch*." The latter word is asserted to be a Tataric title: how it came to be assumed by an Egyptian sultan, we do not learn.

rubbish near the spot. Passing this portcullis, the passage ascended towards the exterior base of the pyramid, forming, apparently, a *second* outlet.*

Mr. Belzoni felt a strong inclination to penetrate the third pyramid, that of Mycerinus; but the want of time and money compelled him to abandon this enterprise, after clearing away a great quantity of materials. Beneath the rubbish, he found a considerable accumulation of enormous granite blocks, which had evidently formed the coating; and part of this coating still remained in its place down to the base. † That of Cephrenes was coated only with limestone, which takes a beautiful polish like marble. Mr. Belzoni was led to believe, that this coating, which, Herodotus says, was begun from above, was never finished, as he discovered none of it near the base beneath the rubbish; and that of Cheops, he thinks, had never any casing. The pyramid of Myceirinus is 162 feet high, and the line of its base is 280 feet.

There is, in fact, a fourth large pyramid, though travellers generally speak of the pyramids of Djizeh as three in number. This fourth is nearly on the same diagonal line as the others, but a little more to the west. "It is one hundred feet smaller than the third, is likewise without coating, and closed, but has one peculiarity deserving remark; which is, that its summit is terminated by a single great stone, which seems to have served as a pedestal." ‡ It is, perhaps, deserving of mention, that the appearance of an Arab

* Belzoni's Narrative, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 397—427.

† This pyramid, called by the Arabian writers, the coloured (red?) pyramid, appears to have preserved its coating till the time of Abdallatif, who describes it as composed of granite.

‡ Norden, p. 76.

standing on the summit of the pyramid of Cephrenes, which he had climbed for *beksheesh*, suggested to Dr. Richardson, that a colossal statue would have been an excellent finish for the vast pedestal.

When Mr. Carne was at Djizeh, Captain Caviglia was proceeding with unconquerable perseverance in his excavations. This Traveller describes one which he visited,—" a small and beautiful gateway of fine white stone, covered with hieroglyphics, and of so fresh a colour that it seemed but lately erected. Descending about sixty feet, we entered three subterraneous apartments, one of which contained two large coffins, side by side, cut out of the rock: some little idols only were found in them. Mr. Caviglia," it is added, " is at present engaged in what would generally be considered as an almost hopeless undertaking. He believes there is a subterraneous communication between the pyramids of Gizeh and those of Sakkara, and the remains of Memphis; the former fifteen miles off, the latter a few miles nearer. He is sanguine of success in his attempts to discover this passage, and has proceeded some hundred yards in his excavation of the sand. There is the work of years before him, ere he can accomplish his object, though it is probable he will make some valuable discoveries by the way." *

The pyramids of Sakkara or Dahshour, appear to be a continuation of the great cemetery to which those of Djizeh belong. The former have generally received less attention than they deserve, owing to the superior facility and security with which the latter can be

* Carne's Letters, vol. i. p. 114. This appears to have been in 1817. The date of Mr. Carne's visit is not given.

visited. Two of them only are, indeed, very large, and these are described by Norden as not inferior in grandeur to those opposite Cairo; but their fabric is not so neat nor so well contrived as that of the others. From their being more dilapidated, he infers, that they are more ancient, and that, from them, "the model was taken and refined on, for building the others." That of Cheops, he thinks, "should rather pass for the last. You see divers things in it which shew that it has not been entirely finished; and it is sufficient to cast your eyes upon it, to be convinced that it has a newer look than the others which are adjacent." Whereas "time has made much impression on those higher up: although they are in a climate less subject to rains and winds, yet they have not avoided suffering more than the first, which can be attributed only to the great number of years they have subsisted." * Against the conclusiveness of this argument, however, it may be objected, that any great difference in the outward preservation of these ancient monuments, originating in the circumstance of their date, would require a wider interval to have occurred between the building of the first and last than can be admitted to be very probable. For a description of the pyramids of Dahshour, (under which name, according to Norden, are comprehended all that are to the south of those of Djizeh,) we shall avail ourselves of Dr. Richardson's Narrative, premising that he visited them on descending the Nile.

"About nine o'clock, the first pyramid, *Haram Asawee*, hove in sight, looming on us over the plain, as we passed the village of Shabatabi or Shallabi. About half past four, we saw two other pyramids,

* Norden, p. 88. This opinion has been adopted by Dr. Clarke.

bearing considerably west of the first, and further removed into the desert; but we soon lost sight of them. They are called the false pyramids*.....The pyramid Asawée stands on an elevated base, seemingly composed of heterogeneous materials. It rises up like a tower, and is different from the other pyramids. The pyramids of Dahshour next show their square, massy tops through the haze, which announce our approach to Memphis, the ancient residence of kings. Between them and the pyramid of Asawée, there are many sepulchral mounds. The murky summits of the two large pyramids first met our eye; next, the smaller one of unburned brick, which shewed of a darker hue; and on a nearer approach, we perceived that it was considerably disintegrated, and seemed to lessen in its dimensions. We next hove in sight of the pyramids of Sakkareh, and soon observed the rapid gradations by which one of them contracts to its summit. Between Sakkareh and Dahshour are numbers of sepulchral mounds, some of which shew at a considerable distance, and seem to have been pyramids; but time has destroyed their angularity, and left them

* This name appears properly to belong only to that of Asaweh. "The pyramids of Dagjour," says Norden, "terminate near Meduun, where there is the most southern of all. The more distant you are from it, the more it strikes the sight; but when you approach it near, it does not seem of great consequence, being built only of large bricks hardened by the sun; which is the reason that the Arabs and the Turks call it commonly the *false pyramid*. You discover it at a great distance, and so much the more distinctly as it is not so near the mountains, nor in the neighbourhood of the other pyramids. It is elevated upon a little hill of sand. Its four sides are equal, and descend with a slope to the horizon, in form of a glacis. It has three or four degrees or steps, the lowest of which may have twenty feet of perpendicular height."—Norden, p. 81.

like so many rounded *tumuli*, which appeared the more insignificant the nearer we approached them. Here we left the boats, which were ordered to glide down to Mousganeh, while we procured asses, and proceeded to view the pyramids of Dahshour, which lie about half a mile to the north of the village of that name. The cultivated plain here is narrow, and the rocky flat is low and covered with sand. We measured the largest of these pyramids, which we found to be 691 feet, taking the measurement about 30 paces out from the base, which we could not reach on account of the rubbish that had fallen down at the sides. It is cased with small flags of compact, chalky limestone, which are joined by a cement of lime without any mixture of sand. It slopes up gradually to the height of fifty feet; then it contracts suddenly, and closes at an elevation of 300 feet. It is not covered with plaster, although it appears to be so on account of the smooth white casing. The next pyramid, we found to be 704 feet line of base on the east side, and 691 on the north, on a level with the base, at 30 paces distant. This pyramid, like most of the others, has been opened, and is still accessible in the interior. It contains a handsome chamber, which exactly resembles the drawings of the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycené. It is lined with large slabs of polished granite, each of which projects into the room about six inches further than the one below it, and terminates nearly in a point at the top, and looks something like a pointed arch, though certainly not constructed on that principle.* Near to this stands

* Mr. Davison went from Abousir to Sacara, "which is an hour and a quarter distant to the S.W. At ten o'clock," he says, "we set out for the pyramids, and in about an hour's time, came to the furthest but one. It is the largest of all the range of pyramids at

the brick pyramid, which we did not measure. It is much fallen down on the north side, and looks as if

Sacara and Dashour. It is not less than 700 feet square; the perpendicular height is 343 feet; there are, in all, 154 steps. In that side which faces the north, 180 feet up, there is a passage that leads into it. Having lighted our candles, we descended, and found it 4 feet 5 inches and a quarter high, 3 feet 5 inches and a half wide, and 200 feet long. At the end of this is a passage running horizontally, 24 feet 4 inches and a half in length, which leads to a large pyramidal room 27 feet 4 inches by 11 feet 11 inches, and 43 feet 4 inches high. From this, a passage of 10 feet 4 inches conducts to another of the same dimensions. At the height of 11 feet, the stones set in six inches, one over another, for eleven together, each stone being 3 feet high.(*a*) At the end of the inner room, 30 feet 10 inches from the ground, there is a passage 24 feet long, 3 feet 5 inches square, which leads to a third room, differing from the former only in being 1 foot 8 inches broader. Not only all the pavement of this room, but five tiers of stones, have been forcibly taken up in search of treasure. The stones of the passage have also been taken up. There is not much of the covering preserved on this pyramid; what remains is towards the top. Early the next morning, we set out for the furthest pyramid, where we arrived in something less than an hour and a half. A little way up on the north side, is an entrance, to which one may mount, but with danger and difficulty. This pyramid has 600 feet for its base, 184 feet up to the angle, and 250 feet thence to the top, which is 30 feet broad. The passage, as far as one can advance, is 174 feet in length. It is very difficult to creep down in the lower parts, on account of the stones and rubbish with which it is at last entirely choked up. It cuts the side of the pyramid at right angles. The building, as it now stands, consists of 198 steps, namely, 68 large ones from the ground to the angle, and 130 smaller ones from that point to the top. Upon measuring one of the largest of the former, I found it to be 4 feet 2 inches; whereas the general size of those in the upper part is only 1 foot 10 inches or 2 feet. This pyramid is built of hard white stone: in some places, you see fossil remains, but not so numerous as in the large pyramid a mile to the north. From the summit, we had a most extensive prospect of the fertile plain towards the Nile, on the east of the pyramids, which is the most probable situation of Memphis, of *Jebel Jehusi* on the other side of the river, of the castle of Cairo, and of all the pyramids,

(*a*) The chamber referred to by Dr. Richardson.

the roof of one chamber had given way, and the walls had fallen in. The bricks are sun-dried and remarkably fresh; they have been made of mud and cut straw, in the same manner that bricks are made in Egypt at the present day. The straw is required to give tenacity to the material, which is a black, loamy, friable earth, and could not be easily formed into bricks without it. Amid the great ardour for Egyptian researches that has of late prevailed in this country, it is rather unaccountable, that this pyramid should have been so neglected; for, from the manner in which it is mentioned by Herodotus, we should have imagined that it would have been one of the first to be examined. This is probably the pyramid of Asyches, the successor of Mycerinus, who was so much attached to brick, that he put on this pyramid an inscription, declaring that it was as much superior to those built of stone, as Jove was to the rest of the deities. It would be curious to observe, how this lover of brick formed the roofs of the passages and chambers of his pyramid. If the arch were then known in Egypt, from such an avowed predilection for the material of straw and clay, we are almost warranted to infer, that he would employ it, in preference to large flat stones, which are used in the other pyramids. If, upon examination, the passages and chambers of this pyramid should be found arched, then there is an end of the question, whether or not the Egyptians possessed any knowledge of the arch.

both those of Giza and Sacara. On the tops of these great heights, the eagles build their nests: we heard the noise of the young ones as we went up. Pococke is mistaken in supposing that the angle near the middle only appears to be such from the covering above having slid down: the covering stone is on, as well above as below it."—WALPOLE'S *Memoires*, pp. 358—60.

If, on the contrary, they should be found covered with flat stones, it would furnish a strong presumption that the arch was not known in Egypt at that time. There are also some brick pyramids in the Fayoum, which might be examined for a similar purpose.

"Leaving the pyramids of Dahshour, we proceeded along the rocky flat, which is covered with pyramids of smaller dimensions, both of brick and stone, some of which are so ruined as absolutely to appear a perfect heap of dust; and regained the road through the cultivated plain. Here we found ancient avenues, lined on each side with the acacia, and passed a deep lake of large dimensions, which might answer to the famed Acherusia in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian capital. In a little time we reached Metraheny, which is a considerable modern village, attached to an immense field of ruins, supposed to be part of the ancient Memphis. The sides of a large square still remain enclosed with strong mounds of earth, like the strong embankment in Thebes, at the village of El Barât, near Medinet Abou. In several places throughout the ruins, are numerous fragments of granite, covered with hieroglyphics, and so exquisitely wrought as to leave no doubt of their having belonged to some public building. Though no regular foundations can be traced here, from the accumulation of rubbish, yet, these scattered fragments probably formed part of an ancient temple, the most valuable remains of which may now be sought for at Cairo, Alexandria, or Rome. A contiguous tank, now half full of muddy water, adds probability to the conjecture.

"The next morning, we continued our ride along the edge of the desert to the pyramids of Gheeza. The road, for part of the way, ran along the edge of

one of the mounds above mentioned. This mound, we were disposed to consider as part of the embankment which Menes is said to have built to the south of Memphis, to protect it from the waters of the Nile; but this, we are informed by Herodotus, was 100 *stadia* (about 12 miles and a half) from the city, which the mound under consideration could not have been. It is completely covered with palm-trees, and merits a more patient examination than it has yet received from any traveller. We proceeded across the plain in a N.W. direction, to the mountain, passing in our way several ancient causeways, some deep canals, and the *Bahr Yousouf*, which the labourers had not yet begun to deepen at this quarter. The plain exhibits many specimens of the finest agriculture and excellent pasture, well stocked with a most beautiful breed of black cattle. In looking at them, a person would say that models for Apis and Isis still exist in the country.

" The rocky flat all the way between Sakkareh and Abousir is covered with pyramids, some of them large; but generally they are small. The large ones are of stone; many of the small ones are of brick, and appear to be from 50 to 100 feet high. At Abousir, there are three large pyramids, but apparently smaller than those at Sakkareh or Dahshour, with many *tumuli* round them. All along the edge of the desert here, the eye is delighted with the sight of much beautiful pasture, and the tents of Bedoween Arabs spread in the field, with their flocks feeding around. Between it and Sakkareh, we passed over a well-formed avenue lined with rows of acacias. The ground sloped beautifully down to the plain, and recalled to our minds the description of the site of the palace of the kings of Egypt at Memphis. Abousir is a small,

miserable village, situated upon the edge of the desert, amid sand and rubbish, the ruins of a former village of the same name. The inhabitants call it Abousir Said. (Upper Abousir ?) From this, the rocky flat is much covered with sand, and is less interesting till we come to the pyramids of Gheeza, a distance of three miles. The plain on the right is extremely beautiful and well-wooded, as is frequently the case in Egypt with the sites of ancient towns, and was so in Thebes, till of late, that the trees have all been cut down. *Kafr Sarai* is the first village after passing Abousir: it stands at a distance on our right, in the plain, which widens considerably from the mountain range, retiring in a westerly direction. There are no villages on the rocky flat, but, near the pyramids of Gheeza, there are the remains of several, with many stones, ornamented with the usual sculpture and hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians." *

Near Abousir, are the famous catacombs of birds, mentioned by Niebuhr, Davison, Clarke, and other travellers. The entrance to these is by a pit or well 22 feet deep, at the bottom of which is a horizontal passage about 60 feet in length, nearly choked up with sand, dirt, and broken jars; along which the traveller "creeps upon his face," head foremost and candle in hand, or, if he prefers it, is dragged feet foremost by an Arab. At length, turning to the right, he finds himself in a passage high enough to allow of his walking erect; and on each side are large rooms, in which the jars containing the sacred birds were deposited. "As we followed the intricate windings of these channels," says Dr. Clarke, "we came at last to a passage 10 feet in height and 6 in width, where the

* Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 141—154.

whole space was filled, from the floor to the roof, with the jars, in an entire state, as they were originally deposited. They were all lying horizontally, tier upon tier, the covers towards the outside. We took down several of them; but, as fast as we removed one row, another appeared behind it; and we were told by the Arabs, that, if hundreds were removed, the space behind would appear similarly filled up. The same appearance is presented at the extremities of all these galleries, the passages having been cleared only by the removal of these jars. For the most part, the contents of all these vessels was the same; but there were some exceptions. Generally, after unfolding the linen swathing, we found a bird resembling the curlew, having a long beak, long legs, and white feathers tipped with black. It is certainly the same bird that Bruce has described; called by the Arabs, *Abou Hannes.** In some of these jars, however, instead of a bird, were found parts of other animals, carefully embalmed and wrapped in linen, as the head of a monkey or of a cat, without the entire body. Such appearances are rare. Pococke relates, that, in one of the irregular apartments, he saw several jars, which might be intended for dogs or other animals: of these, he says, some have been found, but they are now very rare. We saw none of those larger jars: they all appeared to be of equal size, about 14 inches in length, of a conical form, and of the same coarse earthenware. The luting on the cover has been described as mortar, but seems rather to have consisted of the mud of the Nile.†

* See page 227.

† A little further, to the west of these catacombs, Mr. Davison saw "what seems to be a grand entrance to some tomb: the mouth of it is formed of four or five very large white stones, finely ornamented with hieroglyphics in relievo."

"A reverence for certain birds that destroy flies and serpents," continues the learned Traveller, "seems common to the inhabitants of all countries. In almost all parts of the world, it is considered as an unpropitious omen, to put to death the swallow or the marten. The same respect has generally been paid to the stork, the heron, and their different species. The Egyptians, says Pauw, instead of being the inventors of a superstitious reverence for the stork and the ibis, brought this with them from Ethiopia, together with the worship of the cat, the weasel, the ichneumon, the sparrow-hawk, the vulture, and the screech-owl; a worship founded on the utility of those animals It was absolutely necessary, says he, to put them under the protection of the law; otherwise the country would have been altogether uninhabitable.* The peculiar circumstances which occasioned the remarkable burial of so many of their bodies in the catacombs of Egypt, are explained by Ibn Washi, an Arabian writer, who says, that it was usual to embalm and bury an ibis at the initiation of the priests. Plutarch, moreover, mentions the burial of the ibis and of other animals held sacred among the Egyptians; and says, it was sometimes a private, and sometimes a public ceremony. The ibis, with other sacred animals, was put to death by the priests, and privately buried, as an expiatory sacrifice to avert pestilential diseases. The burial was public when any particular species of the sacred birds was to be interred." †

* Pliny states, that the Egyptians invoked the ibis against the approach of serpents. Josephus relates, that Moses, leading an army into Ethiopia, made use of the ibis to destroy a swarm of serpents that infested his passage. In Thessaly, killing one of these birds was visited with the same punishment as homicide.—See authorities in Clarke.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. v. pp. 230—236.

"The whole of the intermediate space between the borders of Lake Mœris and Djizeh," it has been remarked, "is so completely occupied with catacombs, temples, pyramids, and mausoleums, as to render the supposition probable, that it was one vast cemetery, in the centre of which stood the city of Memphis." The precise situation of that far-famed capital has been the subject of much learned litigation. Sicard and Shaw fix its site at Djizeh, directly opposite to Old Cairo. The arguments of the learned English Traveller may be briefly stated as follows. Pliny tells us, that Memphis was only 15 miles from the Delta; Strabo makes it only 90 furlongs, or less than 12 miles; and Ptolemy only 10′ further south;* which agrees pretty nearly with the position of Djizeh, whereas Metraheny is more than thrice that distance from the Delta. And supposing that those traces of large mounds and channels at Metraheny, are the remains of the ancient Memphitic rampart, the rampart mentioned by Herodotus was 100 furlongs S. of the city; and consequently Memphis is not to be sought for at that place, but below, northward. Again, Strabo informs us, that the pyramids were placed on an eminence at the distance of 40 furlongs or five miles from Memphis; Pliny says six miles. Memphis, according to Diodorus, was 150 furlongs, or nearly 19 miles in circuit: we may therefore assign it a breadth of five or six miles; and in that case, its distance from the pyramids will sufficiently correspond to the distance between the pyramids and Djizeh, usually reckoned about 12 miles. But they are three or four times that distance from Metraheny. Herodotus states, that Memphis, by being built upon the ancient bed of the

* Point of Delta, 62° long.; 30° lat. Memphis, 61° 50′ long. 29° 50′ lat.

river, lay under the sandy mountain of Libya, which he elsewhere describes as a ridge or eminence (λοφος), scarcely a hundred feet above the plain. This exactly answers to the position of the plain west of Djizeh. Again, Strabo tells us, that Memphis was over against Babylon, and that the pyramids could be seen distinctly from the latter place: if, therefore, Old Cairo occupies the site of Babylon, Memphis must have been at Djizeh. Herodotus describes Memphis as situated in thes traights or narrowest part (εν τῳ στεινῳ) of Egypt, as Djizeh certainly is; the Arabian side of the river being here confined by Mount Mokattam, and the Libyan by the ridge on which the pyramids are built; whereas, both above and below Djizeh, the country opens on each side.

The small district of land between the Libyan mountains and Djizeh, was formally occupied in part by a lake, so that a very small part was left capable of cultivation. At the time of the inundation, Herodotus says, they do not sail from Naucratis to Memphis by the common channel, (viz. by Cercasora and the point of the Delta,) but over the plain along the side of the pyramids. For the main stream, being then exceedingly rapid, would render the navigation to Memphis very long and tedious; whereas, by taking advantage of the inundation, and sailing under the Libyan mountains, they arrived with greater ease on the back of the city, over against, or along the side of, the pyramids. And the original channel of the river, he moreover states, ran along the side of the sandy hills of Libya; but this old channel was dried up by bending off the river with a rampart, one hundred furlongs higher up the stream, and thereby making it flow more at equal distances between the mountains. These ramparts were repaired every year; for, if

suffered to be broken down, all Memphis, he says, would be in danger of being swallowed up by the stream. The royal edifices, indeed, Strabo tells us, were built upon rising ground; but this seems to confirm the idea that the city itself was low.* By thus diverting the course of the stream, Menes is said to have made land of what was before water. He is also stated to have caused a lake to be made on the N. and W. sides of Memphis, and to have founded the magnificent temple of Vulcan. Myris, one of his successors, built the portico of Vulcan's temple, and caused a lake to be made, with pyramids, which was afterwards called the Lake of Myris. But this lake, which has been confounded with those made by Menes, was on the *western* side of the mountain under which Memphis was situated,† and, according to Pliny, distant from the city seventy-two miles: it was also of prodigious extent. One of the lakes made by Menes was to the northward of the city: the other, the *Acherusia* of Diodorus, lay to the westward, under the *eastern* side of the ridge. And as this lake might be continued all along the side of this rocky elevation to the very neighbourhood of Sacara, it will much better accord with the story of Charon's ferrying the dead over the Acherusia to the plains of the mummies or the Elysian Fields, than the remote and extensive lake of Myris.‡

In corroboration of this clear and learned train of

* In the time of Strabo (A.D. 20), Memphis, in size and populousness, ranked next to Alexandria, having, like the latter, a population drawn from various nations. There were ports for shipping both before the city and the palace. The latter, then unoccupied and in ruins, was built on a rising ground, near the lower part of the city, and had its own grove and port adjoining

† The present Lake of Keroun.

‡ Shaw's Suppl. to Travels, ch. iv.

argument, may be added the testimony of the Nubian Geographer. "A little to the south of Fostat," says Idrisi, "is the village of *Menf*" (the Arabian pronunciation of Memfi); "and in the country to the north of it, is the city called Ain Shems. They are now little more than two villages in the neighbourhood of Mount Mokattam; but it is said, they were both the favourite abodes of Firûún (Pharaoh): may the curse of God rest on him! With regard to Menf, the greater part of it is now in ruins; but Ain Shems is still inhabited." *

Shaw's opinion has been controverted by Pococke, Niebuhr, and D'Anville; and Bruce, Davison, Richardson, and other travellers, have been led, by the discovery of the ruins near Metraheny, to suppose that Memphis must be fixed more in that direction. "But this opinion," says the Author of the article on Egypt before referred to, "was not completely established, till the French ascertained the ground during their occupation of Egypt. 'At *Metrhaine* (*Mietraheïneh*), one league from Saccara,' says General Dugua, 'we found so many blocks of granite covered with hieroglyphics and sculpture, around and within an esplanade three leagues in circumference, enclosed by heaps of rubbish, that we were convinced that these must be the ruins of Memphis. The sight of some fragments of one of these colossi, which, Herodotus says, were erected by Sesostris at the entrance of the temple of Vulcan, would indeed have been sufficient to dispel our doubts, had any remained. The wrist of this colossus shews, that it must have been forty-eight feet high.'" †

* Cited in Ency. Metrop.

† Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt. This is evidently the ruined site near Metraheny, described by Dr. Richardson.

The account which Bruce gives of this spot, is as follows. Having left his boat at Sheikh Atman, a small village of about thirty houses, he proceeded southward through a large and thick wood of palm-trees, which appeared to have its greatest extension in a direction S. by E. He continued in this course, till he came to a village, and then to several large villages, all built amid the plantation of date-trees, so as scarcely to be seen from the shore. "These villages," he says, "are called Metrahenny. Leaving the river, we continued due west to the plantation that is called Mohannan. All to the south, in this desert, are vast numbers of pyramids. Having gained the western edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, we have a fair view of the pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly N.W.; as far as I can compute the distance, I think about nine miles; and as near as it was possible to judge by sight, Metrahenny, Geeza, and the centre of the three pyramids, made an isosceles triangle, or nearly so. All to the west and south of Mohannan, we saw great mounds and heaps of rubbish, and *khalishes* that were not of any length, but were lined with stone, covered and choked up in many places with earth. We saw three large granite pillars S.W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite, but no obelisks or stones with hieroglyphics; and we thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly. These, our conductor said, were the ruins of Mimf, the ancient seat of the Pharaohs, kings of Egypt; he added, that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terrane and *Batn el Baccara.*"

"Memphis," continues this Traveller, "if situated at Metrahenny, was in the middle of the pyramids;

three of them to the N.W. and above threescore of them to the S. When Pliny said that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta, he meant the three large pyramids, commonly called the pyramids of Geeza. But when he spoke of the pyramids of Sakkara, or that great multitude of pyramids southward, he said, they were between Memphis and the Arsinoite nome; and so they are, placing Memphis at Metrahenny." Referring to the statement of Herodotus, that Memphis lay under the sandy mountain of Libya, which is opposite to the Arabian mountain, Bruce proceeds: "Now this surely cannot be Geeza, for Geeza is under no mountain, and the Arabian mountain spoken of here, is that which comes close to the shore of Turra. Diodorus says, it was placed in the narrowest part of Egypt, and this Geeza cannot be so placed, for, by Dr. Shaw's confession, it is at least twelve miles from Geeza to the sandy mountain on which the pyramids stand, on the Libyan side *; and on the Arabian side, there is no mountain but that on which the castle of Cairo stands, which chain begins there, and runs a considerable way into the desert, afterwards pointing S.W., till they come so near to the eastern shore, as to leave no room but for the river at Turra." Instead of being forty miles from the apex of the Delta, as Dr. Shaw supposed, Bruce affirms, that Metrahenny is not quite twenty-seven miles. The latitude which Ptolemy assigns to the Point of Delta, is really that of Cairo; and Memphis, therefore, he argues, must be ten minutes further south. †

If Pliny's statement is to be relied upon, that the

* This is an error. See p. 296, note †. Browne makes the distance two hours and a half—between seven and eight miles.

† Bruce's Travels, vol. i. pp. 124—37.

pyramids of Memphis were between the city and the Delta, it would seem that Djizeh cannot be the site of the ancient capital. At the same time, as he makes the pyramids to be not four miles from the river, and yet seven from Memphis, it is very difficult to reconcile his statement with their actual situation, if the present channel be referred to.* On the other hand, if Memphis was opposite Babylon, and was connected by a bridge of boats with the island of Rhoda,† it is clear that it must have extended northward as far as Djizeh, which signifies the ferry. In the twelfth century, that beautiful island‡ was still connected in this way both with Djizeh and with Fostat. Djizeh is now a small town or suburb, containing several mosques, and surrounded with palm-groves; but in the time of Idrisi, there were here "fine buildings and lofty palaces, a market, and a college." Near it, there was formerly "a considerable number of pyramids, which were pulled down by a Greek named Kara-kush, one of the principal emirs under Saladin, who, being superintendent of the public works, adopted this method of procuring materials for the construction of a bridge or aqueduct of more than forty arches, which was connected with the Nile by a causeway six miles in

* Are they not nearer the Delta westward than Djizeh, and would they not be first reached by the *khalij al heram*?

† "The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of 3000 feet, were united by two bridges, of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and habitations. The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt."—GIBBON, c. li.

‡ *Raudah* or *Rouda* signifies the garden. Sir R. Wilson speaks of it as the prettiest spot in Egypt. It was formerly called *Daru 'l Mikyas*, from the Nilometer placed in a mosque at its southern extremity.

length."* A part of these works still remaining, was mistaken by Pococke for a portion of the causey mentioned by Herodotus as having been ten years in building. The inner part of these pyramids was still existing at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

That no decided traces of Memphis should remain to mark its ancient site, is the more remarkable, since, so late as the time of Abdallatif, its ruins still attested its former splendour. That writer expressly says, that Old Misr, a little above Fostat, in the province of Djizeh, is the *Menf* which was the ancient capital of the Pharaohs, and which continued to be such till ruined by Bokht-Nassr (Nebuchadnezzar). "Notwithstanding the vast extent of this city," he says, "the remote period at which it was built, the change of the dynasties to which it was subjected, the attempts made by various nations to destroy even the vestiges and obliterate every trace of it, by removing the stones and materials of which it was formed, ruining its houses, and defacing its sculptures; notwithstanding all this, combined with what more than 4000 years must have done towards its destruction, there are yet found in it works so wonderful, that they confound even a reflecting mind, and are such as the most eloquent would be unable to describe." Among the antiquities, he specifies the *Beit-el-Akhdar*, or Green Tabernacle, a monolithic temple of granite (possibly the green breccia), 9 cubits high, 8 cubits long, and 7 broad; the walls two feet thick; resting upon a

* Ency. Metrop. "To the N.E., in the plain of the cultivated country, and about a mile from the pyramids, are seen two bridges of Saracen architecture. For what purpose these were constructed, cannot be discovered, as they afford at present no advantage of communication at any season of the year."—Sir R. WILSON'S *Hist.* p. 142. Are these the work of Kara-Kush?

basis of massive blocks of granite. "It was entirely covered, within and without, with sculptures and inscriptions in the ancient character. On the outside was represented the sun in the eastern quarter, with many figures of stars, spheres, men, and animals; and on the door were figures of serpents bending forward (the Uræus). The combined strength of thousands of men could not have moved this temple, which, the Sabæans said, was dedicated to the moon, being one of the seven similar chapels dedicated to the seven planets.* The Emir Seïfu'd-din Sheikhu Omari broke

* Another of these chapels or shrines appears to have been erected at Tmai or Thmuis, in honour of Mendes, and is now called by the Arabs *Gussur* (or *Kassr*) *Tmai*, the palace of Timai. Both Van Egmont and Sir F. Henniker refer to a celebrated temple at that place, but neither of them penetrated to Tmai; and we had overlooked the passage in Lord Valentia's Travels, in which the noble Traveller gives an account of his visit to this interesting site. The "*Gussur Tmai*" is a vast monolithic shrine of polished red Thebaic granite, 23 feet 4 inches in height, 12 feet 8 inches breadth of front, and 11 feet 3 inches in depth; the chamber being 8 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 9 feet 2 inches in depth. It stands on a pedestal of the same material 5 feet high; and that again rests on two layers 6 feet 2 inches in height; so that the whole elevation is 34 feet 7 inches. The front has been ornamented with hieroglyphics. A large crack runs down it behind, and there is another on each side, which his Lordship thought might be the effect of lightning. It had apparently a shrine of similar construction on each side of it. It stands in the centre of one side of an irregular square, 43 paces by 36, which has been walled; and there are two other inclosed areas, in which lie vast blocks of granite. One of these exhibits the figure of a ram with four horns; another has formed part of a statue three feet wide across the breast; and there are "at least twenty troughs of granite, roughly excavated, chiefly of an oval form, and which, from their being under five feet in length, could not have been intended for sarcophagi." Other ruins, mounds, heaps of pottery and broken bricks, with here and there a broken granite column, are scattered round this spot to a considerable distance; and in a deserted village adjacent, a pit was by accident broken into, in which were two hundred figures of Isis, from four to nine inches long, of a baked earth coloured blue, and var-

this Green Tabernacle in pieces, subsequently to the year 750 (A.D. 1350); and fragments of it may be seen in the convent and mosque founded by him in the Sabæans' ward, outside of Cairo." It appears that fissures had already been occasioned by undermining this enormous mass, and destroying its equipoise. In front of it were two colossal statues. Abdallatif speaks also of pedestals on bases of vast magnitude, fragments of walls, a very lofty door-way, and idols not less admirable for the beauty of their forms and exact proportions, than for their astonishing dimensions. We measured one, he says, which, without including its pedestal, was 30½ cubits (nearly 46 feet) in height, 10 cubits from side to side, and from back to front in the same proportion. It was of one block of red granite, covered with a coating of red varnish, the antiquity of which seemed only to increase its lustre. Two colossal lions (perhaps sphinxes), placed opposite to each other, particularly attracted his notice, from the truth of form and correctness of proportion preserved throughout. The ruins of Memphis, he remarks, at present extend the distance of half a day's journey (about nine miles) in every direction.*

nished, inscribed with hieroglyphics. To the S., is another village, where are the remains of an ancient temple and town. Here Lord Valentia observed a few blocks of granite, having the external form of a bell, but not hollowed, being five or six feet in diameter at the base. It is difficult to conceive what purpose they were intended to answer. Tmai is only about ten miles E. of Mansoura. Yet it had been described by no previous traveller.—See VALENTIA'S *Travels*, vol. iii. pp. 419—423.

* Adjoining to the magnificent *Hephaesteum*, or temple of Phtha, founded by Menes, was a splendid one in honour of Osiris, in which the sacred bull Apis was kept. The Grecian Venus (*της νεωτηρας θεας*) had a temple in Memphis; and, according to some authorities, the moon also. The Serapeum, or temple of Serapis, stood in a place where the sand was so loose and deep, that the sphinxes

Gibbon has justly remarked on the dispute respecting the site of Memphis, that, "in their heat, the disputants have forgotten, that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy." If Memphis was, as Diodorus states, nineteen miles in circuit, it must have stretched a considerable part of the way towards Mohannan. But the nome or territory of Memphis was probably still more extensive; and if we suppose that Djizeh was the northern extremity of the Memphitic nome, and that it formed a suburb, rather than a part of the city, this will allow us a still wider latitude; although it is difficult to suppose that the city can have reached as far southward as Metrahenny. "*Considerably to the north* of the latter place," Dr. Richardson says, "is the village of Mouknan,* where are many fragments of granite, granite columns, aqueducts built of Roman brick, and covered with broad flat stones, a Roman

forming an avenue in front were buried, some of them one half, and others up to the neck; and a person going to the temple was in great danger, if overtaken by a storm of wind. (Strabo, in Ency. Metrop.) Pauw conjectures, that the Serapeum, which Strabo places to the west of Memphis, is the central spot which protects and covers the grand entrance to all the numerous adits or galleries leading to the foundations of the pyramids of Djizeh, and perhaps of those of Sakkara and Dashour. It was to the discovery of this passage that M. Caviglia was directing his labours.

* This is evidently the *Mohannan* of Bruce, the *Mugna* of Norden, and the *Ummuchnan* of Davison. Norden makes *Mugna* about six leagues from Djizeh. Abousir, according to Mr. Davison, is something less than an hour W.S.W. of Ummuchnan. Sakkara is an hour and a quarter further to the S.W. Shiekh Atmaen is opposite Turrag or Turra, and between Abousir and Sakkara on the Nile. Bruce speaks of the *villages* called Metrahenny, which must be a mistake. *Met* or *Miet* is an affix, contracted from *Miniet*, and implying a place of habitation, *i. e.* an ancient site. Miet-Rahenny is near Sakkara, and between three and four miles from Mohannan or Mouknan. Bruce's account is very confused.

bath about twelve feet square, and two large tanks, indicating that the granite columns had once formed part of an Egyptian temple. *Further to the north*, near a village called Memoat, there are many pits for water-wheels, built with Roman brick, and many large granite sarcophagi filled with water for the cattle, and remarkably well-built aqueducts, conveying the water all over the plain in different directions; all of them constructed of burned brick with a cement of lime, and mostly arched above. Other vestiges are still to be seen; as a large mound of earth at Memoat, having the appearance of being part of a wall; and I have no doubt," adds the learned Traveller, "that many more traces of the ancient city would be found, on a more minute and careful examination of the plain, than it was in my power to make." * It is remarkable, that Dr. Richardson could not hear of any spot that retains the original name of Menf, which Bruce confidently affirms his guide applied to the ruins S.W. of Mohannan.

Mr. Browne informs us that he visited the site of Memphis, but he has omitted to give any very precise account of its position, except such as may be gathered from the intimation, that it is most conveniently visited from the Coptic convent of *Abu-Nemrus*,† which is only two leagues south of Djizeh, and consequently far to the north of Mouknan. His description is as follows. "On another occasion, I visited the pleasant site of the ancient Memphis, on the left bank of the Nile, about two hours to the south

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 158.

† The *Abu-numerus* of Norden, who makes it the first place on the western bank after Djizeh. Two leagues further, is *Manjel-musa*; a league and a half further, *Menahuad*; and a league further, *Mugna*.

of Kahira, in a plain above three miles broad between the river and the mountains. The land is now laid down in corn, with date-trees towards the mountains. Nothing remains except heaps of rubbish, in which are found pieces of sculptured stone. The spot has been surrounded with a canal, and seems every way a more eligible situation than Kahira. Its extent might be marked by that of the ground where remains are dug up, and which is always overgrown with a kind of thistle that seems to thrive among ruins. Of the fact of Memphis having been surrounded with water, some evidences appear even at this day. Parts of the bank of the canal are yet visible toward the mountains; and at the extremities of the ground, where ruins are distinguishable." * This certainly seems to answer in so many respects to the true situation of Memphis, that it is much to be regretted, that this Traveller has not been more explicit in his description. Should the name of Menf be found still attached to this part of the plain, it would be decisive of the question. In that case, the vestiges at Memoat, which Dr. Richardson thought might be those of the *northern* wall of Memphis, may indicate its southern boundary. The name of *Kafr Serai* (Infidel Palace ?), the first village after passing Abousir in the road to Djizeh, would lead us to look for ancient traces in that direction; nor is it impossible that that village may occupy the site of the palace of the Pharaohs. The future traveller will do well to dismiss from his recollection, all that has been hypothetically advanced on either side, and to explore with attention the whole plain between Abu-Nemrus and Moknan, as if he were the first European traveller that had visited it, trusting to no other

* Browne's Travels, p. 274.

guidance than the existence of his senses and actual measurement. Then, at length, we may hope to obtain some clear and satisfactory information on the subject.

But what then, it may be inquired, are the ruins at Metrahenny? They cannot, it seems clear, be those of Memphis; nor does "an esplanade, of three leagues in circumference," correspond to the immense circuit of the Egyptian capital. Between Aphroditopolis (*Atfihh*) and Memphis, however, we are told, but nearer to the latter, and at some distance from the western bank of the river, stood the town of Acanthus, and near it, a celebrated temple of Osiris in a grove of the Thebaic thorn or acacia; to the north-west of which, near the edge of the flat summit of the Libyan hills, the pyramids are represented as standing.* This description applies so precisely to the situation of Metrahenny, as to render it highly probable, that the enclosed site is no other than that of Acanthus, while the name of Abousir seems to refer to the temple and its divinity. Between Abousir and Sakkara are the acacia groves which arrested the attention of Dr. Richardson, and which are noticed by Hasselquist as abounding with the *kervan* or oriental dotterel, so much valued by the Turks and Egyptians for its song.† Here, too, the former Traveller was struck with the rich and well-stocked pastures, and with the beautiful breed of black cattle which recalled to mind the brute object of the old idolatry. Our great poet's assertion, though true in the sense intended, does not literally hold good:

* Strabo, xvii. 1. cited in Ency. Metrop. The Thebaic thorn is described as the tree producing the gum (Arabic). It is the *acacia vera* or *mimosa Nilotica*, called by the Arabs *charad*.

† Hasselquist, p. 200.

"Nor is Osiris seen
In Memphian grove or green,
Trampling the unshowered grass with lowings loud."*

His temple, indeed, is fallen, and Apis is no longer tended by his priests; but his lowings may yet be heard in Memphian pastures, and the tree which formed the sacred grove, still retains possession of the soil.

We must not bid adieu to the Pyramids without adverting to the interminable discussions relating to the design and character of these wonderful structures. That they are sepulchral monuments, it would now be absurd to deny. They stand in the midst of a vast cemetery, surrounded with smaller *tumuli*, and the rock on which they are founded, is hollowed out into catacombs. These plains were called by the Egyptians *Kahi-mhau*, the land of tombs or caves, which the Greeks wrote Κοχωμη, and translated Necropolis.† To this vast repository of the dead, there is perhaps an allusion in the prophetic declaration respecting the Jewish refugees: "Memphis shall bury them."‡ On the opposite side of the river, a little above Cairo, there are also numerous sepulchral excavations, which

* Milton. Ode on the Nativity.

† Bruce, vol. i. p. 128. Note by Dr. Murray.

‡ Hosea, ix. 6. This is the only place, we believe, in which the word Memphis occurs in the Received Version, although that city is supposed to be the subject of repeated reference (See Isa. xix. 13. Jer. ii. 16. xliv. 1. xlvi. 14, 19. Ezek. xxx. 13, 16) under the name of *Noph*, which bears an obvious relation to the *Menouf* of the Copts and Arabs. Memphis is the Greek form of the Egyptian name, which, according to Plutarch, signifies δημον αγαθων, *the port of the good:* it was therefore a compound word, *Men* (answering apparently to the Arabic *minna*, a port) being an affix, and *Nouf* or *Noph*, being the distinguishing appellative. It is also found with the article prefixed, in the form of Panouph, *i.e.* Pi-Nouf.—See CALMET's *Dict.* art. *Memphis*. *Nouf* is evidently no other than the God Χνουφις, the Αγαθοδαιμων of the Egyptian pantheon.

merit a more careful examination than they have hitherto received, as they probably belonged either to Memphis, or to the settlements of Jewish, Phrygian, or Babylonian colonists.* It is difficult, at the same time, to believe that the complicated and scientific structure of the larger pyramids had no further object than to enclose a *soros*, whether tenanted or empty, whether designed for the remains of a tyrant or the relics of a god, a Cheops or a Serapis, or the patriarch Joseph himself.† In all the pyramids that have

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 170. Half a league above Old Cairo, is the village of *Kater Nebby* (Atter-el-nebbi), which takes its name from a mosque held in high veneration, from the tradition that the Khalif Omar, in going down to the place where this mosque was afterwards founded, left the print of his foot upon a marble. Within this mosque is a gallery of antique columns, the capitals serving for pedestals. Norden, p. 49. Is this the mosque in the Sabæans' ward? A little above this village, Dr. Richardson noticed "the remains of an old pier on each side of the river, with numerous fragments of granite, stones, and pottery-ware, probably indicating the place where the granite and other columns of Memphis, and the stone from the neighbouring quarries, were embarked for Cairo or Alexandria. This place is a little below the village of Toura, the ancient Troja, which was founded by a migration of Trojans from Asia Minor." The sepulchral quarries are nearer Cairo. From the roof of one of the chambers, Dr. Richardson's guide copied an inscription in the enchorial character.

† Shaw, unwilling to admit that they were merely designed as sepulchres, supposes the *soros* to have been "a chest concerned in the mystical worship of Osiris, or wherein either the images of their deities, or their sacred vestments or utensils were kept, or else a *favissa* or cistern."—SHAW's *Observ.* pp. 417—20. Milton has an allusion to the mystic rites connected with the lost body of Osiris, in the hymn before cited:

"Nor can he be at rest
Within his sacred chest."

Dr. Clarke has been at some pains to collect authorities for the opinion, that the annual mourning for the loss of the body of Osiris, and the exhibition of an empty *soros* on those occasions, were ceremonies derived from the loss of Joseph's body, which was carried away at the *exodus* of the Israelites. Many learned writers

hitherto been opened, either at Djizeh or at Sakkara, amounting to at least six, the entrance has been found near the centre on the northern face, whence the passage invariably slants downward at an angle of 26° or 27°. This uniformity in their construction, taken in connexion with the exact position of their four faces towards the four cardinal points, has been thought to afford sanction to the hypothesis, that some astronomical purpose was intended to be answered—possibly the correction of their measurements of time—by this remarkable peculiarity. Others have supposed them to be immense temples or fire-altars raised to the god of day;* or rather, to the father of the sun, "who shines night and day," the great Hephaistos or Phthah. "The pyramids, in Coptic called *Pi-re-moue*, the sun-beam," says the learned Editor of Bruce's Travels, "were sepulchral monuments, bearing the same name with the obelisk. Both were sacred to this deity. The pyramid was formed on the model of the obelisk, as much as the compound materials of one could imitate the unity and solid mass of the other."†

have contended for the identity of Serapis and the Hebrew patriarch, who is believed to have been worshipped under the form of Apis. *Arsaph*, according to Plutarch, was a title of Osiris; and many curious coincidences might be adduced as giving plausibility to the theory. But the learned Traveller wholly fails in his attempt to establish a connexion between the honours paid to Joseph and the building of the pyramids.—See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. v. pp. 245—70. May not the chest of the *Maoula*, in the obscure rites of the Druses, be a remnant of the superstition relating to the body of Osiris, the Adonis of Syria?—See MOD. TRAV. *Syria*, vol. i. p. 99.

* The hypothesis maintained by De Pauw.

† Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 137, note. That the obelisk was sacred to the sun, is attested by all the ancient writers. "A pyramid or obelisk," says Dr. Shaw, "that is, an equilateral or acute-angled triangle with two equal sides, denoted the nature and element of fire."—SHAW'S *Observ.* pp. 407, 410. See also NORDEN,

The variation in the figure of the pyramids, however, makes rather against the correctness of this representation. Those of Sakkara, Dahshour, and Meduun bear no conceivable relation to the obelisk, and these are supposed to be the most ancient of this class of monuments. Dr. Clarke was led to suppose, from the form of some of these, that the *tumulus* was the original model of the pyramid. Sometimes it formed a stupendous pedestal to a colossus. Yet, under all these modifications, it always preserved its character as a sepulchral monument.

The number of the pyramids, as well as the variation in their form, militates strongly against the supposition that they were designed as a sort of astronomical apparatus.* If those of Djizeh were constructed with any such intent, it must have been dictated, in those particular instances, by the more enlightened views of the architect; and this design must have been grafted, as it were, upon their original purpose. But ad-

pp. 96—104. A plausible but mistaken derivation of the word from πυρ, fire, or πυρα, a pyre, was long supposed to yield support to this opinion. Others have derived the word from πυρος, wheat, and αμαω, I gather; having adopted the strangely absurd idea, that the first pyramids were constructed by the patriarch Joseph as *granaries!* Volney suggests a Hebrew etymology, *bour-a-mit*, pit or cave of the dead. In Dr. Jones's Gr. Lexicon, a similar derivation is adopted—*bar-muth*, a pit of death. Between a pit and a pyramid, the identity is not very obvious.

* This notion seems chiefly to rest upon the ascertained fact, that the inclination of their adits "gives a line of direction not far removed from that point in the heavens where the north polar star now crosses the meridian below the pole; and the observation of the passage of this or some other star across this part of the meridian, would give them an accurate measure of siderial time."—See *Quart. Rev.* vol. xix. pp. 406—9. RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 130, 133. According to Proclus, the Egyptian priests made their astronomical observations on the summit.—See GREAVES'S *Pyramidographia*, p. 99.

mitting that the pyramid was a sacred figure, and that there was a significance in the form of these monuments, or that astronomical science prescribed their position, this will not prove that they were primarily designed either as temples or as observatories, or that they were consecrated to any deity. Are we then to suppose that they were merely designed as mansions in which their barbaric founders "vainly hoped to slumber out the three thousand years of transmigration, the assigned period after which they should return to humanity?" Why, for this purpose, were so many chambers necessary? Why the double entrance, each with its granite portcullis, and all the intricate architecture of the interior? It seems to us the most probable explanation, that they were intended to serve, in subordination to their sacred character as sepulchres, the purpose of treasuries; that, with this view, they were rendered disguised fortresses; that the professed and known entrance was closed after the admission of the *soros*, a secret entrance being reserved, which was known only to the priests. The vulgar notion of the Arabs, that treasure is concealed in the ancient monuments, a notion which has led to so many discoveries and to so much destruction, doubtless originated in fact.* The pyramids were opened by the Mohammedan conquerors with this expectation; and although it does not appear that any discoveries of concealed treasure were made, this would only prove, what indeed what might have been anticipated, that those

* "I cannot but suspect," remarks Lord Valentia, "that the conquerors of this country found treasure concealed in some of the stones of the ancient edifices; and that the expectation of finding more, led to the laborious destruction of these massive temples, which seem to have been constructed to bid defiance to time itself." —vol. iii. p. 423.

who had had the art to conceal, had also the precaution to withdraw what they had deposited, or that the treasury had been long exhausted. They may nevertheless at the same time have been made use of for the purposes of priestcraft and imposture.

The period at which the Great Pyramids were erected, is another point which has occupied much learned discussion. By Perizonius and others, the workmen are supposed to have been the Israelites; and Dr. Clarke has contended for the strange notion, that the pyramid of Cheops was built to receive the body of the patriarch Joseph.* Diodorus and Pliny confess that every thing relating to their origin was uncertain; † and the Arabian writers solve the mystery by informing us, that they were built before the Deluge ‡ Others, on the contrary, are for assigning them a date which, in speaking of Egypt, might almost be termed modern. Homer mentions Thebes and its hundred gates, but has not noticed the pyramids. Is it probable, it has been asked, that he would have omitted to speak of them, if they had been erected in his time? § In confirmation of this view, it may be re-

* This notion is at total variance with the idea, that the Israelites were compelled to labour in building pyramids for their oppressors in the reign of a Pharoah who knew not Joseph; and it is strange, that the learned writer did not perceive the contradiction in his statements. For the latter opinion, we have the authority of Josephus.

† Diodorus says: "*At de Pyramidibus nullus omnino, nec apud indigenos, nec inter scriptores, est consensus.*"

‡ Van Egmont seems half disposed to adopt this solution of the difficulty. "But however this be, I can with great truth affirm, that on the top of the largest pyramid, we find a kind of soft stone nearly resembling our chalk, in which we discovered a congeries of shells and a petrified lentisk fruit."—*Travels*, vol. ii. 93.

§ Goguet. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 356. Dr Hales, in his Chronology, refers them to a remote period

marked, that Herodotus believed them to have been built only twelve generations before the time of Cambyses. Cheops, the builder of the largest pyramid, is stated to have flourished, indeed, nearly a hundred years before Homer; * but Asychis, the successor of Mycerinus, is said to have reigned about 815 B.C.; which date, if correct, would require the reign of Cheops to be brought down much later. Upon the whole, the most probable opinion is that which assigns them to a period between 1000 and 800 years B.C.

The absence of hieroglyphic inscriptions in these stupendous structures, has been accounted for on the supposition, that the founders were of a foreign and intrusive dynasty, hostile to the religion of their subjects, and that the priests refused to record their names in the sacred character. In that case, however, it might have been expected, that there would be found, if not hieroglyphic inscriptions, some records in a different character. It cannot be supposed, that a dynasty of sovereigns who could command such architects, were at any loss for secretaries. Herodotus, in fact, refers to an inscription engraved on the pyramid of Cheops, which, he says, was in Egyptian characters, but it has been doubted whether he means hieroglyphics.† Dr. Hales supposes them to have

* B.C. 1032. Homer flourished, according to Blair, B.C. 900; according to Priestley, B.C. 850.

† This inscription stated, that 1600 talents were expended in procuring radishes, onions, and garlick for the workmen during the progress of the building. There is now no appearance whatever that this pyramid was ever coated; and the fact has been doubted. Yet, Herodotus states, that it was coated and finished in the highest style, and describes the process by which it was accomplished, from the summit downwards. This statement is corroborated by Pliny, Abdallatif, and others; and Dr. Richardson suggests, that the removal of the coating by the Saracens may ac-

been alphabetic characters: if so, they would not be the less curious. Ibn Haukal speaks of Syrian and Greek inscriptions which covered some part of the pyramids: the latter were probably of late date, and might have been written by Greeks who visited these monuments. On the other hand, Abdallatif states, that he saw a prodigious number of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the two great pyramids; as many as, if copied, would fill perhaps 10,000 volumes. Other Arabic writers prior to Abdallatif, have also mentioned the hieroglyphics on the pyramids.* The removal of the coating would account for their disappearance. Yet, among the pyramids of Sakkara and Dahshour, there is one on which the covering is pretty entire,

count for the great damage sustained by the steps all round; while the rolling down of the immense stones from the top, may have occasioned the middle of the steps to be more injured than the angles.

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 365—8. Dr. Richardson thinks, that Abdallatif may be understood as referring to the inscriptions in the chambers cut out of the rocks on which the pyramids are built, which are exceedingly numerous. "As the evidence of hieroglyphics being on the pyramids does not descend to us from the most ancient authority," he remarks, (that is, supposing Herodotus not to affirm this,) "and as none of those whose coverings remain have any, we may be permitted to express our doubts as to the existence of this sacred character on those which are uncovered; and I do so with the greater confidence, because I have never seen in any part of the country, from the one end of Egypt to the other, any building, or any tomb or excavation, ornamented with hieroglyphics on the exterior, that was not also covered with them in the interior.....Generally speaking, every temple, every tomb, and every sarcophagus in Egypt, whether of granite, alabaster, limestone, or even the ordinary mummy case of wood, are all covered with hieroglyphics."—*Travels*, vol. i. pp. 143, 4. The absence of hieroglyphics from the *sorοi* discovered in the pyramids, is certainly more remarkable than there being no inscriptions on the exterior. Father Vansleb declares, that he saw some hieroglyphics upon some of the pyramids.

but no inscription has been found upon it. In one of these pyramids, however, which was opened at the expense of Baron Von Minutoli in 1821, the door of one chamber is stated to be bordered with hieroglyphics in relief, and over another are hieroglyphics traced in black. The walls are covered with a kind of mosaic, consisting of convex pieces of green porcelain ingeniously fixed in stucco. An immense quantity of fragments of marble and alabaster vases lay scattered in the passages and chambers, proving that the pyramid had been previously opened by violence, and by a different entrance. The richly gilded scull, hands, and feet of a mummy, supposed to be those of the monarch, were obtained from this pyramid by the General; also, the well-preserved head of a sacred vulture; but unfortunately, many very valuable articles were stolen by the workmen on the first opening of the pyramid. The largest of the chambers, the walls of which were blackened by the smoke of torches, "contained, instead of a sarcophagus, a small sanctuary, formed of several blocks of stone placed one upon another, into which a man could easily enter, and from which the voice of the oracle was probably made to issue." * This idea, if well founded, would

* "Recollections of Egypt by Baroness V. Minutoli," p. 82. Cabinet of Foreign Voyages, p. 387. Not having access to the Baron's own work, we regret that we can give only this imperfect notice of so interesting a discovery. The pyramid in question is stated to be "the great pyramid of Sakara;" but this must be a mistake, since of the larger of the two, Mr. Davison had given a minute account: it is probably the one further southward. See p. 331. Its base is stated to be not a perfect square, but an oblong, and its sides do not face the cardinal points, like those of Djizeh. "It is, besides, enclosed with a wall fourteen feet thick, built in seven breaks like steps, and is, in fact, merely the coating of an immense rocky nucleus, in which the passages and chambers are hewn." Five and twenty Arabs were employed by the General

certainly tend to throw a new light upon the design of these mysterious labyrinths; as it would indicate that, like the cave of Trophonius, the pyramidal sepulchre at Telmessus, and the *Kasr-el-Keroun* near Lake Mœris, they had been made subservient to the purposes of oracular jugglery.* It deserves in this point of view to be investigated, whether the peculiar construction of the chambers and passages is connected with any acoustic phenomena.

The custom of combining the temple and the tomb, is known to have prevailed very extensively among the ancients. By this means, a greater degree of respect was secured towards the places where the dead were deposited. In general, the temple or fane was erected on the summit of the *tumulus*, or over the sepulchre.† This is the case with the Mexican *teocallies*, which exhibit so striking an affinity to the pyramids of the Old Continent. But sometimes, the *taphos* itself was the temple. With a view either to enhance the sacredness of the sepulchre, or to turn to account the superstitious reverence for the depositories of the dead, the pyramids, then, like the cave, the catacomb, and the tumulus, may have been applied to

during two and twenty days in clearing the entrance which he is said to have discovered. In order to reach the interior, they had to descend into a shaft or well fifty feet deep. The sand of the desert, soon after, again blocked up the entrance.

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. ii. p. 324. Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 229; and vol. ii. of the present work, p. 10, *note*. The sepulchres at Telmessus seem to bear a remarkable affinity to the Egyptian structures.

† "The prevalence of this practice is evident from that remarkable expression of Athenagoras, who calls the temples of the ancients, tombs (ταφοι). This name was afterwards retorted by Libanius, Julian, Eunapius, and other Pagans upon the Christians, when they began to practise the custom of burying the bones of martyrs in their churches."—See Remarks on Sepulchres, in WALPOLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 231.

various *secondary* objects. The error of most writers on this subject has consisted in their mistaking the secondary object for the primary one, or in overlooking the probability, that monuments of the same exterior form and character, might have at once a common purpose,—that of enclosing the ashes of the dead, and a peculiarity of object suited to the views and policy of the founder. The tomb has been alternately applied, by the wily tyrant or more crafty priest, to the widely different purposes of the fortress, the prison, the sanctuary, the treasury, the observatory, the oracular shrine.* Still, under every modi-

* The learning of Humboldt could alone do justice to the curious subject here glanced at. The *teocallies* and pyramids of Mexico are remarkable instances of the combination of the sepulchral and sacred character. The pyramids of *San Juan de Teotihuacan* near Mexico, dedicated to the Sun, and Moon, in the midst of a vast cemetery, surrounded with smaller *tumuli*, must be regarded as bearing a very striking analogy to the cemetery of Memphis. What is highly remarkable is, that their sides are said to face the four cardinal points. The pyramidal mound of Xochicalco, in the road from Acapulco to Mexico, the four faces of which likewise correspond to the cardinal points, seems to unite a military to a sacred character, and to be a fortified sanctuary. The pyramid of Cholula, which is a little higher than that of Mycerinus, but with a base almost double that of the great pyramid of Cheops, encloses several sepulchral chambers, while its summit was surmounted by a temple to the Mexican Indra, which served also as an observatory. In like manner, the temple of Belus was at once a pyramid, a temple, and an observatory. Conjecture only assigns to the Cretan labyrinth a sepulchral character: its secondary object may have been, either the concealment of property, or the security of prisoners, or both. The quarry and the natural cave have been frequently tenanted in turn by the living and the dead. The robber, the shepherd, the fugitive, the Christian confessor, the hermit, the juggling hierophant, has alternately had his den, or cell, or grotto, in crypts and caves of the earth. Among sepulchral edifices, the Treasury of Atreus, or Tomb of Agamemnon, at Mycenæ, is remarkable for its approaching the character of the Egyptian architecture. The Treasury at Messene, probably a sepulchre, was used as a state

fication, its ostensible object has been the same,—to provide a habitation for the immortal dead; agreeably to the touching and beautiful sentiment which Sophocles puts into the mouth of the daughter of Œdipus

> "Our latest, largest home
> Is with the dead; and therefore would I please
> The lifeless, not the living. I shall rest
> For ever there."*

The seductive interest of the subject has led us into this lengthened discussion. With regard to the pyramids of Djizeh, there is one circumstance by which, as works of art, they are peculiarly distinguished, but which makes, perhaps, somewhat against their remote antiquity, and that is, the very superior style in which the materials are put together. "The joinings and polish of the granite casings in the interior," says Dr. Richardson, "equally manifest the eminent skill of the artist, and the great perfection that the art had attained. Many a structure must have been erected, before an architect could be capable of constructing them. The manner in which the materials are put together, is as different from the construction of the temples or any other building in Egypt, as a Roman wall is from a Grecian one. The sarcophagi are also different in size, form, cutting, and workmanship. The body of the pyramid throughout is of the most substantial description. Not a stone has slipped from its place: it stands, with the security of a mountain, the most indestructible pile that human ingenuity ever reared.

prison.—See MOD. TRAV., *Greece*, vol. ii. pp. 64—82; 87—90. Ibid., *Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 255, 338. WALPOLE'S *Cont. of Memoirs*, pp. 405—7.

* Dale's Sophocles, vol. i. p. 220.

Hasselquist, however, has described a rival work under the very shadow of these gigantic structures, from which it might be deemed fanciful to suppose that the architect borrowed his idea, but he must at least yield to their authors the palm of ingenuity. After visiting the pyramids, "I was determined," says the worthy pupil of Linnæus, "to know whether stones alone must satisfy my curiosity, and if a burning sand had excluded every thing that had life from this place. If I had not searched attentively, I should certainly have been of this opinion, and have confirmed what I was told in Cairo, that no living creature, much less a plant, was to be found near the pyramids. The earth is of such a nature here, that, to many persons, it would appear a miracle, if any animal or plant could here find nourishment or sustenance. I found, however, both;—one single plant, the gum-succory (*chondrilla juncea*); of animals, the little lizard, running in numbers on the sand. But what most pleased me was the lion-ant (*hemerobius formicaleo*); which insects have a republic of their own. They run by hundreds in the sand, each holding stone, sand, or rotten bits of wood between their curious jaws or *maxillæ*, and hastening with them to the dwellings they have made in the sand. I saw numbers of this insect's nests. They were thrown up in tufts in the sand, about the bigness of the two fists, and a little depressed at the top. In the middle of this depression was a little hole, about the bigness of a small pipe-stem, through which they went in and out. I attacked them within their intrenchments, in hopes of seeing the internal construction of their nests; but I was deceived, and only demolished their outworks, from which went a private passage, so artfully conducted, that it was in vain to endeavour to come to

their innermost dwelling. All the architecture, magnificence, and expense that shine in the excellent Pyramids, cannot give a contemplator of Nature such high ideas as are excited by the art of these little creatures." * He who spake as never man spake, has admonished us, that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed in splendour equal to that of the golden lily of Syrian fields. And from these insect troglodytes may be learned a similar lesson;—that man, in the proudest of his works, is outdone by the ant, the coral-worm, or the bee, in the nicer operations of instinct; so that the naturalist may point to one of these minute elevations, and say, that even the pyramids in all their glory display less wondrous art than one of these.

* Hasselquist, p. 70.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

EGYPT.

MIDDLE EGYPT.

THE HEPTANOMIS, or Seven Governments of Middle Egypt,* are now comprised in the five provinces of *Djiziyeh*, *Atfihiyeh*, *Fayumiyeh*, *Beni Suweif* (or *Behnesawiyeh*), and *Oshmunein*, or *Minyet*. The second of these, which is supposed to correspond to the ancient Aphroditopolis, derives its name from a corruption of *Tpeh*, or *Atpiehh*, whence the Arabs have formed *Atfihh*. Not far from what has been termed "the False Pyramid," the most southern of the groupe of Dahshour, the Nile is divided by an island, situated near the eastern shore, called *Djiziret Utfihh*,† containing a village of the same name, ornamented with its grove and mosque. Atfieh, the capital of the district, is at some distance from the eastern bank of the Nile, and is said to be still a place of some consideration, but, as the channel between this island and the shore is little frequented, it has been visited

* These were, Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis, Heracleopolis, Oxyrinchus, Cynopolis, and Hermopolis.

† Written by Norden *Eutfieg*.

by few travellers. We are not aware on what authority it has been identified with *Athor-baki*, or *Aphroditopolis*, where a white cow was worshipped as the living symbol of Athyr (or Hathor), the Egyptian Aphrodite.*

Heracleopolis and Oxyrinchus are both included in the province of *Behnesch*, or *Beni Suweif* (or Souef). The site of *Heracleopolis Magna* does not appear to be ascertained: at least, no traces of it have been found.† The only towns or large villages on the western shore, which occur after passing the False Pyramid, are *Maimoum* (*Mey-Moom*, *Meimund*), *Beni Ali*, and *Zeitoun*,‡ each with its mosque. The mud huts of which the villages consist, are in this part surmounted with white pigeon-houses, which have an appearance not unpleasing. From Maimoum to the First Cataract, this manner of building prevails.§

* See Ency. Metrop., *art.* Egypt. Bruce supposed *Athor-baki* to be at a site where are found some obscure ruins, to the westward of *Suf el Woodan*, (apparently the *Essoff* of Norden,) some leagues lower down the river. The latter Traveller mentions a string of seven islets, bearing the name of *Djiziret Ellazale*, each having its little village: they extend for about four leagues in length. Opposite the third of these, on the eastern shore, is the village of *Essoff*; and opposite the northern point of the fifth islet, is the village of *Huoddi*, probably the *Woodan* of Bruce, which he states to be a name given to a collection of villages on the eastern shore. Between "Gizier Azali" and *Caphar el Hayet*, according to the latter Traveller, "is the beginning of the Heracleotic nome," which occupied the western shore, as Aphroditopolis did the eastern.—See NORDEN, vol. ii. pp. 9—12. BRUCE, vol. i. pp. 142, 3.

† "It is the Hnes of the Copts, and Ahnas of the Arabs, and was placed near the great canal at the entrance of the vale of Fayoum." —*Ency. Metrop.*

‡ This word signifies the olive-tree, which, according to Strabo, flourished only in the Heracleotic nome.

§ "In some places," Norden says, "there is even a law which does not permit any man to marry and keep house, unless he is in possession of such a dove-house. The reason of it is, that the dung of these birds is the only thing they have for manuring the

About thirty-eight leagues from Cairo, (according to Norden,) in lat. 29° 4′ 34″ N., on the western bank of the Nile, is Beni Souef, the capital of a beydom under the Mamlouks, and the most considerable place, next to Cairo, in this part of Egypt.* The Nile, passing here close under the foot of the Arabian hills, leaves one of the richest and most extensive tracts of corn-land in Egypt. Fifteen miles W.S.W. of Beni-Souef, and just opposite to an island formed by the Nile, the *Bahr Yousuf*, and two of its branches, is the break in the Libyan chain, which forms the opening into the province of Fayoum. Through this narrow pass, a branch of the *Bahr Yousuf* enters, having *Ilahun* on its north-eastern side, and on the south-western the large village of *Hawarah el Kebir*, connected by a stone bridge of three arches: passing through the centre of the oval valley which opens just beyond, it runs as far as *Medinet el Fayoum*, the capital, where it branches off into a great number of smaller streams. Its bed is here cut through the rock, and shews that the ancient Egyptians were well acquainted with the art of levelling. Near Ilahun is a pyramid greatly dilapidated,† but which appears to have consisted of sun-burned brick, intermixed with blocks of stone.

ground; for they preserve carefully the dung of other animals for burning, and the soot serves to make the sal-ammoniac."—Vol. ii. p. 13.

* "Although Beni Suef is no better built than any other town or village that we had passed, yet it interests by its extent. It is the most considerable place we had yet seen since our leaving Cairo. It has a cashef and a mosque with three large steeples, and is a market town."—BRUCE'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 153. Norden says, that the mosques give it an appearance of grandeur.

† "The pyramid of Hilahun, the most shattered of all the pyramids that I have seen, is also that which is built with the least magnificence. It is constructed of masses of calcareous stones, serving to support heaps of unbaked bricks."—DENON, vol. i. p. 306.

It stands on high ground, at the foot of the hill on the northern side of the valley, and rises 60 feet from the present base, which is 197 feet square. Mr. Belzoni ascended to the summit, which he supposes to have been originally ten feet higher; it commands a view of the whole valley. Westward, at the distance of a tw hours' walk, is seen another pyramid on lower ground, and beyond it, *Medinet el Fayoom*, which has at a distance a respectable appearance. On descending from this pyramid, Mr. Belzoni returned towards the canal, and crossed a strong bridge on the western side of the valley; he then continued along the foot of the hills till he arrived opposite the other pyramid. Here he forded the river, and after passing over another branch, then nearly dry, entered an area 600 feet square,* surrounded with high earthen dikes, which has evidently been the site of some ancient edifice: a few blocks of stone, and some traces of brick-work alone remained. He then passed another small canal recently cut, and arrived at the base of the pyramid, which is only 30 feet above the level of the water of the canal. It is a square of 122 yards, and is 197 feet in height: it is built of sun-burned bricks. In the interior, to which a subterraneous passage was discovered by the French, there was found a sarcophagus; also, a salt spring. It is surrounded with smaller tombs; and on the eastern side are remains of a magnificent temple, consisting of some fragments of immense granite columns, together with several sepulchral excavations. This pyramid, which is about five miles from the former one, is supposed by the French writers to mark the site of the far-famed Labyrinth; and the

* According to M. Letronne, it is parallelogram, 964 feet in length, and half as much in breadth,—if indeed it be the same site. See Ency. Metrop.

distance of the ruins from the site of Arsinoe, is stated to correspond to the 100 *stadia* of Strabo, so as almost to identify the spot. But, not having leisure to make excavations, the French were unable to ascertain this point. In the evening, Mr. Belzoni arrived at the capital of the province.

MEDINET EL FAYOUM.*

THIS city, situated in lat. 29° 29′ N., long. 31° 1′ 30″ E., is built from the materials, and partly on the site, of the ancient Crocodilopolis, the name of which was changed to Arsinoë, by Ptolemy Philadelphus, in honour of his sister. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, chiefly Moslems, with the usual proportion of mosques and baths. A canal from the *Bahr Yousuf* divides it into two parts, which are connected by five bridges. The principal remains of the ancient city lie to the north of the present town, occupying an area nearly two miles and a half from N. to S., and two miles from E. to W. These ruins reach as far as *Beyahmu*, where are two ancient pedestals, formed of large blocks of limestone, 25 feet long and 33 feet high, standing 320 feet apart: they are called by the natives *Rijil Farûun*, Pharaoh's Feet. At *El Bejij*, a mile to the south of the modern town, there lies an obelisk of red granite, broken into two pieces, which is supposed to be another monument of the ancient Arsinoë. On two of its sides, which are double the breadth of the others, are hieroglyphic inscriptions, and it is terminated by a cylinder. The general appearance of the ruins is thus described by Mr. Bel-

* "The Arabs have in this instance, as in many others, preserved the Egyptian name, *Phi-om*, or *Pi-om*, the sea."—*Ency. Metrop.* *Fayyad*, however, is said to signify *copious*; and the modern name may, perhaps, refer to the fertility of the province.

zoni: "Nothing of the ancient city remains, except high mounds of all sorts of rubbish. The chief materials appear to have been sun-burned bricks. There were many stone edifices and a great quantity of wrought granite. In the present town, I observed several fragments of granite columns and other pieces of sculpture, of a most magnificent taste. It is certainly strange, that granite columns are to be seen only in this place, and near the pyramids, six miles distant. Among the ruins at Arsinoë, I observed also various fragments of statues of granite, well executed, but much mutilated. It is my opinion, that this town has been destroyed by violence and fire. Among the rubbish, there are pieces of stones and glass, which have evidently been nearly melted by fire. It is clearly seen, that the new town of Medinet is built out of the old materials of Arsinoe, as the fragments are to be met with in every part of the town. About the centre of these ruins, I made an excavation in an ancient reservoir, which I found to be as deep as the bottom of the *Bahr Yousuf*, and which was no doubt filled at the time of the inundation, for the accommodation of the town. There are other similar wells in these ruins, which proves that this was the only mode they had of keeping water, as the river is at some distance. Among these mounds, I found several specimens of glass of Grecian manufacture." * The surrounding country is very fertile,

* Brown says: "At a small distance to the north of Feium, are the ruins of an ancient town, called by the Arabs *Medinet Faris*, city of the Persians, probably ancient Arsinoë. Some mutilated busts and statues found here were offered for sale. I also observed some jars, resembling those used to contain the dead Ibis, and some vitrifications that seemed to indicate an Arab glass-work."—*Travels*, p. 166.

and is interspersed with plantations of fruit-trees and roses.

LAKE MŒRIS.

From Medinet, Mr. Belzoni proceeded to explore the banks of the Lake Mœris, now called the *Birket-el-Keroun*. The road led northward, passing over the ruins of Arsinoë, and through a well-cultivated country, to *El Cassar*, a ruined site, where are remains of a small temple, built of large blocks of stone, and some parts of the town walls. At night, he reached Senures, distant about ten miles from the lake. The next day, (May 1,) after passing several groves of palm-trees and other plantations, the view opened all at once on a wild country, gradually sloping down to the lake, which extends from N.E. to S.W., and the mountains on the opposite side have an awful and sterile appearance. "At noon," says the Author, "we reached the lake, but could observe no trace of any living being. The guide conducted us along the shore, till we arrived at a fisherman's hut, situated near the place where the *Bahr Yousuf* discharges into the lake. Here only a small rotten boat was seen. The hut was inhabited by a few fishermen and a soldier, who formerly received the duties on the fish they caught; but now, the fishermen have only a share of the fish they catch, and the remainder is sold at Medinet, of which the Pasha receives the profit. Our guide bespoke a boat, which was sent for at some distance up the canal: when it arrived, I never saw any thing that could be better compared to old *Baris* or Charon's boat. It was entirely out of shape: the outer shell or hulk was composed of rough pieces of wood scarcely joined, and fastened by four other pieces, wrapped together by four more across, which formed

the deck; no tar, no pitch, either inside or out; and the only preventive against the water coming in, was a kind of weed moistened, which had settled in the joints of the wood. Having made an agreement with the owner of the boat, who might have passed for old Charon himself, we put on board some provisions, and made towards the west, where the famous Labyrinth is supposed to have been situated. The water of the lake was good enough to drink, though a little saltish; but it was only this year that it could be drunk at all, owing to the extraordinary overflow of the Nile, which surmounted all the high lands, and, in addition to the *Bahr Yousuf*, came in such torrents into the lake, that it raised the water twelve feet higher than it ever had been in the memory of the oldest fisherman.*

* This seems to confirm the following statement given by Denon. "If it were not for the causeways which stop the inundation, the great swells would soon convert the whole province into a large lake; which actually threatened to happen twenty-five years ago by an extraordinary inundation, in which the river had risen over the banks of Hilaon, and it was much feared either that the province would remain under water, or that the stream would resume an ancient channel which it had evidently occupied in remote ages. To remedy this inconvenience, a graduated dike has been raised near Hilaon, where there is a sluice erected, which, as soon as the inundation has got to the proper height to water the province without drowning it, divides the mass of water, takes the quantity necessary to irrigate Fayoum, and turns off the remainder, by forcing it back into the river through other canals of a deeper cut."—DENON, vol. i. p. 346. "About five miles within the valley, near the village of *Hawarah-el-Sogheir* (Hawarah the less), there is a bridge of ten arches, running parallel with the *Bahr Yousuf*, which serves as a dam when the inundation is low, but lets the waters pass when it is high, and is perhaps the sluice mentioned by the ancient writers. (Strabo, xvii. 1.)···In a direction nearly north from this bridge is a canal, usually dry, and therefore called *Bahr-bila-mâ*, which, in the time of inundation, carries the water as far as the village of Tammiyeh, on the east side of the lake of Fayoum, a distance of about 22 miles; and it was cut out of the solid rock, as appears on sinking a shaft through the mud, which is in many

We advanced towards the west, and at sunset, saw the shore quite deserted, with nothing to look at but the lake and the mountains on the northern side of it. Old Charon lighted a fire, while the other went to fish with a net, and soon returned with a supper of fish.

"The land we were now in, had anciently been cultivated, as there appeared many stumps of palm and other trees nearly petrified. I also observed the vine in great plenty. The scene here was beautiful. The silence of the night, the beams of the radiant moon resting on the still water of the lake, the solitude of the place, the sight of our boat, the groupe of fishermen, and the temple a little way off, which bears the name of Old Charon,* altogether strongly brought to mind the Lake Acheron, the boat Baris, and the old ferryman of the Styx. It seemed as if this must be the very spot whence the poets originated the fable of the passage of the souls over the river of Oblivion. Nothing could be more pleasing to my imagination, than being so near the Elysium, perhaps on the very Elysium itself. I thought that the plants, which appeared nearly petrified, must have been the very ones beneath which the souls enjoyed the happiness of their purity. I was thus strolling along the banks of the lake in solitary musing, not unlike one of those wandering souls waiting its turn to cross the Styx, while

places 23 feet deep....On the western side of Medinet el Fayoum, the *Bahr Yousuf* communicates with the lake by nine principal canals, diverging like *radii* from a common centre, and each provided with its gate or sluice. The water is thus distributed over the whole province."—*Ency. Metrop.*

* This is a mistake. *Kassar-el-Karon* (or *Keroun*) means the Castle of the Horns, or the Horned Castle; a name given to it by the Arabs from the four spouts or gutters projecting from the cornice.

my old Charon with his semi-demons was preparing supper.

"On the next day, before sun-rise, we entered Old Baris, and steered westward till we arrived near the end of the lake, which, according to these fishermen, extended further this year than ever they remembered it, in consequence of the extraordinary inundation. We landed here, and I took two of the boatmen, and set off for the temple, named *Kassar-el-Haron*, about three miles from the lake, standing in the midst of the ruins of a town, of which there is still a track of the wall to be seen, with the foundations of houses and other small temples. There are fragments of columns and blocks of stone of a middling size. The temple is in pretty good preservation, excepting in the upper part. It is of a singular construction, and differs somewhat from the Egyptian; but I believe it has been altered, or rather rebuilt, and divided into various small apartments. There are no hieroglyphics either inside or out; and only two figures on the wall of the western side of the upper apartments, one of which I took for Osiris, and the other for Jupiter Ammon.*

* The following minuter description of this temple is taken from M. Jomard. "On the southern shore, about three miles to the east of the western end of the lake, stands the Kasr Kerun, eighteen miles W.N.W. of the village of Nazleh, in the midst of a ruined town buried in sand. It is placed on a small eminence, bearing marks of having been once washed by the lake. At its entrance, which faces the S.E., there is a portico unlike any other in Egypt, and bearing a Greek inscription, in which the name of Thermuthis occurs. This temple is eighty-eight feet long, fifty-eight wide, and twenty-nine feet high. All its walls have the inclination observable in genuine Egyptian buildings; every part is symmetrical; and the winged globe over the entrance, the only external ornament, is alone sufficient to shew by what people it was built. Five halls may be traced, though filled with rubbish; and the walls of the inmost, which is the sanctuary, are adorned with

In front of this temple is a semi-circular pilaster at each side of the door, and two pilasters are attached to the wall; but the exterior workmanship is evidently of a later date than the temple. Part of the site of the town is covered with sand. On the east side of it there is something like a gateway, of an octangular form; and at a little distance, there is a Greek chapel, elevated on a platform, with cellars (vaults) under it. Just as I was mounting the few steps that lead to the platform, a large hyena rushed from the apartments beneath the chapel, and stopped three or four yards from me, turning round as if determined to attack me; but, after having shewn me its pretty teeth, it gave a hideous roar, and galloped off as fast as it could. At the moment, I regretted having left my gun and pistols in the temple, but was happy to see it gone. I attributed its flight to the noise made by the two boatmen. This little chapel was evidently built in a later age than the rest of the works, of which very little now remain. On the west of the temple, there are parts of other gates connected with the wall. I observed several pieces of white marble and granite, which indicate that there must have been some building of considerable importance in this town; but there is not the smallest

sculptures, among which Apis is easily recognised. Behind it, there is a very lofty and strongly re-echoing chamber, quite dark, and accessible only by a small aperture very easily concealed. This place, M. Jomard thinks, was designed to hide the person who secretly delivered the oracles which the god was supposed to communicate. On the side of the large chambers, there are five small ones, quite unornamented, and now choked up with rubbish. In the interior of the building, there is a flight of steps leading to an upper story, on the walls of which human figures appear among the sculptures, and among them Cneph or Cnuphis, the Jupiter Ammon of the Greeks, to whom this temple was dedicated. It was long taken for a part of the Labyrinth."—*Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt.*

appearance which can warrant the supposition that this was the place of the famous Labyrinth. The construction of such an immense edifice, and the enormous quantity of materials which must have been accumulated, would have left specimens enough to shew where it had been erected. The town was about a mile in circumference, with the temple in its centre, so that I could not see how the Labyrinth could be placed in this situation. I accordingly left the place, and, on my return towards the lake, passed a tract of land which has once been cultivated, and saw a great many stumps of plants almost burned. On my arrival at the lake, a high wind rose from the south-west, which swelled the lake very much, drifted the sand into the air, and drove our boat on shore. We gathered plenty of wood, made a fire, and passed the night under shelter of a mat hung over two sticks planted in the ground.

"Before morning, on the 3rd, the wind ceased, and the lake became smooth. We re-embarked and shaped our course towards the northern side, coasting the whole day. At the foot of the mountain which bounds the lake on that side, I perceived nothing worthy of remark. There are a few spots near the water's edge, where great quantities of weeds grow from under the water, and large quantities of game are always found among these plants. The pelican is as common on this lake as it is on the Nile. There are many wild ducks and a kind of large snipe. Towards evening, we arrived on the shore opposite to where we first embarked; and the boatmen made up their minds to cross the lake the next morning, and take us back to that point. But, as I recollected that, in some descriptions of the lake, I had seen a town marked not far from the spot where we then were, on the morning

of the 4th, instead of going on board, I took my route towards the mountains. The soldier and the boatmen ran after me, to persuade me there was nothing to be seen there; but I told them, I must ascend the mountain, to view the lake and the whole country round. One of them happened to say unguardedly, there was nothing to be seen, *except* a few houses in ruins and a high wall. That was enough for me; and, having secured the man by promises and threats, I insisted that he should shew me the above place. I accordingly set off with my whole crew, and had scarcely reached the summit of the lower ridge of the mountains, than I perceived the ruins of a town not far distant. On my arrival, I found it to be a Greek town; and it can be no other than the city of Bacchis.* There are a great number of houses half tumbled down, and a high wall of sun-burnt bricks, inclosing the ruins of a temple. The houses are not united, or built in any regularity as streets, being only divided by narrow lanes not more than three or four feet wide: they are all of sun-burnt bricks. A causeway made of large stones runs through the town to the temple, which faces the south. In the centre of the city, I observed several cellars or subterranean dwellings, covered with strong rafters of wood, over which was laid a layer of canes, and above that, a layer of brick, on a level with the soil; so that one might walk over them without

* "On the table-land above the cliffs which bound the lake on the northern side, are some remains of a city, called by the Arabs *Kasr Tafsharah*, or *Medinet Nimrud* (the city of Nimrod). Fragments of brick walls and urns containing mummies, shew that this place was inhabited by Egyptians; it is, therefore, perhaps, the *Bacchis* of Ptolemy."—*Ency. Metrop.* This site Belzoni appears to have overlooked, unless he refers to it under the name of *Terza*. The ruins which he mistook for Bacchis, are further to the west.

perceiving it. As the fishermen had brought their hatchets, I caused two or three of these houses to be uncovered. The wood was in good preservation, and of a hard quality. The inside of the hut was filled with rubbish; but they had evidently been habitations, as we saw a fire-place in every one of them. They were not more than ten or twelve feet square, and they communicated with a narrow lane not more than three feet wide, which was also covered. I cannot conceive why the people lived in such places. The houses above ground were constructed in a manner somewhat different from any I had seen before. There were few with a second floor, and those which were higher than the rest, were so narrow as to resemble towers more than common houses. Scarcely one is to be seen entire. As to the temple, it has fallen, but appears to have been pretty extensive. The blocks of stone are large, some eight and nine feet long. The ruins are in such confusion that it is impossible to form an idea of its plan or foundation: it appeared to me that it could never have become so dilapidated by the slow hand of time. Among the blocks, I saw the fragments of statues of breccia, and other stones of Grecian sculpture, but no granite. There were also fragments of lions, of a grey stone not belonging to these mountains. The area of the wall which surrounds the temple, is 150 feet square; the wall is 30 feet high, and 8 thick. The town may have consisted of 500 houses, the largest of which was not more than 40 feet square. On the northern side is a valley, which appears to have been once cultivated; but at present it is covered with sand. On inquiry, I found that the town is known to the Arabs of the lake under the name of *Denay*.*

* Supposed to be the *Dionysius* of Ptolemy.

We returned to the boat, and crossed to the island of *El Hear*, which is entirely barren, and no trace of any habitation is to be seen. We then crossed the lake towards the east, and saw several fragments of pillars and ruins nearly under water. In the evening, we arrived at the same part of the shore where we had first embarked. I made an excellent supper of fresh fish and a piece of a pelican shot by the soldier. The flesh of this bird is not unlike mutton in substance and appearance, and tastes much like game: it was upon the whole tender and agreeable, but the fat was rancid and as yellow as saffron.

" On the morning of the 5th, I took the road on the western side of the lake, and saw the site of another town, named *El Hamam* (the Baths), of which nothing remains but scattered pieces of brick and part of a bath. This place is situated full forty feet above the lake, and yet the ground all around was covered with small shells, such as cockles, small conchilies, and others not unlike periwinkles. On returning towards the east, we passed several ancient villages built of sun-burnt brick. At a place named *Terza*, I observed several blocks of white stone and red granite, which must evidently have been taken from edifices of greater magnitude than ever stood there. Reflecting on the description given by Pliny of the situation of the Labyrinth, which, he says, was on the western side of Lake Mœris, I made diligent researches on that subject on the ground where I then stood. I could not see the smallest appearance of an edifice either above ground or beneath the surface; but I observed, throughout that part, a great number of stones and columns of white marble and granite, scattered about for the space of several miles, some on the road, and some in the huts of the Arabs. I have

no doubt that, by tracing the source of these materials, the site of the Labyrinth might be discovered, which must be magnificent even in its ruined state. It may have been buried by the earth which is yearly brought here by the water of the Nile; or it is not impossible, that the Labyrinth stood in such a situation as to be covered entirely by the water, as we may see remains of other antiquities on the eastern side of the lake, which are nearly all under water.

"We continued our journey in a direction parallel with the lake, through several villages, woods of palm and other fruit trees, and well-cultivated lands, and at sun-set arrived at *Fedmin-el-kunois* (*Fedmein-el-kunaiseh*), which means, the Place of Churches; a noted Christian town. It stands on a high mound of earth and rubbish, and has evidently been rebuilt on other ruins. It is divided into two parts by a small canal from the *Bahr Yousef*. One side of the town is inhabited by Christian Copts, and the other by Mohammedans; and though the professors of the two religions officiate almost in sight of each other, they never interfere with each other's rights. The poor Copts were destitute of the means of educating their children, and the only book they had, was an old volume of manuscripts copied from the Bible. The tradition of the town is, that, in ancient times, there were on that spot, three hundred churches, which were allowed to fall to ruin by the old inhabitants of the place; and that when the Mohammedans succeeded to the possession of the country, they built the present town on the ruins, for which reason it is called Fedmin of the Churches. The story is somewhat strange, and may afford ground for some modern traveller to place the Labyrinth on this spot; for, by conceiving that the three hundred churches were the three thousand

apartments mentioned by the father of history, the above churches would seem to be nothing less than the old Labyrinth itself. Unfortunately, the branch of the *Bahr Yousef* which passes through the town, was cut not above two centuries ago, and none of the said churches appeared in the progress of the excavation, which must have been the case, had it been built on the said three hundred churches. Notwithstanding the little probability there is of the Labyrinth being in this place, I cannot, however, help repeating my observation, that it must have been at no great distance from the lake, as the great quantity of materials scattered about the country has evidently belonged to some extensive and splendid edifice. We left Fedmin on the 6th, and after traversing a most beautiful country, arrived at night at Medinet-el-Fayoum." *

Although Fedmin may not be built on the site of the churches, the tradition must have some foundation; and there seems no room to doubt that subterranean ruins might be found in the vicinity. These may be merely catacombs, used perhaps at one time for the celebration of Christian worship; but it is possible, that the vague tradition really points to the Labyrinth itself. That structure is represented both by Herodotus and Strabo as equalling, if not excelling, the pyramids as a work of art. It consisted of twelve courts, surrounded with covered porticoes, and having their gates opposite to each other; six of the courts facing the north, and six the south; the whole being enclosed within the same outer wall. There were two suites of chambers, 1500 above ground, and the same number below. The upper chambers, Herodotus went through and examined; but the Egyptians refused to let him

* Belzoni, vol. ii. pp. 150—166.

visit the subterranean apartments, alleging that they were used as sepulchres for the sacred crocodiles and for the kings who erected the whole of the Labyrinth. "The chambers above ground are," he says, "greater than any other human works. For the communication between the chambers, and the winding passages from one court into another, are so varied as to occasion infinite surprise. These passages lead from the chambers into porches, from the porches into other apartments, and from them into other courts. The roof of each of them is made of stone, as are the walls, which are full of sculptures. Each court is surrounded by a colonnade of white stone, the blocks of which are as closely joined as possible. At the angle which terminates the labyrinth, there is a pyramid of 261 feet (line of base), on which large figures of beasts are sculptured. The entrance is under ground." Strabo speaks of the same building as a quadrangular pyramid, each side and the perpendicular height of which measured about four *plethra*, or 289 feet. There being, apparently, no such structure as this in the immediate neighbourhood of Fedmin, must be admitted, perhaps, to forbid the supposition that the Labyrinth was there; and the pyramid near *Hawarah-el-Sogheir* would certainly seem to be the only one to which the description can apply; but, in the present imperfect state of our information, it is impossible to form an opinion on the subject.

The Lake Mœris is described by Herodotus as not less wonderful than the Labyrinth. He makes it to be equal to 277 miles in circumference, its greatest depth being 36 fathoms. "What shews it to have been excavated by the hand of man," he says, "is, that about the middle of the lake, there are two pyramids, each 216 feet above, and as much below the

surface of the water; and upon each of them is placed a colossus of stone seated on a throne." Its fisheries, he adds, paid one talent of silver (225*l.*) to the crown, every day for six months during the decrease of the waters, and 20 *minas* (75*l.*) for the remaining six months during their increase; yielding an annual revenue of 54,000*l.* Judging from the appearance and nature of the soil, the French engineers inferred, that it was anciently twelve miles broad, sixty miles long, and one hundred and eighty in circumference; approaching very nearly in shape and size to the Lake of Geneva, and therefore justifying Strabo's account of its magnitude. According to Pomponius Mela, however, it was not more than seven or eight leagues in circumference; and its extent has been much reduced in modern times.* When Wansleben saw it a hundred and fifty years ago, it was navigable as far as Sennures, which is now six miles (Belzoni says ten) from its southern shore. Tamiyeh†, the most northern place in Fayoum, and about fifty miles from Cairo in a straight line across the desert, is now six miles to the

* "*Mœris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*"—POMP. MELA, lib. i. cited by Rollin. Have not the lakes Mœris and Mareotis been confounded? Sandys, among modern writers, has fallen into this mistake.

† Pococke conceives this place to have received its name from the Greek word Ταμισία, "there having been a kind of lock there, to restrain or let loose the water in the canal which passes by it." When Browne, in 1792, travelled overland from Cairo to Fayoum, Tamiyeh had a flourishing manufacture of mats. This traveller left Cairo on the 28th of December, and in the evening reached Moknan; on the 29th, being furnished with a letter from the Shiekh of Moknan, he proceeded to Bedes; thence, passing through a grove of large date-trees, watered from several cisterns supplied by the inundation, he proceeded through Tamieh to Senûris, the seat of a hospitable Bedouin Shiekh, which he reached on the fourth day. The next morning, in two hours, he arrived at Fyûm.—BROWNE'S *Travels*, p. 167.

east of the lake, on the edge of which it anciently stood. But on the north and west, it is bounded by steep, rocky banks, which admit of no change of its limits in those directions. It is supposed to be now about thirty-three miles from E.N.E. to W.S.W.; its greatest breadth being about six.* Denon ridicules the idea that such a lake can be anything but the work of nature; and he is inclined to treat the whole story of the pyramids in the middle, and the Labyrinth, as a fable†. Whatever degree of fiction or of exaggeration may have been blended with the fact, the concurrent testimonies of Herodotus and Strabo are not to be thus lightly set aside. It is clear, that no lake could have existed in this part, unless it had some communication with the Nile; since, in such a climate, its waters must have been exhausted by evaporation. If, therefore, the lake existed prior to the time of Mœris, it must have been at a period when an arm of the Nile took this direction, passing through the Fayoum, and reaching the sea by some channel which it has since deserted. It is very conceivable, that, in the time of

* Ency. Metrop. article Egypt. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 78. Browne's Travels, p. 169.

† "Accustomed as we are to the gigantic labours of the Egyptians, we can never persuade ourselves that they can have hollowed out a lake like that of Geneva. All that the ancient historians and geographers tell us of the Lake Mœris, is doubtful and obscure.... The *Birket-el-Keroun* is a lake which must always have existed. The proofs of this opinion are, the forms of the different parts, the existence of a bed of a river extended to the sea, but now dry, its depositions and incrustations, the depth of the lake, its extent, its bearing towards the north on a chain of hills, which run east and west and turn off towards the N.W., sloping down to follow the course of the valley of the dry channel; likewise the natron lakes, and more than all, the form of the chain of mountains at the north of the pyramid, which shuts the entrance of the valley, and appears to be cut perpendicularly, like almost all the mountains at the foot of which the Nile flows."—AIKIN'S *Denon*, i. 354.

Mœris, this basin may have become dry, owing to the same causes which have converted the *Bahr-bila-ma* into an arid desert; and under these circumstances, the formation of a lake, by diverting the waters of the Nile into this reservoir, is no incredible achievement. With regard to the alleged extent of Lake Mœris, the apparently extravagant statements of Herodotus may be satisfactorily explained by supposing, that his estimate included a *chain of lakes* extending from Fayoum to the Delta. At the eastern extremity of the *Birket-el-Keroun*, there is "a deep but narrow passage between the mountains, communicating with the plain of Djizeh and the valley of Natron or *Bahr-bila-ma*. This," it is remarked, "must have been the ancient outlet of the superfluous waters of Egypt; and Fayoum served as a reservoir to keep them back, till the diminution of water in the Delta made a fresh supply desirable."* By means of the *Bahr-bila-ma*, it is highly probable that the waters of Fayoum communicated with the lake of Mareotis; and the opinion prevalent among the ancients, that it had a subterranean communication with the *Syrtes*, is easily explained by their not being acquainted with the narrow outlet above alluded to.†

From Fayoum, Mr. Belzoni proceeded through the desert to the great Western Oasis, which no European had previously visited; and his account of this journey shews that the marks of ancient civilization may be

* Ency. Metrop.

† "The magnitude of the valley of the dry river, its direction towards Feium, and the apparent connexion with the Lake Mœris, strongly support the ancient tradition, that the river Nile, or a part of its waters, formerly flowed along the valleys of Nitria and the dry river. The alluvial soil of the district of Mariout, on the west of Alexandria, corroborates this opinion."—MURRAY'S *Hist. of African Discov.* vol. ii. p. 131.

traced far to the westward of the present limits of cultivation. The village from which he started on this expedition, called *Sedmin-el-Djebel*, is situated at the foot of the range of low mountains which skirt the desert. Two hours west of this village, proceeding along the south side of the Fayoum, he passed the ruins of an ancient village, and in another hour and a half, reached a place called *Rawaje-Toton*, the site of a very extensive ancient town. He saw here a great many blocks of calcareous stone with hieroglyphics and Egyptian figures very finely executed, some pedestals of columns, and several pieces of granite. The chief materials were burned bricks; and from the extent of the ruins, he had no doubt that it must have been a very large town. In another hour, he came to a ruined village called *Talet-el-Hagar*, which he describes as crowded with pedestals of columns evidently taken from the large town, and converted into mill-stones. At sunset, he reached a village called *El Kharak*, in the midst of a cultivated tract, producing dhourra and clover, and watered by a canal from the *Bahr Yousef*. A few miles beyond this place, he observed "the upper part of a very thick wall which had evidently surrounded a large town, but was entirely buried under the sand." In the interior, he observed the upper part of other buildings, and very thick walls of sun-burned bricks. On the exterior were seen a great quantity of stumps of trees and vines, nearly burned to ashes, and which, on being touched, crumbled to dust. This ancient site bears the same name as the adjacent village of *El Kharak*. Towards evening, he arrived "at a spot parallel with the eastern" (western ?) extremity of Lake Mœris. Continuing along a sandy valley, he arrived at *Rejen-el-Kassar*, a small oasis, about three

miles square, where were several good spots of ground, which had once been cultivated, but were now nearly covered with sand. There are a great number of date-trees here, and water springs up on merely thrusting a stick into the sand, but it is rather brackish. Here are remains of the foundation of a small Egyptian temple, which has served as a burial-place to people of later ages. It is, we think, probable, that the whole of this tract was at one period susceptible of cultivation.

The nome of Arsinoë was one of the most celebrated in Egypt; and so late as the time of the Romans, it is evident from the number of ruined sites, that it contained a flourishing population. Fayoum is, indeed, still reckoned the most productive part of Egypt; it is supposed, however, that, owing to the neglect of the canals, and the consequent encroachment of the desert, the arable soil is reduced to a third of its original extent. The olive and the vine are not quite extirpated, and the roses of this province maintain their celebrity. But villages of mud huts have succeeded to splendid cities; the Christian church has shared the fate of the heathen fane; the palace, the greatest wonder of Egypt, has disappeared; the royal sepulchre alone, that most durable of monuments, shattered and solitary, is seen guarding the entrance into the valley. Nor has the slow hand of time, nor any physical catastrophe, wrought this dismal revolution, and inflicted barrenness on the land. The climate, the soil, and the waters of the river are the same as when Strabo expatiated with enthusiasm on the beauty and extent of the inland sea, and the shores which are now silent as the grave, resounded with the stir of life and the sounds of gayety. Ages of misgovernment could alone have perpetuated the desolation

which reigns in this fertile district. Over the ruins of pagan Egypt, the fallen or perished monuments of human vanity and fatuity, we cease to sigh, when we recollect, that here, reason and the Author of reason were outraged by the worship of the crocodile, and that the indignation of a heathen satirist was roused by the revolting absurdities and nefarious rites of Egyptian superstition.* Never did a country more loudly invoke the Divine judgements by its crimes, and no where, unless it be in the Asphaltic plain, are the marks of Almighty vengeance more legibly inscribed. But, mingled with the decaying vestiges of ancient Egypt, there are the more melancholy traces of recent depopulation, and everywhere the signs of the moral barbarism and misery which are the result of a despotism hateful to God and man. What can reconcile the mind to this spectacle, but the prospect of the day, when the true Osiris shall return to his long-forsaken land, with Hermes in his train; when Typhon shall be chained, and, under the genial influence of Christian light, letters, and liberty, "the desert itself shall rejoice and blossom as the rose?"

Opposite to Beni Souef†, on the western side of

* *Quis nescit····qualia demens*
Ægyptus portenta colat? CROCODILON *adorat*
Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.
* * * *
O sanctus gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina! Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
Mensa: nefas illis fœtum jugulare capellæ:
Carnibus humanis vesci licet."—Juv. Sat. 15.

† "Directly opposite Benesoëf, we perceive *Beujadie*, a place which is properly nothing but the retreat of a band of Christians, who, to the disgrace of the name they bear, are all highwaymen. There would be no safety in passing a night there."—NORDEN, vol. ii. p. 14. This place had no better character in Bruce's time, though

the Nile, is a break in the Arabian chain, forming the valley of Arba, or the Chariots, which is terminated by *Djebel Kolsoum*, rendered famous by the grottoes of the two cenobite patriarchs, St. Anthony and St. Paul. On the soil which covers the two grottoes inhabited by these sainted monks, two monasteries still exist. From one of them, Mount Sinai is said to be discernible. "The mouth of this valley," says Denon, "exhibits nothing but a dreary plain, the only cultivated part of which is a narrow slip of land on the bank of the river. Some vestiges of villages overwhelmed by the sand, may be discovered; and they present the afflictive sight of daily devastation produced by the continual encroachment of the desert on the soil. Nothing is so melancholy to the feelings as to march over these ruined villages, to tread under foot the roofs of houses and the tops of minarets, and to think that these were once cultivated fields, flourishing trees, and the habitations of man. Every thing living has disappeared; silence reigns within and around every wall, and the deserted villages strike one with terror like the skeletons of the dead." *

The ruins of Oxyrinchus, once the capital of a fertile district, and in Christian times an episcopal see, are found at Behneseh, on the western shore, near the *Bahr Yousef*. In the fifth century, this city was crowded with ascetics, and 10,000 monks, with 20,000 nuns, were supported by the alms of its bishop. Such was their reputation for sanctity and miraculous endowments, that, on the first invasion of

he anchored here, and saw no robbers. Near Baiad, the decisive engagement took place between Hussein Bey and Ali Bey, then in exile, in which the former was defeated, and the latter returned triumphantly to Cairo.—See vol. i. p. 135.

* Aikin's Denon, vol. i. p. 344

the country by the Saracens in the seventh century, they were succoured, according to the Arabian historians, by the Nubahs and Bejahs, with an army of 50,000 men. It is now a wretched village. "Nothing remains of the city," says Denon, "but some fragments of stone pillars, marble columns in the mosques, and a single column left standing, with its capital and part of the entablature, which shew that it is the fragment of a portico of the composite order. Oxyrinchus, once surrounded with a fertile plain two leagues from the Libyan range, has disappeared beneath the sand, and the new town has been obliged to retreat from this desolating invasion, leaving to its ravages house after house; and the inhabitants must at last be driven beyond the canal Yousef, on the border of which they would still be menaced. We found in the mosques of Benesech, a number of columns of different marbles, which are doubtless the spoils of the ancient city, but which are not in the style of ancient Egypt."

The next place of any consideration is Miniet or Minyeh,* described by this Traveller as a large and handsome town, with good streets and substantial houses. Here there formerly stood a temple of Anubis. No ruins are now to be seen, but there are some fine granite columns in the mosques. Minyet appears to represent the ancient Cynopolis. It is reckoned forty-seven leagues from Cairo, nearly half-way to Djirjeh, and has become the principal town in the province of Oshmunein, since the decline of the district capital.

About three leagues higher up, on the Arabian

* This word is said to signify *the narrow passage*, and Bruce describes the river as being here both "narrow and rapid" (vol. i. p. 155). Denon speaks of it as flowing through a large and cheerful channel! It is distinguished as *Minyet-ibn-Khasib*.

side, near the ruined village of Beni Hassan, are some remarkable caverns or grottoes, referred to by Norden as the abode, in former times, of holy eremites;* but they are of much higher antiquity. Many of them are richly adorned with paintings, the colours of which seem as vivid as when first executed, except where they have been intentionally defaced by the Arabs. The ceilings are generally arched; while some are supported by columns cut out of the rock, having the genuine Egyptian character. The northernmost excavation is the most interesting: the ceilings of its chambers are adorned with planispheres, like those at Thebes and Lycopolis; and the clustered columns which support the roof, are in imitation of the trunks of palm-trees. The largest chamber is 60 feet in length, and 40 in height: ten columns formerly supported the roof, but four of them have fallen. To the south of this are seventeen smaller apartments; and it is supposed that there are the same number to the north. The dimensions of two other chambers measured by Mr. Legh, are 52 feet 5 inches by 39 feet 4 inches, and 14 feet 3 inches in height. From these, doorways lead into smaller chambers. The paintings are stated to bear a considerable resemblance to the Etruscan style; and most of the subjects are taken from domestic life.†

About eight miles to the S.E. of Beni Hassan, is the village of *Sheikh Ababdé*, near which are the ruins of the Roman city of Antinoë, (still called *Ansineh* or

* Norden, p. 19. Bennehassein, he says, is the name of five villages on the eastern shore, very near each other. A portion of lands on the other side of the river then belonged to them.

† Legh's Travels, p. 34. See also Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, and Jomard's *Description de l'Egypte*. D'Anville supposes, that these grottoes may have appertained to *Speos-Artemidos*.

Enseneh,) founded by the Emperor Hadrian in honour of his favourite, Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile. Under the Christian emperors, it became an episcopal see, and was the metropolis of Upper Egypt till the time of the Saracen invasion. The situation is very fine, and the ruins are still very extensive, but of a character quite foreign from that of every thing else in Egypt, and having an appearance comparatively modern. The city has been walled, and there are vestiges of two principal streets, crossing each other at right angles, and terminating at four gates, of which there are considerable remains. An avenue of granite columns led from the river to the principal entrance; and among the most conspicuous of the ruins are observed, a *quadrivium*, the remains of a Roman theatre, and of three temples. The streets have been broad and spacious, with a colonnade on each side. At the northern end of the town are two monumental columns of coarse limestone, bearing the same inscription, which sets forth, that they were erected on account of some fortunate event, by Septimius Severus, when Epimevius Honorius was governor of Egypt. From west to east, the rows of columns are still standing on each side of the street: some are of granite, others of limestone. At the western end, nearest the river, they begin at a handsome triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, which, when Dr. Richardson was there, the inhabitants were pulling down by order of the governor, to make into lime. An elegant gateway formed the termination on the east, without which is the Mohammedan burial-ground; and across a deep, sandy valley are numerous sepulchral excavations in the face of the rock, the tombs of the ancient inhabitants, and the dwellings, in subsequent times, of the

monks and anchorets who swarmed in the mountains and deserts of Upper Egypt.*

Nearly opposite to Ababde, on the western bank, there is a considerable village called *Al Rairamoun*,† where the present Pasha has established a sugar-manufactory and distillery, formerly under the superintendence of Mr. Brine, an Englishman, who died at Cairo: they are now managed by Italians. Extensive plantations of sugar-cane are found in the environs; and there is a manufactory of saltpetre near the village.

About two hours S.W. of this place is Oshmunein ("the two Shmouns"), the former capital of the province of the same name, and the representative of the ancient *Hermopolis Magna*. It is still a large village, but has declined in consequence of the diminution of the supply of water from the *Khalij-el-Menhi* or *Bahr Yousef*, which has driven the greater part of the inhabitants to Mellawe and Minyet. The remains of Hermopolis cover an area of nearly four miles in circumference; and a magnificent portico, imposingly placed on an eminence, gives some idea of the ancient splen-

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. p. 166. Legh, p. 34. Norden, vol. ii. p. 19. The latter speaks of *three* gateways as still standing. The walls of the houses, he says, are built of bricks, which are as red as if they were just made. "The statues found among the ruins of Antinoopolis have given rise to a notion among the Arabs, that human bodies had been petrified."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 80.

† So Dr. Richardson writes it. Mr. Legh calls it *Erramoun*; Norden, *Nezlet-el-Raramu*; and the Baroness Minutoli, *Radamoun*. The latter states, that the Arabs, in order to depreciate the sugar manufactured by a Christian, spread the report that he had used hog's blood to clarify it; he was consequently compelled to make use of eggs for that purpose, and *a thousand a day* are required for the process. The sugar is said to be very good.

dour of this seat of the Egyptian muses, the city of Thoth. This portico, which is all that remains of the temple, is described by Mr. Legh, who visited it in 1813, as quite perfect. "It consists of twelve massive columns, which are not built of cylindrical blocks of stone, but each block is formed of several pieces so neatly joined together, that, where they are not injured by time, it is difficult to discover the junction of the several pieces. The columns are arranged in two rows, distant from each other twelve feet; and the roof is formed of large slabs of stone, covered with stucco, and beautifully ornamented. The columns and the whole of the interior of the portico have been painted: among the colours, red, blue, and yellow seem to predominate. The hieroglyphics on the plinths are different on each front; but they are the same on every plinth on the same front. The capitals, which in some degree represent the tulip in bud, are let into the columns. Several other columns of granite are scattered about near the temple; and we observed some also in a ruined mosque built on the site of the ancient town."*

The Coptic name of this place, *Shmoun*, refers, however, not to the Egyptian Hermes, but to their Mendes, or Pan, the eighth of their *Dii Majores*,†

* Legh, pp. 35, 6. According to Denon's representation, excavation might easily bring to light other vestiges of the temple, enormous blocks being seen half buried in the sand. His delineation of the portico is pronounced by Mr. Legh to be hasty and inaccurate: "the winged globe he has represented on the frieze, does not exist in the original."

† According to the learned Editor of Bruce, *Shmoun* signifies eight, and is applied to Mendes as the eighth deity; a very questionable etymology. It is the same word that the Greeks made into Chemmis. See Bruce, vol. ii. p. 2, *note*. A little to the north of Oshmunein is a place called *Taha-el-amoodein*, Taha of the Two

who had also, probably, a temple here. The decay of Hermopolis dates from the building of Antinoë by Hadrian.

About a league to the south of Oshmunein, and a mile and a half from the river, is the town of *Melaoui* or *Mellawe*, which is larger and better built than even Minyet, and prettily situated amid fertile corn-lands; but it does not appear to occupy any ancient site.* At *Deirout* (*Ti Erout*) *el Shereef*, a little further south, the *Bahr Yousef* branches off from the Nile, and runs along the foot of the Libyan chain till it falls into the waters of Fayoum at Hahun.

About ten leagues further south, at a short distance from the western shore, is the large town of Manfaloot, anciently a place of great trade: it was ruined by the Romans, but re-established by the Arabs. Norden says: "It is a sort of capital; its mosques give it a beautiful appearance, and it is the see of a Coptic bishop. The adjacent country is very fertile: you find there all sorts of fruits and in abundance, even to apples." All vessels ascending the Nile used to pay a custom-house duty here. It is certainly an ancient site, but does not appear to have been noticed by the Greek or Roman writers.† An

Columns, where is said to have been the *Ibeum*, or burial-place of the sacred ibises. This bird was sacred to Thoth. *Taha* or *Tuho* is supposed to be the ancient Theodosiopolis, and *El Kais*, the ancient Cynopolis: both are now included in the province of Minyet. (Ency. Metrop.) But the topography of this part stands greatly in need of further illustration, as little is known of the interior.

* The Nile is said to have flowed by the walls of this town a century ago, and to be constantly advancing to the eastern side of the valley.—*Ency. Metrop.*, art. Egypt. A cloth, remarkably thick and cheap, called *tzarbout*, is manufactured here.

† Written *Manbalot*, *Monfaluut*, *Mamfalout*. It is a Coptic name of unknown import; probably two words—*Mon-Faloot*.

Arabian writer says, that, in digging under the foundation of an Egyptian temple at this place, they found a leaden image of a crocodile, inscribed with hieroglyphics, which they imagined to be a talisman to prevent crocodiles from passing any further northward. It was rather an image of the hideous deity which appears to have been worshipped here as well as at Crocodilopolis. Near Mahabdie (or Amabdie), a village about two leagues distant from Manfaloot, on the eastern side of the river, are some crocodile mummy pits, which were visited by Mr. Legh, and subsequently by Sir F. Henniker. "A broad, smooth, winding road leads from the bridge, near the village, up the neighbouring mountain. Crystal grows on the summit like grass, and gives a novelty and interest to the scene; but there is not the slightest appearance of life." The traveller then enters a ravine, resembling the dry bed of a torrent; and after an hour's march in the desert, arrives at the cave. It is apparently a natural fissure; the mouth is a circular hole, ten feet in diameter, and about eighteen feet deep.

"We descended," says Mr. Legh, "without difficulty. We formed a party of six: each was to be preceded by a guide. Our torches being lighted, one of the Arabs led the way, and I followed him. We crept for seven or eight yards through an opening at the bottom of the pit, which was partly choked up with the drifted sand of the desert, and found ourselves in a chamber about fifteen feet high.* Here we observed fragments of the mummies of crocodiles; we saw also great numbers of bats flying about, and hanging from the roof. We now entered a long gal-

* This chamber is described by Sir F. Henniker as "spacious, but low and irregular, apparently natural; the floor covered with large flakes from above."

lery, in which we continued for more than an hour, stooping or creeping as was necessary, and followed its windings, till at last it opened into a large chamber, which, after some time, we recognised as the one we had first entered. Our guides at last confessed they had missed their way, but, if we would make another attempt, they would undertake to conduct us to the mummies. We had been wandering for more than an hour in low subterranean passages, and felt considerably fatigued by the irksomeness of the posture in which we had been obliged to move, and the heat of our torches in these narrow and low galleries; but the Arabs spoke so confidently of succeeding in this second trial, that we were induced once more to attend them. We found the opening of the chamber which we now approached, guarded by a trench of unknown depth, and wide enough to require a good leap. The first Arab jumped the ditch, and we all followed him. The passage we entered was extremely small, and so low in some places, as to oblige us to crawl flat on the ground, and almost always on our hands and knees. The intricacies of its windings resembled a labyrinth, and it terminated at length in a chamber much smaller than that which we had left, but, like it, containing nothing to satisfy our curiosity. Our search hitherto had been fruitless; but the mummies might not be far distant; another effort, and we might still be successful.

"The Arab who led the way, now entered another gallery, and we all continued to move in the same manner as before, each preceded by a guide. We had not gone far before the heat became excessive; I found my breathing extremely difficult, my head began to ache most violently, and I had a most distressing sensation of fulness about the heart. We felt we had

gone too far, and yet were almost deprived of the power of returning. At this moment, the torch of the first Arab went out; I was close to him, and saw him fall on his side; he uttered a groan,—his legs were strongly convulsed, and I heard a rattling noise in his throat:—he was dead. The Arab behind me, seeing the torch of his companion extinguished, and conceiving he had stumbled, passed me, advanced to his assistance, and stooped. I observed him appear faint, totter, and fall in a moment:—he also was dead. The third Arab came forward, and made an effort to approach the bodies, but stopped short. We looked at each other in silent horror. The danger increased every instant: our torches burned faintly; our breathing became more difficult; our knees tottered under us, and we felt our strength nearly gone. There was no time to be lost. Our companion, the American, called to us to take courage; and we began to move back as fast as we could. We heard the remaining Arab shouting after us, calling us Caffres, imploring our assistance, and upbraiding us with deserting him. But we were obliged to leave him to his fate, expecting every moment to share it with him. The windings of the passages through which we had come, increased the difficulty of our escape. We might take a wrong turn, and never reach the great chamber we had first entered. Even supposing we took the shortest road, it was but too probable our strength would fail us before we arrived. We had each of us, separately and unknown to one another, observed attentively the different shapes of the stones which projected into the galleries we had passed, so that each had an imperfect clew to the labyrinth we had now to retrace. We compared notes, and only on one occasion had a dispute, the American differing from

my friend and myself: in this dilemma, we were determined by the majority, and, fortunately, were right. Exhausted with fatigue and terror, we reached the edge of the deep trench which remained to be crossed before we got into the great chamber. Mustering all my strength, I leaped, and was followed by the American. Smelt stood on the brink, ready to drop with fatigue. He called to us, for God's sake, to help him over the fosse, or at least to stop, if only for five minutes, to allow him time to recover his strength. It was impossible:—to stay was death, and we could not resist the desire to push on and reach the open air. We encouraged him to summon all his force; and he cleared the trench. When we reached the open air, it was one o'clock, and the heat in the sun about 160°. Our sailors, who were waiting for us, had luckily a *bardak* full of water, which they sprinkled upon us; but, though a little refreshed, it was not possible to climb the sides of the pit; they unfolded their turbans, and slinging them round our bodies, drew us to the top.

"Our appearance without our guides naturally astonished the Arab who had remained at the entrance of the cavern; and he anxiously inquired for his *hahabebas*, or friends. To have confessed they were dead, would have excited suspicion of our having murdered them. We replied they were coming, and were employed in bringing out the mummies we had found....We lost no time in mounting our asses, re crossed the desert, and passed hastily by the village, to regain the ferry of Manfaloot. Our *canjia* was moored close to the town, and we got safe on board by five o'clock."*

* Legh, pp. 111—17.

The affair, as might have been expected, did not end here. Before they could make good their escape from Manfaloot, the next morning, they were overtaken by four Turks on horseback and two Arabs on foot, and were compelled to return to answer before the kashef for the supposed murder. It afterwards appeared, that the third Arab had not perished, but had escaped by the light of Mr. Smelt's torch, and he joined the party of their accusers; but, by attributing the death of his comrades to the *magic* practised by the infidels, he unintentionally favoured their cause, as it amounted to a confession that they had used no violence. The result was an accommodation by money; twelve piastres to each of the widows of the poor Arabs, and the same sum as a present to the sheikh of the village.

Sir F. Henniker was not more successful in his endeavours to find the real depository of the crocodile mummies; and he insinuates a doubt as to their existence. In the passage described by Mr. Legh, he found, indeed, "several small mummies of lizards or crocodiles, but they might have been hidden there by vermin." A passage which he attempted to enter, was found "netted up with stalactites." There can be no question, however, that these excavations were catacombs; and supposing that the fragments of mummies were brought into the pit by vermin, the mummy-chambers cannot be far off. That the crocodile, as well as the ibis and other bestial objects of Egyptian idolatry, was interred with the honours of embalment, is expressly stated by Herodotus.

The valley of the Nile is, in this part, about eight miles from mountain to mountain; and above Manfaloot, a cultivated plain commences on the eastern side of the river. Immediately opposite to the town,

on the eastern shore, there is a Coptic convent, absolutely inaccessible except by means of a basket drawn up by a pulley, as at Meteora, in Thessaly. All along the eastern bank of the Nile, from Rairamoun to Manfaloot, the rock, which comes close to the edge of the river, is perforated with excavations; and the whole tract merits a patient and regular examination. The acacia, or Egyptian thorn, is here seen flourishing in great abundance and luxuriance. This tree, Bruce remarks, seems to be the only indigenous one in Upper Egypt, as the sycamore is in the Delta. It bears a round yellow flower; and intermixed with the plantations of palm, has a beautiful effect from the contrast of its form and colour.*

Higher up, the Nile, after flowing for some time towards the S.W., suddenly bends towards the east, the Arabian coast running out into a round promontory: on turning again towards the south, it forms the point of Siout. But we have already passed the confines of Middle Egypt, which is generally considered as terminating above Mellawe, where the Libyan chain begins to bend towards the west, and the *Bahr Yousef* branches off from the Nile near Deirout.† Manfaloot seems to be a sort of frontier town, properly belonging to the Said; although it appears to be doubtful whether it was included within the Lycopolitan nome.‡ We now enter upon a new

* See p. 352 of our first volume. The *acacia vera* is in Coptic called *sont*, i. e. hard. The male is called the *saiel*. It is the *Ζηστινον δενδρον* of Dioscorides, and the *sittah* (or *shittim*) of Scripture.

† See vol. i. p. 12.

‡ In the statistical table given at vol. i. p. 58, *Manfelutiyeh* is, in the original, coupled with *Osyutiyeh*, as included in the province of *Siout*, but as a distinct territory; and anciently, one would imagine, it must have been a separate nome.

region; one far less intimately connected, than Lower Egypt, with the transactions recorded in sacred or in classic history, but abounding with wonders of its own, which carry us back into the twilight of time, when the world

> "was fresh and young,
> And the great Deluge still had left it green."*

The Heptanomis terminated in an interval of two military posts, one called *Hermopolitana Phylace*, and the other *Thebaica Phylace*.—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 157.

UPPER EGYPT, or the Thebaid, is now divided into the three provinces of *Osyutiyeh*; *Jirjeh*, or *Ikhmimiyeh*; and *Cusiyeh*, or *Esneh*; comprising a native population of rather more than 600,000 souls.*

SIOUT,

or Suyut,† situated in lat. 27° 10′ N., long. 31° 13 E., may now be considered as the capital, being the residence of Ahmed Pasha, the son of the viceroy. Under the Mamlouks, the capital of the Said was Djirjeh. Siout is well situated about a mile and a half from the western bank of the Nile, an amphitheatre of hills rising behind it. "An elevated causey leads across an arched bridge, built of brick, to the town. A canal dug at an early period, parallel to the river, washes the foot of the mountains in the neighbourhood, and having surrounded the city and the adjacent villages, descends again to the Nile. At the time of the inundation, when the water is admitted into the canal, Siout communicates with the river by the artificial causey." ‡ In the days of the Mamlouks, it was

* This estimate includes Manfelutiyeh. See vol. i. p. 59.

† Written Osyut, Asyut, Suyut, Siout, Sioout, Osyout. Bruce supposed it to occupy the site of the ancient city of *Isiu* (vol. ii. p. 5); but it is generally believed to be Lycopolis.

‡ Legh, p. 36. Norden states, that there was formerly at Siout, a *kalish*, called *El Maafrata*, which went quite to Senabo (below Manfaloot), but is at present entirely filled up. Denon, on leaving Siout, "followed the sinuosities of the canal of *Abu Aesi*, which is the last of Upper Egypt, and so considerable in size, that it might be considered as an arm of the Nile, dividing with the river the extent of the valley, which, in this day's march, appeared to be no more than a league in breadth, but cultivated with more care and skill than in any part which we had yet seen."—Vol. ii. p. 9.

fortified with low walls, flanked with round towers of unbaked brick, with a ditch in front. The streets are unpaved, narrow, and irregular. Many of the houses, which are all built of sun-dried bricks, are two stories high, but the apartments are small and dark. The huts of the poorer sort consist of a circular mud wall, inclosing an area about ten feet in diameter, sometimes thatched with dhourra straw, but frequently without any covering. The palace of the Pasha, a large house with white walls, backed by a grove of palm-trees, has a picturesque effect. The town contains, according to Dr. Richardson, about 20,000 inhabitants.* This was formerly the station from which the caravan set out for Sennaar;† and it is still one of the principal emporiums in Egypt.

Siout is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Lycopolis, which derived its name from the worship of the jackal, to which its inhabitants were devoted. Some mounds of rubbish outside the town, and a vast number of sepulchral excavations in the neighbouring mountains, are the only remaining vestiges of the an-

* Mr. Jowett learned from the bishop, that there are at Siout 1000 Christians, with 13 priests. At Manfelout, he said, there are about 50 Christians, with 9 priests; but they have churches in the mountains.

† "They assembled at Monfalout and Siout, under the protection of a bey residing there. They then passed nearly south-west into the sandy desert of Libya, to *El Wah*, the *Oasis Magna* of antiquity, and so into the great desert of Selima."—BRUCE, vol. ii. p. 5. "Neither during our stay, nor on our return," says Mr. Legh, "did we witness the arrival of the *Cafflet-es-Soudan*, or the caravan of slaves from the interior of Africa; but we learned some particulars of this horrid traffic. The route taken by the caravan of *Jelabs*, or slave-merchants, is partly the same as that traced by Poncet at the beginning of the last century, on his way to Abyssinia, who passed by Sheb and Selimi, and thence striking across the desert to the S.E., crossed the Nile at Moscho."—LEGH, p. 38.

cient city. It is the see of a Coptic bishop; and "tradition assigns it as the spot whither the Virgin Mother and the infant Saviour of mankind once fled for shelter from the oppressor. There are many Copts who, believing this tale, come here to die." *

The ancient tombs are nearly half a league from the modern town, in the mountain called *Djebel-el-Kofferi*. These grottoes, Norden says, "are named at present *Sababinath*. You go up the mountain for two hours, before you arrive at the first gate to which the way up the mountain leads. You enter through this gate into a large saloon, supported by hexagonal pillars contrived in the rock itself. The roofs are adorned with paintings which we distinguish extremely well even at present; and the gold that was employed in them, glitters on all sides. The pavement is covered with sand and stones. We perceive here and there some openings that lead to other apartments; but, as they are filled with rubbish, and the passages are likewise embarrassed with it, no one chooses to venture there. Above, there is an aparment, which you may reach by climbing up on the outside with a great deal of difficulty. It is not so large as the first, and it has no pillars, but it is painted like the other. On each side of this second saloon, you perceive a tomb of the same stone as the mountain: the one is open, the other is closed, but almost buried in the sand. This upper saloon communicates likewise with other apartments, but you find the same impediments as in the lower saloon.

"That part of the mountain where we see seven openings on the same line, is named the Seven Chambers. There is among the Turks and Arabs, an ancient

* Scenes and Impressions, p. 133.

tradition, that these chambers were inhabited by seven virgins. However that may be, there is no doubt that these grottoes are as magnificent as those I have mentioned; and it is pity that no traveller has yet entered them."*

"All the inner porches of these grottoes," says Denon, "are covered with hieroglyphics: months would be required to read them, even if one knew the language, and it would take years to copy them. One thing I saw by the little daylight that enters the first porch, that all the elegancies of ornament which the Greeks have employed in their architecture, all the wavy lines and scrolls, and other Greek forms, are here executed with taste and exquisite delicacy. If one of these excavations was a single operation, as the uniform regularity of the plan of each would seem to indicate, it must have been an immense labour to construct a tomb; but we may suppose that such a one, when once finished, would serve for ever for the sepulture of a whole family, or even race, and that some religious worship was regularly paid to the dead: else where could have been the use of such finished ornaments of inscriptions never to be read, and of a ruinous, secret, and buried splendour? At different periods, or at annual festivals, or when some new inhabitant was added to the tombs, funeral rites were doubtless performed, in which the pomp of ceremony might vie with the magnificence of the place. This is the more probable, as the richness of decoration in the

* Norden, vol. ii. pp. 23, 4. "The catacombs rise in tiers on the mountain's sides. In the first, the principal entrance is a handsome arched-way cut in the rock. On the second tier is an excavation 106 feet by 78, the noblest part of which is the entrance."—HENNIKER, p. 103. The view over the town of Siout is very beautiful.

interior, forms a most striking contrast with the outer walls, which are only the rough native rock. I found one of these caves with a single saloon, in which were an innumerable quantity of graves cut in the rock in regular order: they had been ransacked in order to procure the mummies, and I found several fragments of their contents, such as linen, hands, feet, and loose bones. Besides these principal grottoes, there is such a countless number of smaller excavations, that the whole rock is cavernous, and resounds under the foot. Further on towards the south, are remains of large quarries, the cavities of which are supported by pilasters. Some of these quarries have been the abode of pious hermits. Small niches, stucco facings, a few red paintings representing crosses, and some inscriptions in a language which I took to be Coptic, are all that remains to give evidence to the former habitation of the austere cenobites in these gloomy cells.* In the season at which we visited them, nothing was comparable to the exquisite verdure of the banks of the Nile, which embellished the shore with various hues of beautiful green, as far as the eye could reach."†

Beneath the excavations, at the foot of the Mokattam, runs a range of modern Mohammedan tombs for nearly a mile, in a grove of *sount* or acacia. In this grove, the cupolas, Saracenic walls, and turrets of the tombs, either simply whitewashed or rudely coloured,

* "It was from one of the apertures in the rock before us, that the emaciated face of John of Lycopolis looked forth upon the embassy of Theodosius, and counselled and blessed that war, in which a youthful, long-haired Goth made his first essay in arms, who, in a few years, bathed and banquetted as a victor in Athens, and leaned on his sword before the walls of Rome, lord of the wealth, and arbiter of the lives of twelve hundred thousand Romans."—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 130. See Gibbon, c. xxvii.

† Denon, vol. ii pp. 4–9.

mixing in with the thick foliage and tufted yellow flowers of the trees, presents a most singular and interesting scene.

Immediately above Siout, the country widens considerably; but the valley soon contracts again, first on the eastern, and then on the western side of the river. Between eleven and twelve leagues to the south, in lat. 26° 53′ 16″, on the opposite shores of the river, are the villages which bear the names of the eastern and western *Kau* or *Gaw*, the *Tkôu* (*Tikowoo*) of the Copts. The vestibule of a temple, large quarries, and numerous sepulchres, attest the ancient consequence of the place. Mr. Legh, in describing the ruins he saw here in 1813, says: "The portico of the temple which is standing, consists of three rows, each of six columns; four have fallen down: they are eight feet in diameter, and, with their entablature, 62 feet high. This ruin, which, from its situation in a thick grove of palm-trees, is perhaps the most picturesque in Egypt, stands close to the banks of the Nile, whose waters have already undermined some parts of it, and threaten to wash the whole away. The columns, architraves, and indeed every stone of the building, are covered with hieroglyphics in low relief. At the furthest extremity of the temple is an immense block of granite of a pyramidal form, 12 feet high and 9 square at the base, in which a niche has been cut, 7 feet in height, 4 feet wide, and 3 deep. These monolithic temples are supposed to have been the chests or depositories of the sacred birds.* From the western temple, a long quay has formerly extended, designed, probably, as well for the purposes

* We know not on what ground this opinion rests: the form of this monolithic temple opposes the idea, and it has evidently been a shrine, dedicated, probably, to one of the celestial bodies.

of trade as to prevent the encroachments of the Nile."*

These remains, Mr. Legh says, he found at *Gaw-el-Kebir* (Great Gaw); a mistake, apparently, for *Kau-el-Gharbieh* (the Western Kau), as the opposite village is called *Kau-el-Shargieh* (the Eastern Kau).† Accordingly, they would seem to be on the western side of the river; but the ruins described by Norden are on the eastern bank, at "*Gau Scherkie*," which he supposes to be the site of *Diospolis Parva*. "We see there," he says, "an ancient temple, that has nearly 60 paces in length by 40 in breadth. It seems to be covered only with a single stone, which rests upon columns; and its roof is so well preserved, that you still distinguish on it the hieroglyphics with which it has been loaded. It has nothing else remarkable. The Arabs pay so little regard to it, that they lodge their cattle there; and indeed, it is almost filled up with sand and dung. The sides of this temple are not closed: the colonnade is entirely open, and serves sometimes as a passage. There is near *Gau Scherkie*, a *kalish*, which runs on the north side. It does not appear, however, to advance further than half a league inland, probably because it has been neglected. It was bordered on each side with a bank of freestone; but these banks are almost demolished by the Nile, which has carried away the greater part of them."

Dr. Richardson, describing the ruins on the eastern bank, (which, he says, are called "*Kau-al-Kharab*, or ruined Kau,") says: "Here we stopped to view the only column of a once magnificent temple, which the Nile has undermined. Many overturned stones

* Legh, p. 39.

† See Norden, vol. ii. p. 27; and Bruce, vol. ii. p. 7. Dr. Richardson and others have fallen into the same mistake.

and columns are lying upon the brink of the river, or have fallen down into its bed; the present column totters on its base, and ere now, has probably shared a similar fate. The shaft of the column consists of twelve stones of the coarse shell-limestone: it is wrought into pannels, four of which occupy the periphery, and three the height of the column. It is between 40 and 50 feet high, with large upright leaves encompassing the top, like the calyx of a flower. The space between each of the compartments is occupied with rows of hieroglyphics; and the compartments themselves are filled with representations of Osiris, Isis, and Anubis, receiving offerings under different forms in each. A column which seemed to have recently fallen down just beside it, consisted of the same number of stones, and was sculptured in the same manner. Lying at a small distance, in another part of the ruins, is a large stone, about 10 feet by 6, which is hollowed out on one side, as if for the reception of a statue; it is covered, round the orifice and inside the niche, with hieroglyphics, which are much effaced. In the rock, about an hour's ride distant, there is a number of quarries and catacombs remarkably well cut: many of the latter have never been opened. Mr. Salt opened one of them, which contained two mummies exceedingly well preserved. The nails and skin seemed quite fresh. We were surprised at not perceiving among the ruins, any representation of the god Mendes," (the same as Antæus) "to whom this town was particularly devoted."*

* Richardson, vol. i. pp. 178, 9. Bruce, speaking of the ruins at "*Gawa Shergieh*," says, he "found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. They seemed, by that and their slight proportions, to be of the most modern of that species of building:

But is this the site of Antæopolis? Did that city occupy both sides of the river? Or is Norden correct in his opinion, that the eastern Kau has succeeded to the Lesser Diospolis, which Ptolemy places under nearly the same parallel?* The Danish Traveller affirms, that the western Kau has nothing remarkable; and Bruce appears to have also overlooked any ruins on that side. "All around the villages of *Gawa Garbieh*," he says, "and the plantations belonging to them, *Meshta* and *Raany*, with theirs also joining them, that is, *all the west side of the river*, are cultivated and sown from the very foot of the mountains to the water's edge, the grain being thrown upon the mud as soon as ever the water has left it. The wheat was, at this time (Dec. 21), about four inches in length."† Mr. Legh expressly states the portico he describes to be at *Gaw-el-Kebir* (*Gharbieh*); and it is difficult to reconcile his description, especially his measurements, with the statement of Dr. Richardson. Yet, it seems scarcely probable that every preceding traveller should have overlooked this fine ruin; and, as Mr. Legh does not mention on which bank it stands, we may presume that he refers to the same site. If so, it must have been from the *pronaos* he refers to, that the inscription was copied by the French, bearing, that it was dedicated to Antæus and the gods worshipped in the same temple, by Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra his sister and queen, about 150 B.C., and that its cornice was repaired by the emperors Aurelius,

but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics. The temple is filled with rubbish and dung of cattle" (vol. ii. p. 6). This temple is said to have been still standing when the French invaded Egypt, and to have been thrown down by a more than usually powerful inundation in 1819.

* About lat. 29° 40'.

† Vol. ii. p. 7.

Antoninus, and Verus, A.D. 164;* an inscription which identifies the site with Antæopolis.

The country on the left bank of the river now again widens considerably, and the river sweeping round in a westerly direction, affords a view of a rich and highly cultivated plain. About a league and a half above Kau, and about two miles from the western bank, is Taahta, a large village containing several mosques, which give it a handsome appearance. Nearly a league further, on the same side, is a village called Souama, where the province of Ikhmim begins. Rejeyna, on the opposite side, situated at the foot of the mountains of the Thebaid, marks the beginning of the same territory. Above this, the Arabian mountains send out a promontory to the westward, forming "an elbow about four leagues in extent." Opposite to this point is the "pretty town" of Maraga, situated in a delightful plain, which produces the best wheat of all Egypt; but the lands about it suffer a great deal from the inundations.† The Nile, on resuming its southern direction, is divided by an island a short league in length, and then again bends to the westward, round another promontory of the Thebaic range, which bears the name of *Djebel Haridi*, or *Heredy*, from a Mohammedan santon whom the Arabs believe to have migrated at his death into the body of a large serpent, now revered as the oracle of the place. "The remains of the old town at the bottom of the rock, and the cave of the venerable sheikh, the former abode of the thaumaturgic serpent, immense heaps of burned brick thrown down the hill, and a few distinct foundations of houses, are all," says Dr. Richardson, "that

* Letronne in Ency. Metrop., *art.* Egypt.
† Norden, vol. ii. p. 28

remain of this once celebrated spot. At the foot of the mountain, near a large mass of detached rock, are the remains of a mutilated statue in a sitting posture, about ten feet high. On a level with the statue, in front of the rock, are many sepulchral grottoes, now despoiled of their ancient possessors, and so large, that they would form more comfortable habitations than any of the twelve-feet-square huts at *present* used in the country."

A long, steep path leads up the mountain. About half way towards the summit, is a large quarry or grotto. A few steps onward, the path turns down into the heart of the mountain: it presents a "romantic crater," in the hollow of which is the cell of Saint Heredy. "In consequence of repeated pilgrimages," says Sir F. Henniker, "the rugged rocks have been worn into a tolerable path, but the length and difficulty of it are still sufficient to try the Mussulman's faith. My guides inform me, that a sacred serpent lives in the cell, and is occasionally held up to the veneration of the true believers. It is not visible now (January): the subtle animal never makes his appearance in winter. I climbed to the very summit of the mountain; the *rockham*, a large vulture, flying around in every direction, and the surface is covered with crystal. Here is at once the scene of Sinbad's valley of diamonds and the rock bird. I entered at the top of the ravine which conducts to the burial-place of Saint Heredy: there are several perpendicular breaks in it, of from ten to eighty feet: a torrent would perhaps render it nearly comparable to Terni. To the S. of the most eastern of these breaks, but considerably more elevated, is a low natural cave or grotto, at the entrance of which stand three large pillars of crystal. One of them was detached. I hastened to my boat.

and procured eight men with poles, mats, and all the ropes that our boats could furnish. These eight stupid fellahs, notwithstanding my signs, and prayers, and curses, roll the pillar towards the ravine, and are unable to stop it; it leaped the first cataract;—it was intended that it should break, but it fairly took a somerset. The paltry Arabs cry out *Hay-lay-essah* (God help us), and invoke Saint Heredy by name; but he will not come at their call, and they pretend that they cannot lift it without him. They roll it onward to the second precipice; it touched various crags in its descent; rays of sparkling particles flew in every direction, and, glittering in the sun, appeared like a shower of diamonds, a miniature avalanche of brilliants. The body fell upon the edge of a rock; it shivered, and I left it in despair. The Arabs were now contented; there was no treasure concealed in it. Two of them followed me, bearing one fragment, and four of them labouring under another. The smaller fragment made its escape out of their hands, and taking the short path of the mountain, arrived at the bottom piecemeal. The larger one we got safe on board, but it has again been broken into several pieces in its way to England: the largest fragment is now only four feet in circumference, and weighs rather more than a hundred weight." *

There can be no doubt, we think, that Sheikh Heredy has succeeded to the religious honours once paid to some more classical, if not more worthy object of idolatry. The serpent is the form under which the Cnuphis (Ihh-Nufi, Cneph,) or Agatho-dæmon of the Egyptian pantheon, was worshipped by the inhabitants of Thebes To whomsoever the mutilated statue be-

* Henniker, pp. 107—110.

longed, the cave, with its crystal pillars and its oracle, was once, in all probability, consecrated to that deity; and the ruined town evidently occupies an ancient site. Here, the traveller notices for the first time the Thebaic palm-tree or *doum*, which differs materially from the common palm. "The trunk is forked, slender, and bent; the leaves dwarfish; the fruit thrown among them, brown, mis-shapen, and irregularly clustered, like a root of potatoes: these nuts are steeped in water, and give it the taste of common gingerbread." *

On the opposite shore, a little above the village of Suhadsh, there is "a grand *kalish* running from east to west," bearing the name of *El Suhadshia*; and to the south of this, about a league inland, is a Coptic monastery called *Deir-el-Abiat* (the white convent), which boasts of a cross, said to be "a relic of an ancient church built under the invocation of St. Helena." The blocks of granite and other fragments here, indicate that the founders of the church had availed themselves of materials which probably belonged to a more ancient edifice. †

* Henniker, p. 107. There are said to be no fewer than forty-four varieties of the palm-tree.

† Norden, vol. ii. p. 31. The White Convent, built of stone, is so called in contradistinction from a neighbouring one built of red brick, and called the Red Convent, which was burned by the Mamlouks in retreating before the French. Denon has given a view of the former. "The church," he says, "was the only building left standing, but there had doubtless been a monastery attached to it, as some fragments of wall and blocks of granite seem to prove. From the dimensions of these relics of antiquity, we must suppose that, if St. Helena built them, the Emperor Constantine must have seconded her zeal by putting very large sums at her disposal. The church has been built so strong, that, with a portcullis at the entrance, and a few pieces of cannon on the walls, it might easily resist the attacks of the Arabs.... Since the first destruction of the

About five leagues to the south of *Djebel Heredy*, the traveller arrives at

IKHMIM.

THIS place, the capital of the province of the same name, and one of the most ancient places in Egypt, is situated about a mile and a half from the river, on a tongue of land projecting from the eastern shore, and "shouldered up by the chain of the Mokattam mountains, which, bending round in this place, forms a deep and difficult pass." "Achmim,"* says Mr. Bruce, "is a very considerable place. It belonged once to an Arab prince of that name, who possessed it by a grant from the Grand Signior for a certain revenue, to be paid yearly. That family is now extinct, and another Arab prince rents it for his life-time from the Grand Signior, with all the country, except Girgé, from Siout to Luxor. The inhabitants of Achmim are of a very yellow, unhealthy appearance, probably owing to the bad air occasioned by a very dirty *calish* that passes through the town. There are likewise a great many trees, bushes, and gardens about the stagnant water, which increase the bad quality of the air. There is here a *hospice* of Franciscans, for the entertainment of the converts or persecuted Christians

convent, the monks had made their dwellings in the lateral gallery of the church, if dwellings they might be called, which were only wretched huts set up under those splendid porches: it was misery in the very palace of pride."—DENON, vol. ii. pp. 14—17.

* It is so written by Norden, Bruce, and Denon; by Capt. Light and Malte Brun, *Akmim* and *Akmin*; by Dr. Richardson and others, *Ikhmim*. The Coptic is said to be Kmim or Smin, to which the Greek Chemmis or Chemmo bears an obvious resemblance. The name of the Egyptian Pan or Priapus, however, was *Shmoon*; and the only way of accounting for the variation, is by supposing that the Copts have derived the present name from the Greeks.

in Nubia, when they can find them. They were low men, all Italians. These priests lived in great ease and safety, were much protected and favoured by the Arab prince, and their acting as physicians reconciled them to the people. They told me, there were about 800 Catholics in the town; but I believe the fifth part of that number would never have been found, even such Catholics as they are. The rest of them were Copts and Moors, but very few of the latter, so that the missionaries lived perfectly unmolested. There was a manufactory of coarse cotton cloth in the town, to a considerable extent; and a great quantity of poultry, esteemed the best in Egypt, was bred here, and sent down to Cairo. The reason is plain: the great export from Achmim is wheat; all the country about it is sown with that grain, and the crops are superior to any in Egypt. Thirty-two grains pulled from the ear, equalled forty-nine of the best Barbary wheat gathered in the same season; a prodigious disproportion, if it held throughout. The people here, wisely pursuing agriculture, so as to produce wheat in the greatest quantity, have date-trees only about their houses, and a few plantations of sugar-cane near their gardens. As soon as they have reaped their wheat, they sow for another crop, before the sun has drained the moisture from the ground. Great quantity of excellent fish is caught here, particularly a large one called the binny: I have seen them about four feet long, and a foot and a half broad. Achmim appears to be the Panopolis of the ancients, not only by its latitude, but also by an inscription of a very large triumphal arch, a few hundred yards south of the convent. It is built with marble, by the Emperor Nero, and dedicated ΠΑΝΙ ΘΕΩ. The columns that were in

front are broken and thrown away, and the arch itself is either sunk into the ground, or overturned on the side, with little separation of the several pieces." *

Abulfeda mentions a temple here, built of stones of astonishing size, which he ranks among the most celebrated ancient monuments: mere fragments are all that now remain. The "Monastery of St. Saviour, or the Martyrs," mentioned by Macrizi, a building almost coeval with the town, is still standing, on the side of the ancient canal: it belongs to the Copts. The town is also adorned with several mosques, and the Mohammedan population would seem lately to have increased very considerably, since Dr. Richardson estimates the total number of inhabitants at 10,000, of whom 300 may be Catholics, 1,200 Copts, and the rest Moslems. † Such calculations can only be considered, however, as uncertain conjectures; and the population itself as very fluctuating. The neighbouring mountains are full of grottoes, which have afforded, in succession, sepulchres for pagans, asylums for persecuted Christians, and retreats for fanatical anchorets. These, as well as the immediate environs of Ikhmim,

* Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 8—11.

† Vol. i. p. 181. According to another account, Ikhmim "has now about 4000 inhabitants, principally engaged in the manufacture of coarse woollens: many of them are Copts, and about *one half* Roman Catholics."—*Ency. Metrop.* This is obviously a misstatement. Mr. Jowett was told by the Coptic bishop, in 1819, that the number of Christians was "200 or 300, with six priests;" a singularly vague account. Copts, of course, were meant. The Catholics were stated to be from 250 to 270, and the total population of Ikhmim between 6 and 7000. The Latin convent, which is large and well built, was occupied by Padre Luigi, a Latin friar, and three Catholic Copt friars, two of whom were sick,—one, Mr. Jowett believes, bed-ridden.—*Christian Researches*, pp. 157—9. It was here that Nestorius died.

merit a more attentive investigation than they have hitherto received from European travellers, who are always impatiently hurrying onward to Thebes.*

Opposite to this town, on the western bank, is Menshieh (Moonshiet, Munshyet), supposed to be the ancient *Ptolemais Hermii*, of which no vestige, however, is to be observed, except the ruins of an old quay.† Norden describes it as a place of considerable trade, being the port at which all barks from Cairo, in ascending to the Cataracts, or in returning, stop to take in provisions. It is about half way. Every market-day, commodities are brought hither from all the neighbouring places, because they are constantly sure of a sale; the bazar is consequently well furnished, and articles are generally sold very cheap. This place is famous also for a sort of sweet-meat,‡ of which both Turks and Arabs are very fond. The town is ornamented with its mosque, and "very fine pigeon-houses." "We also see there," adds this Traveller, "a very large churchyard, where one may remark the different monuments with which they honour the memory of the dead. It owes this distinction to the height of its situation, which is the reason that they bring thither the dead of all the neighbouring places, that they may not be exposed to the annual inundation. The Christian Copts, as also the *De Propaganda* converts, have in this town, as likewise throughout the states of the emir of Achmim, very

* Denon was *told*, that at Ikhmim, there is a temple still to be seen, buried up to the very roof.

† Legh, p. 42.

‡ From this confection, called *neidch*, the town is sometimes called *Menshiyeh el Neideh*. Its proper name is *Menshiyeh Ikhmim*. Ptolemais, the capital of the Thinite nome, was at or near Syis, the Psoi of the Copts, and Ibsai of the Arabs. Menshieh is possibly corrupted from *Men*, port, and Shoi, Σνις.

great privileges: they are not afraid here to strike a Mussulman." In the neighbourhood of Ikhmim, Capt. Light says, that he counted upwards of thirty villages in the plain on both sides of the river.

About fifteen miles to the S.E. of Menshieh, on the western bank, is the former capital of Upper Egypt, Djirjeh, which owes its name and origin to a monastery dedicated to the redoubtable St. George.* It was formerly the capital of a bey, as it is the seat of a Coptic bishop, and is a place of some trade and industry, standing in a fertile territory; but, as it contains no antiquities, the traveller passes it by with contempt. Denon says: "It is a modern town, containing nothing remarkable; it is as large as Minyeh and Melavi, but smaller than Siout, and less beautiful than either. The Nile runs by the walls, and is constantly washing away a part of them; and it would require a considerable expense to make here even an indifferent harbour for boats. The convent, built previously to the town, still exists; and we found in it European monks."

The Latin convent here is the most ancient of the four Roman Catholic establishments now existing in Upper Egypt: "the next is Ikhmim, the third Farshout, and the fourth Tahta. The most ancient of all was at Negade. In the time of the French invasion, all the papers belonging to these convents were destroyed, and they have now no documents to shew."† Padre Ledislao, the only resident at the time of Mr. Jowett's visit, had been here twelve years: he estimated the Catholics, men and women, at 250; the

* "It is written *Djirja* in the Mamlouk Registers, the *Di* being the Coptic article *ti*."—*Ency. Metrop.* Is it not rather a contraction of *Deir Jirje?*

† Jowett, p. 155.

Copts at 500. "He took me," says Mr. J., "all over the convent, which is very large, consisting of three stories and a terrace of garden-pots, with a fine view of the Nile; shewing particularly well, how the river has approached Djirje, annually taking some of the bank down. The convent is built of baked bricks, and will stand long. The chapel has been neat, with three altars; but the Turks and the French, at different times, have pulled parts of the convent to pieces, dug in the walls, and destroyed the cupola of the chapel, (now supplied by mats,) under the idea of finding treasure. These convents are all under the Propaganda at Cairo, which is under that at Rome; they are therefore under the Austrian consul. *The Jesuits were under the French.* In going through the town, I passed a Coptic school of twelve boys; but they and their master were so dull, that I could not get them to perform their parts." *

The Nile at Djirjeh is very much confined by the eastern mountains, and winds so as to bring them into the rear of the town, producing a grand scene of water, buildings, and precipitous masses of rock. Of seven minarets, one is very lofty, and being well white-washed, adds to the general effect. Above Djirjeh is the province of Farshoot, where the greatest quantity of sugar is made. † Crocodiles now begin to be frequently seen.

A few miles to the S. of Djirjeh, and about six miles inland, is "*Arabat Matfooner*," or "*Abra Madfoun*," the ancient Abydos. Here, in 1818, Mr. W. J. Bankes had the good fortune to discover a large

* Jowett, pp. 155–7.

† Light, p. 48. The Levant is chiefly supplied from Egypt, and that for the use of the Seraglio at Constantinople, comes from Farshoot.

hieroglyphical tablet, which has proved to be a genealogical table of the immediate predecessors of Rameses the Great, the Sesostris of Herodotus; and M. Drovetti has since found a rich harvest by his excavations in the vicinity, carried on under the superintendence of Father Ledislao, a number of valuable articles having been found here, the greater part of which now adorn the Royal Museum at Turin. The temple in which the tablet was discovered, has, within the last twenty years, been covered with sand.* "Over part of the roof," says Sir F. Henniker, "I paced fifty-four long steps, on stones that have never yet been displaced, though there are signs of destruction at either end. This roof alone occupies nearly as much space as the neighbouring village. There are some small chambers, in which the colour of the painting is so well preserved, that doubts immediately arise as to the length of time that it has been done. The best works even of the Venetian school betray their age; but the colours here, which we are told were in existence two thousand years before the time of Titian, are at this moment as fresh as if they had not been laid on an hour. There are arched chambers 33 feet in length; the ceiling, and probably the sides, covered with hieroglyphics as carefully as we should paper a room; now nearly choked with sand. The stones of which this fabric is built, measure, in some instances, above 22 feet in length. The span of the arch is cut in a single stone. A portion is still visible. Part of the roof has tried to fall in, but is prevented by the sand. Here are also chambers innumerable: each individual part is of exquisite workmanship, but badly put together; great labour and irregularity. Perhaps the object most re-

* It is described in Hamilton's Ægyptiaca.

markable at this place, is a chamber, or set of chambers, in which the Egyptians have attempted to build an arch: it affords at once a proof of their intention and their inability. The span of the arch is cut in two stones, each of which bears an equal segment of the circle: these, placed together, would naturally have fallen; they are upheld by a pillar placed at the point of contact. It has been doubted," adds this gentleman, "whether the Egyptians were acquainted with the principle of the arch. That they were not, at the time of this building, is evident; and it may be presumed that they never were so; because they did not dislike arches, but have frequently cut them where sufficient space has been afforded by the live rock; and because, in every artificial roof, they have been obliged to put a prop to support each stone, and hence the number of pillars in the temples. If those who raised the Pyramids, and built Thebes, and elevated the obelisks of Lougsor, had been acquainted with the principle of the arch, they would have thrown bridges across the Nile, and have erected to Isis and Osiris, domes more magnificent than those of St. Peter's and St. Paul's." *

Abydos, according to Strabo, was the capital of the great Osymandyas, or Ismendes, who is supposed to have reigned 2276 B.C., and is one of the most famous

* Henniker, pp. 111, 12. (See also vol. i. p. 333). Sir F. Henniker reached "Arabat Matfooner" from "Baleainieh," (apparently the *Belliene* of Norden, and the *Beliani* of Bruce,) crossing a narrow canal in proceeding northward. Baroness Minutoli "made an excursion on asses," from Djirjèh to Abra Madfoun: it cannot therefore be far distant. The ruined palace is said to be called *El birbà* (or *Kherbeh*). The *kalish* issues from the Nile a little to the N. of Bardis, a town with a mosque, and runs inland to several villages.—NORDEN, vol. ii. p. 36. A little to the N. of Baliene, on the west bank, is Abutig (*Abotis*), the see of a Coptic bishop.

heroes of Egyptian story. In the time of that geographer, however, it had already been reduced to a mere village. This edifice is supposed to be the *Memnonium*, or royal palace of Memnon.

The next place of any consideration is *Bhajoura*, situated about three miles inland, near the *kalish* of *Maharakka*. Mr. Jowett was informed that it contained, in 1819, between fifty and sixty Christian families, with five priests, and a *nunnery*, in which were four nuns, two who had never been married, and two widows. There is a small hamlet called *Sahel Bhajoura*, which forms its port on the Nile. A little further S., and "a good league inland," is Farshout,* a town with a mosque and a Latin convent, in the midst of a large tract of corn-land. Here there was stated to be about 150 Christians, men and women. The Nile is here divided by an island two or three miles in length, called *Djiziret Nejagheh:* it contains a village. On the eastern shore, at the village of *Attariff*, begin the mountains of *Djebel Monna*. About a league higher up, on the western bank, is the village of Hou (or How), built on the site of the ancient *Diospolis Parva*, of which there are said to be only some uninteresting vestiges.† It contains ten or twelve Christian families, who have a church and a priest. "Haw," says Denon, "is a fine military station: it possesses no remains of antiquity." At *Kasr-es-Saiad*, are "some stones of *Chænoboscium*," not worth seeing; but, a few leagues higher up, the traveller arrives at the magnificent ruins of the ancient Tentyra, situated about a mile and a half to the west of the modern village, which still bears the name of *Dendara*, in lat.

* In Coptic, *Phi-er-Siout;* situated in lat. 26° 3′ 30″. —Bruce.

† Supposed by Norden to be at Kau, and by Bruce, at Djirjeh.

26° 9′ N., long. 32° 41′ E. All round, on both sides of the river, is an extensive and well-cultivated plain: the mountains, retiring in the middle, and approaching the river above and below, give it the appearance of a beautiful circular basin, shaded by thick groves of *doum* and other palm-trees, as Juvenal describes it—

"*Qui vicina colunt umbrosæ Tentyra palmæ.*" *

As Dendera presents the first Egyptian temple which the traveller sees on ascending the Nile, as well as the most magnificent and perfect one, it claims a particular description, for which we shall avail ourselves of the pages of Dr. Richardson.

DENDERA.

THE scene of ruins is half an hour's ride from the river; they occupy an area more than a mile in length, about half a mile in breadth, and nearly two miles and a half in circumference. The ruined town has been built partly of burned, and partly of unburned brick, on mounds formed of the rubbish of previous habitations; and the remains of many small huts crowd the summit of the temple itself.†

* Sat. xv. v. 75. "Tentyra, the Τεντυρα or Τενοσιρα of the Greeks, was called in Egyptian *Ta-nosher*, the name of the she-vulture."—BRUCE, vol. ii. p. 13, *note*. The prominence given to the sacred vulture in the decorations of the temple, seems to sanction and explain this etymology. Was Koptos (Γυπτος) originally a translation of this word?

† The foundation of the great temple is upon a terrace nearly fifteen feet above the level of the neighbouring country; while similar terraces at Thebes are on a level with the surface of the Nile, above which they are supposed to have been once greatly elevated. From this circumstance, among others, its modern date has been inferred.

"The first thing," says Dr. Richardson, "that attracts the eye of the traveller on the edge of this black field of ruins, is a small square stone building with four columns; it has an unfinished appearance, and is without hieroglyphics. It is difficult to say for what purpose this edifice was intended. It looks like a porter's lodge, or habitation for the guardian of the precincts of the temple; and I should not have mentioned it at all, had it not been constructed of the same species of sand-stone with the temple itself; and as these must have been brought hither from a great distance and at a great expense, it is probable that this insignificant fabric was connected with it for religious purposes. Advancing from this for several hundred yards among the brick ruins, we came to an elegant gateway, or propylon, which is also of sand-stone, well hewn, and completely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut. Immediately over the centre of the doorway is the beautiful Egyptian ornament, usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematic of the glorious sun poised in the airy firmament of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. To this succeed representations of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus, with processions of priests and people advancing to pay their homage, and present their offerings on their knees. Passing under the gateway, we find the principal devices on each side of the passage to be the sceptre of Osiris, alternating with a figure representing the letter T, with a handle attached to it: it has been called the handled cross, and the key of the Nile, and honoured with other designations. I am disposed to consider it as the *sigma thau* mentioned in the Vulgate, in the ninth chapter of Ezekiel, and represented there as being the

sign of life and salvation to those who received it. Some of the female figures are so extremely well executed, that they do all but speak, and have a mildness of feature and expression that never was surpassed.

"Advancing about a hundred paces over the ruined brick huts, we arrived at the celebrated and beautiful temple of Dendera. This intervening space is called the *dromos*, or course. In some of the other temples, it is inclosed by a high wall on each side, joining the propylon to the temple, and lined with rows of columns covered in above, forming a delightful piazza for reposing in the shade. In this space were usually exhibited the most entertaining juggles of pagan idolatry. Even bull-fighting, as we learn from Strabo, was among the number. Here the divine and holy bull, attended by his grooming priests, was turned out to take his sacred walks, before the gaping spectators. The *dromos*, or area, in this temple, does not appear to have been completely enclosed. The propylon stands disjoined from the temple, rugged and unfinished at each end, as if sudden death or disaster had broken off the work, which future ages never resumed. The façade of the temple is rich and imposing, and carved with a vast profusion of sculptured ornaments; the door is lofty, the sides of which are perpendicular. On each side of it are three massy columns, capitalled with the head of Isis *quadrifrons*; they are partly received into the wall: the base is concealed by rubbish. The shaft consists of several stones, and the top is surmounted with the head of a female, coifed in a Romanized Egyptian head-dress, which passes over the forehead like a turban; it is loosely tied at the middle and over each eye, tightly bound at the temple, and then falls softly down on each side, like a curtain, from the tying. The face is neither Greek, Roman,

nor Egyptian, but an abominable mixture of the first and last. The top of the column spreads out into a moulding above it; and the space above the column, that in Greek buildings would be occupied with the triglyph over the top of the column, is here occupied with the front of an Egyptian temple, with perpendicular or Grecian walls, containing representations of people, some of them in masque, and others not, performing rites of devotion in honour of the goddess Isis, in the character of Diana. Among the ornaments on the frieze, are harps, altars, and Grecian temples, and people clapping their hands; and the whole of the subject has much the appearance of the festival held in honour of Diana at Bubastis, in which, Herodotus says, the women struck their tabors and harps, the men played on the flutes, and both clapped their hands and joined in chorus. The head inclosed in the niche, with the moon and crescent over it, the hawks' and ibis's heads among the votaries, all refer it to Diana, the queen of heaven, and not to any festival of Isis, in which the attendants used to flagellate themselves round a burning victim, and afterwards sit down to feast on the part of the sacrifice that had been saved from the fire. Down the sides, the frieze is filled with representations of Isis and Osiris, seated on thrones, with their sceptres in their hands, the one alternately taking precedence of the other, and presented with offerings accordingly. Over the front of the columns, and on the intercoluminary space upon the walls, the whole is covered with similar representations, with serpents, and globes, and hieroglyphics. On the cornice is a representation of the sun, under the appearance of a globe surmounted with serpents and wings, from which issue streams of light on the objects beneath, and

frequent repetitions of the hawk, the emblem under which that glorious luminary was worshipped. Above the cornice is an inscription in the Greek character, setting forth that the *pronaos* was consecrated to the goddess Aphrodite and the cotemplar deities, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. The inscription occupies a place that does not in any way appear to have been intended for it, and the engraving of the inscription appears to be a more recent work than the sculpture or hieroglyphics on the front of the temple; and if, after a minute inspection of it, I may be permitted to express my opinion, it is, that this temple was built in the time of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt, and repaired in the time of the Romans.

"Passing within the *pronaos*, the ornament of the globe with wings and serpents is continued along the middle of the ceiling, and alternates with the sacred vulture with outspread wings and a broad, feathered sceptre held by a ring in each foot. The vulture was queen of the air, sacred to Isis or Juno. There are twenty-one figures along the ceiling; they begin and end with this magnificent representation of the vulture, the guardian genius of the kings and heroes of Egypt. On each hand are three rows of columns, with three columns in each row, making in all eighteen columns, which occupy the body of the *pronaos*. The columns are of the same description with those in the front of the temple, each of them being surmounted with a head of Isis *quadrifrons*, and covered with hieroglyphics and large sculptured figures of the gods and goddesses receiving offerings from the priests, as on the outside of the temple. The interior of the wall is ornamented with the same subjects; so that, in whatever direction the eye of the spectator is turned, it is constantly met by the representation of

objects connected with the mythology and history of the country. The most interesting devices, however, are those portrayed upon the ceiling, which is divided into seven compartments by the six rows of columns already mentioned. The middle compartment has been described above as containing the representation of two of the most beautiful and interesting objects of Egyptian worship,—the winged globe, and the sacred vulture. The other compartments are equally filled with objects of their idolatrous devotion; so that the whole ceiling may be regarded as a pantheon, in which all the cotemplar deities and their attendants are portrayed, and which would form a most impressive and magnificent object of contemplation, were the continuity of the whole not broken into compartments by the rows of columns that are necessary for the support of the roof, so that the eye cannot view the whole assemblage at once, but must pass over it in detail.*

* For a minute description of the several compartments, we must refer the reader to Dr. Richardson's pages. In this strange assemblage of allegorical decorations, the French savans imagined they had detected a zodiac so ancient as to overturn the chronology of Scripture; their wild speculations occasioning so powerful a prepossession in favour of their extreme antiquity, as to lead them to overlook the very obvious proofs of the modern character of the whole edifice. "To me," says Dr. Richardson, "it appears, that, without the most unwarrantable supplements and the greatest distortion of interpretation, it cannot be considered as a zodiac at all. For first, the number of signs is incomplete; the advocates for the zodiacal interpretation acknowledge this;—there is no crab." And, after pointing out the various other discrepancies, the learned Traveller concludes by stating his decided opinion, that "the whole is a mythological exhibition of the most interesting objects in the Egyptian theology, without having any reference whatever to astronomy." The representation given of this pretended zodiac in the splendid work published at Paris, is pronounced to be extremely elegant and extremely incorrect, not in the least degree preserving the style

"Leaving the *pronaos*, we entered the temple, which we found very much choked up with sand and stones. The first apartment has three columns on each hand, all covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and surmounted at the top, like those already mentioned, with the head of Isis *quadrifrons*. The walls behind the columns are equally enriched: so that not a spot that the eye can rest on, but addresses to the mind a tale of interest and wonder. Though no man can read or unfold its precise meaning, yet each forms to himself some conjecture of the story, and is pleased with the constant exercise of his mind. Passing on, we entered another apartment, which has no columns, but the walls are decorated in the same manner; after which we moved into a third, which was equally so, and from which passages go off to small handsome side chambers, equally ornamented with figures, and stars, and hieroglyphics, and a sort of chain-work along the ceiling, which is blue. The passage to the right leads to an easy and handsome stair, by which to ascend to the top of the building. We continued our way, however, straight forward, and entered another chamber, in the centre of which stands the sanctuary, or holiest apartment; all of them rich in sculpture and hieroglyphics. Never did I see a greater field for thought and reflection, and never did I regret more the want of time than in visiting the temple of Dendera.

"Having finished our examination of the chambers below, we crawled through a passage that was much ob-

and character of the original, and containing several important variations. This "zodiac" has since been removed, "very skilfully indeed, but very unfortunately for the appearance of the temple, which was indisputably the best preserved of any in Egypt." It is now at Paris.

structed with sand and rubbish, and arrived at the stair formerly mentioned. The steps are thin and broad, and the ascent is remarkably easy, and nearly of the same angle of inclination as the passages in the Great Pyramid. On each side, the staircase is adorned with large sculptured figures of Osiris, Isis, priests, and sacred boats, arranged in procession, hieroglyphics, and other ornaments. No part is without its decorations. Every thing seems to speak and move around you, and is so different from what a person meets with in any part of Europe, that the mind is astonished, and feels as if absolutely introduced to beings of olden time, to converse with them, and to witness the ceremonies by which they delighted to honour their god. Wherever you look, there is food for the mind and the eye. Even the sill of the narrow window is covered with a succession of many lines formed into a number of small cones united into a large one; each lower line of cones entering within the one above it by its apex, and extending beyond it at its base, thus forming a large cone, the apex of which is in the small chink by which the light is admitted into the temple; and the base is spread over the sill, like the rays of light diverging from their entrance through the apartment into which they are admitted. This is the manner in which the light is generally represented as streaming from a luminous globe. Nothing can possibly exceed the artist's execution of the design. On arriving at the top of the stair which led out to the top of the temple, we found it covered with a number of ruined huts, as if it had been, not long ago, the site of a considerable village. We passed through them into an upper chamber of the temple, in which there is portrayed upon the ceiling an assemblage of mythological beings, resembling those in

the *pronaos* below; and though fewer in number and differently arranged, this exhibition has also been called a zodiac, and, from its form, the circular zodiac. The ceiling is encompassed with three broad circular lines, and it is only the central space that is occupied with this mythological table. It is represented as supported by the heads and outspread hands of four females, one from each corner of the room. The intermediate spaces, or those which are opposite to the two sides and two ends of the room, are occupied by two human figures with hawks' heads: they are turned face to face, and half kneeling, and with their arms and hands spread out above their heads, support the tablet; so that there are twelve persons supporting this mythological table. The whole of the apartments must have been lighted artificially, which, putting aside the swarms of bats with which they are now infested, is undoubtedly the reason why the interior of the temple is so dark and fuliginous, compared with the unsullied freshness that prevails on the walls.

"Having examined the interior of the building, we descended over the walls, which the immense accumulation of rubbish around their base enabled us to do without any difficulty; and proceeded to take a view of the exterior. The sculpture here is equally elegant and interesting with that within; the hieroglyphics are equally well cut; the drapery equally rich and profuse: the figures, however, are on a larger scale, and many of them perfectly unclothed. Isis, here, is attired in her most gorgeous apparel, with a tippet of the richest and most curious workmanship. She is generally accompanied by two attendants, one with a human, and the other with a hawk's head, and both of them with the sceptre of Osiris in their hands.

She is frequently represented with the head of a lion, and the sceptre of Osiris in her hand, receiving offerings and adoration. At other times, she is represented as affectionately nursing Horus, who, himself, in other compartments, is exhibited as receiving offerings in the same manner. Among the offerers to Horus, we observed that monstrous mis-shapen figure which authors have dignified with the appellation of the wife of Typhon, the evil genius. She is present on every temple, and generally in every assembly of the gods.

"The temple at Dendera is by far the finest in Egypt; the devices have more soul in them; and the execution is of the choicest description.....There is a small temple, or chapel, not far from the north end of this magnificent edifice, which seems also to have been devoted to the worship of Isis and Osiris, the deity with the human body and hawk's head. The walls and ceiling are profusely ornamented with representations of these deities, receiving homage and offerings from their respective votaries. The same long figure that forms the ceiling on the *pronaos*, is here represented on the ceiling as breathing her sacred inspiration over the head of Osiris; a practice of which there is a relic in Egypt at this very day. The dervish, having called upon the name of God in deep and hollow tones before making a fresh inspiration, by which to re-contaminate his lungs, breathes upon the face of the person upon whom he would confer his blessing; believing that the breath which comes from the lungs immediately after pronouncing the name of God, is fraught with the most gracious and salutary efficacy.

"One small temple still remains to be mentioned: it is on the right of the propylon by which we entered the temple, and would have formed part of that side

of the *dromos*, if such an enclosure had ever been completed. It is called by Strabo the *Typhonium*. The head of Typhon, a horrible-looking dwarf, forms the capitals of the columns; and the full-length figure of this god is frequently sculptured on the walls. He is of a broad, squat make, with a wrinkled face distorted into a horrid grin, looking like a man in an infernal mask. Before him stands the only person fit to be his wife, the hideous *cynocephalus* above-mentioned. Between them sits the puling Horus, or Harpocrates, seated on a full-blown lotus, with his fingers on his mouth, emblematic of silence. This groupe is repeated in several parts of the temple; but in no place did I see this Typhon, or his companion, offering violence to Horus, or themselves receiving offerings, as the objects of worship; on the contrary, they seemed to guard and cherish him, and he seemed as happy in their society as any where else. On the walls of an inner apartment, Harpocrates is seated on a lion-shaped couch, which is supported by four lions, and twelve of these *cynocephali*, or erect quadrupeds. He is nursed by Isis *leo*, and Isis *vacca;* on each side are numerous representations of women with children in their arms and on their knees, and Isis, with Horus at her breast. There is a niche at the end of the room, which has been garnished with a statue; this is now so battered down, that we found it impossible to refer it to any original. He would render a great service to the student of Egyptian antiquities, who would be at the expense and trouble of clearing away the rubbish from this temple, and of taking accurate drawings or casts of the whole, so that it could be seen in England, exactly as it is in Egypt. Wars and revolutions might then do their worst; the records of

ancient times would not perish with the precarious existence of this beautiful temple."*

Mr. Belzoni inferred from the superiority of the workmanship, that this temple was of the time of the

* Richardson, vol. i. pp. 185—220. "This temple, all grand and perfect as it is," remarks the Author of Scenes and Impressions, "as compared with those of Thebes, is evidently modern in its date. Here, there are none of those war-scenes depicted, which constitute such remarkable features in the sculptures on the propylæa, and even in the interior of those sacred edifices, and which so clearly refer to wars and triumphs, at a period when her monarchs were rich and secure at home, powerful and victorious abroad. But this beautiful ruin, (if ruin it may be called,) the first, or nearly so, which greets the curious traveller as he ascends the Nile, and calls forth his feelings of admiration in all their freshness, cannot have the same charm for those who visit it after a sojourn at Thebes. To one, however, who has just quitted a country where the priest still officiates, and the worshipper bows down, and prostrates himself in the temples of idolatry, who is familiar with the aspect, the habits and customs, the rites and ceremonies of the Hindoo, this temple is an object of no common interest; for here, the Indian soldier fancied that he recognised the very gods he worshipped, and with sadness and indignation complained to his officers, that the sanctuary of his god was neglected and profaned. He saw a square and massive building; a colossal head on the capitals of huge columns; on the walls, the serpent; the lingam in the priapus; the bull of Iswara in the form of Apis; Garuda in Arueris; Hanuman in the *round-headed* cynocephalus; a crown very similar to that of Siva on the head of Osiris; and in the swelling bosom of Isis, that of the goddess Parvati. While, on the staircase, the priests and the sacred ark must have reminded him, and strongly, of the Brahmins, and of the palanquin litter of his native country. Many, many forms he must have missed; many, too, have observed, to which he was an entire stranger. But enough he saw to awaken all the dearest and most sacred recollections of his distant land and the gods of his fathers; and for their honour and his own soothing, to believe all that he hoped and wished to be the truth." —*Scenes*, &c., pp. 117—19. Captain Light was informed by English officers who accompanied the Indian army in their march from Keenah to join the forces under Lord Hutchinson, that "the sepoys performed their devotions in these temples with all the ceremonies practised in India."—LIGHT, p. 113.

first Ptolemy; and the general style of the architecture bears little resemblance to any Roman works; but it appears to have undergone repairs and decorations at successive periods, down to the time of the Antonines. The hieroglyphics on the walls of the temple itself, are found to contain the names of Tiberius and Augustus; and the Greek inscription over the entrance to the pronaos, states it to have been erected by the inhabitants of the nome when Publius Avillius Flaccus was prefect of Egypt, about A.D. 34. Another Greek inscription on one of the propylons of the temple of Isis, bears date the thirty-first year of the reign of Augustus, A.D. 23. While Mr. Salt observed on different parts of these temples, the names of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines.* That the Tentyrites were still a powerful community in the time of Juvenal, may be inferred from the manner in which the indignant satirist lashes their savage fanaticism. In a recent contest with their rivals, the people of Ombos, the victorious Tentyrites are represented as having carried off a prisoner, and devoured him upon the spot, under the influence of "religious hatred," and an ancient feud bequeathed from sire to son.† Such was the moral influence of the debasing

* Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt.

† Juv. Sat. xv.—

"Mæotis first did impious rites devise,
Of treating gods with human sacrifice.
But savage Egypt's cruelty exceeds
The Scythian shrine, where, though the captive bleeds,
Secure of burial when his life is fled,
The murdering knife's thrown by, the victim dead.
Among the rugged Cimbrians, or the race
Of Gauls, or fiercer Tartars, can you trace
An outrage of revenge like this, pursued
By an effeminate, scoundrel multitude,

idolatry which maintained itself here for more than a century after the Christian era, and which is only now tottering to its fall in British India! Can we wonder at the strong spell by which the pompous rites, and splendid architecture, and speaking sculpture of these temples enthralled the imaginations of the half-civilized heathen, when the sight of these beautiful but melancholy monuments of human infatuation can now beguile the Christian traveller into a forgetfulness of all the abominations which were practised in them, so as to allow of the feeling of regret at the ruin they exhibit?"

A little above Dendera, on the opposite shore of the Nile, is Khenneh* (Kenah, Kéné), a town of some consequence, as being the *entrepôt* of the commerce between Cairo and Djidda, where "the corn of Egypt and the gums of Arabia are still bartered against each other," and where the African *hajjis* and merchants assemble on their route to Mekka by way of Kosseir. The town is also remarkable for its potteries, called *bardaks*, made of a fine porous clay. The manu-

> Whose utmost daring is to cross the Nile
> In painted boats, to fright the crocodile?
> Can men, or more resenting gods invent,
> Or hell inflict, proportioned punishment
> On varlets, who could treat revenge and spite
> With such a feast as famine's self would fright?"

How striking a comment does the page of the heathen satirist supply on the declaration of St. Paul: "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God."—1 Cor. x. 20.

* "From Djirjeh to Thebes, the Nile forms a great bend to the east. At the elbow nearest to the Red Sea, stands Kenneh, the ancient *Cænopolis* (new city)."—MALTE BRUN. "Kenah, perhaps the *Cani* of the Mamlouk Register, has now superseded Kift (Coptos) and Cûs, as the entrepôt for the Arabian and Indian commerce."—*Ency. Metrop.*

facturers here have the art of impregnating the vases with perfume, the odour of which is communicated to the water; and great quantities of these vessels are floated down the Nile on rafts entirely loaded with them.* This manufacture is probably of ancient origin, as vases of a similar kind are represented on many of the paintings and sculptures. The houses in this town are meanly built; the streets are narrow and dirty; and the bazars, containing only such goods and provisions as Asiatic travellers require on their passage, present a busy, but by no means gay or rich appearance. A certain degree of prosperity, however, is conferred by the trade connected with the caravan; and to a stranger, the motley population exhibits some novel and singular appearances. "We saw here," says one traveller, "a groupe of Moggrebins in their white woollen robes with the hood up. They only want the cord, as you view them from behind, to pass for the gloomy disciples of St. Bruno; but, when they turn, a dark eye flashes on you, and a swarthy complexion speaks of the great desert of Libya, which they have been weeks, or rather months, in traversing. In Khenneh are seen a great many Albanian soldiers,

* "They manufacture the like, but far better, at Arcot in the Carnatic."—*Scenes, &c.* p. 115. "Kenneh—this is the pottery of Egypt: the jars manufactured here, have the peculiar property of purifying water, and are so cheap and brittle, that they constitute the principal ingredient in an Arab village, whether as furniture or as the accommodation for pigeons, or as assisting in the formation of the walls themselves, as in the circus of Caracalla; and having served these three purposes, they tend to raise a Monte Testaccio all around. In form, they are quite as ugly as any antiques I ever saw: if they were only as useless and as expensive, we should see them in museums. A quantity of these jars bound together, the mouths downwards, does the duty of a raft: on this an Arab takes his station, and floats down the stream, retailing his conveyance as he goes, as is done with the firs on the Rhine."—HENNIKER, 122.

sitting cross-legged before the coffee-houses, or lounging slowly in the streets. In this place, too, are numbers of women (of the privileged caste of dancers), who go about openly with their faces uncovered. They are very plain, bad figures, and of a coarse, disgusting appearance." The manner in which they disfigure their faces, dying their cheeks orange, and their eyebrows black, is, to a European, very hideous and disgusting. They load themselves with ornaments of brass and silver, wearing round their arms and legs, solid rings, which they have the art to pass over the hand, besides smaller ones in their nostrils and on their toes, and round the neck, a great number of necklaces of Venetian glass beads of all colours; a custom common to all the women of Upper Egypt, Nubia, and the interior of Africa, where these glass beads are valued as highly as gold.* At Khenneh, may also be seen individuals of the Ababde tribe, with their immense natural wigs loaded with some pounds of mutton suet, and giving the head the appearance of being three times its actual size: they are the more vain of this ornament, as the unnecessary finery of dress is altogether dispensed with.

In Norden's time, this town was an inconsiderable place, containing only one mosque; and it had lost most of its commerce, owing to the insecure state of the road to Kosseir. "I had been told much," he says, "of the antiquities of this place, which engaged me to go thither; but I found nothing there; nor could the inhabitants give me any account of them." Keft, or Koft, the ancient Coptos (*Kebto*), is about six leagues further south, near an opening into a second

* Scenes, &c. p. 115. Minutoli's Recollections, p. 119. The latter writer thought their figure "had something delicate and graceful."

transverse valley. The first mention of this town in history is in the reign of the Ptolemies; it was in its greatest prosperity in the time of Strabo, A.D. 15—25; it had begun to decline at the beginning of the eleventh century, and was greatly reduced at the beginning of the fourteenth.* It is now "a wretched Arab village; but the ruins of three temples, an ancient Christian church, and the city walls, of brick, now inclosing mounds of rubbish," it is said, "give evidence of its former wealth and populousness, and indicate the different epochs at which it flourished." Mr. Carne, however, who visited the site of Coptos in 1818, speaks only of "large and confused heaps of rubbish," amid which are some remains of walls a few feet high, and fragments of pillars of fine granite. The corridor of a large mosque in the village is supported by lofty pillars, two or three of which are granite, and have been taken in pieces from the ruins of the ancient city. In a small building adjoining were several small reservoirs. But this gentleman does not appear to have investigated the scene of ruins very attentively.†

A short distance to the south is the town of Cûs, or

* See authorities in Ency. Metrop. Coptos became a great mart in consequence of a road, 257 miles in length, made by Ptolemy Philadelphus, across the desert, to the port of Berenice.—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 160. Coptos is said to have been the town in which Isis heard of the death of her husband; and its name denotes, according to some, mourning; according to others, cutting off or bereavement. Some have supposed the name of the country to be derived from a city called Koptos or Kûbtos (see vol. i. p. 4); but, if so, there must have been a more ancient city of the same name.

† Letters from the East, vol. i. p. 145. "Some stones and broken pillars that once formed part of a Christian church, are now going hence to Siout, to join the remains of the heathen temple coming from Antinoe. Here are also some small chambers, very inferior in size and execution to the generality of Egyptian workmanship. The Arabs make use of them as stables and dust-holes."—HENNIKER, p. 123.

Kous, the *Apollinopolis Parva* of the Greeks, which, under the khalifs, became the most powerful city in the Said, the trade of Koft being transferred to this place. It was, in its turn, ruined by the calamities which desolated Egypt at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Bruce speaks of it, however, as still a large town; and it contained in 1819, 200 Christian families, who have a church; there is also a mosque, but no antiquities, except the gateway of an ancient temple, which is magnificent.* Caravans still assemble here, to cross the desert to Kosseir, which afterwards join those from Kenneh and Esneh. About three quarters of a mile to the east of Kous, a narrow pass leads into the same valley as that into which the route from Coptos passed. This soon branches out in several directions; one chain of ravines leading to Kosseir, and forming the present line of communication between Egypt and Arabia, while another conducts to the site of Berenice, the ancient emporium on the Red Sea, under the Ptolemies and the Fatimites.†

Nearly opposite to Kous, on the western side, (in lat. 25° 53′ 30″, according to Bruce,) is the town of

* "The only remnant of antiquity is a propylon, or rather the corona of it; for, till within six feet of the winged globe, it is choked up with rubbish. It is well worth the visit. The winged globe is perfect, gigantic, and within reach: the tower is equal to that of the great temple at Dendera. If ever there was a temple at this place proportionate to the gateway, how magnificent must it have been, and how overwhelming the destruction! Not a fragment of it is visible."—HENNIKER, p. 124.

† D'Anville, ii. p. 161. Bruce ii. p. 72. Ency. Metrop. Kous is stated (by Quatremere) to signify in Coptic, interment; and a native writer says, it was called so from its being the abode of those who had the care of the royal obsequies. It is called by the Egyptians *Kôs-birbir*, and is remarkable for the number of scorpions and lizards by which it is infested.

Negade or Nekadi, supposed by D'Anville to be the site of *Maximianopolis*. Here was formerly the fourth settlement of the De Propaganda mission. Bruce describes it as "a small, neat village, covered with palm-trees, and mostly inhabited by Copts, none of whom the friars have yet converted, nor ever will, unless by small pensions which they give the poorest of them, to be decoy-ducks to the rest." * The present state of this town, in an ecclesiastical point of view, as well as some particulars relating to the neighbouring villages, may be learned from the account given in Mr. Jowett's journal.

"Being moored off Negade, at sun-rise, many Christians and four priests came and sat on the shore waiting for me. After making some inquiries, I set off to visit Mâllem Ibrahim. I was received by a great company. We sat in the open air at the end of a long passage: I sat at the right hand of the Mâllem, and the *Kumus* (a kind of archdeacon) and five priests on my left. As we sat all on the ground on one large mat, a great crowd of people thronged so close upon us, that it was suffocating. Above also, from the windows and the roof, several women were looking on, to get sight of the strangers; a degree of liberty which I never saw them indulge in any other place. I shewed my letter of introduction to the *Kumus*,† who kissed it both before and after reading it. He tells me, that, in Negade, there are two churches, one of them not yet finished, and in the mountains five more, but without people resident near them. All the Christians belonging to them

* Bruce, ii. p. 71. "A town which may pass for large, and which has some mosques."—NORDEN.

† Answering, apparently, to the Greek Ἡγουμενος, prior or president: it is the first ecclesiastical order after the bishops.

live in Negade, and go, on the Saturday evening, to their respective churches. Two-thirds of Negade are Christians; but he would not tell me the number. I should suppose that the town contains about 300 houses, which would be 200 Christian, and 100 Mohammedan families. The Mohammedans are chiefly sailors: the Christians till the ground. There seemed to be some pleasant spots near. He informed me, that eighteen priests live in the town.....I went to the school: the master was nearly blind, but was assisted by a young man. The crowd of followers was so great, that I was annoyed with dust, and stunned with their unruly riot. The priests and masters seemed to have no power to keep them quiet, either in the church or in the school. One exclaimed: 'The Copts are like bees, running after a stranger.' There are two other schools; but the crowd incommoded me so much, that I could not visit them. This circumstance is a sufficient proof of the predominance of Christians in this place. In a town where a few Turkish soldiers are garrisoned, the Copts would sooner have run into a corner, than make such a tumult as they did on every side at Negade. The church, and the new one building close to it, are both what would here pass for large churches, being about thirty feet square. They mentioned, that, formerly, there was a Latin church at Negade, but that it was destroyed, and that the Roman Catholic priests, unable to get a living, had gone to Cairo." *

* Jowett's Christian Researches, pp. 150—2. Mr. J. was afterwards informed at Kenneh, that there were once at Negade 2000 Christian families, but that they had been reduced by sickness to 500 or 600. This, he thinks, an exaggerated estimate of the present number. At Kenneh, he was told, there were 200 Christian families, but they have no church, and on festivals, go to Goos (Koos),

A little above Negade, is an island two or three miles in length, formerly called *Tabenna*, now *Djizireh Metera*, "where St. Pachomus built the first monastery of his congregation, the ruins of which are still to be seen."* But St. Pachomus, and St. Anthony, and "all their trumpery," are forgotten, as, in a few leagues further, the ruins of Thebes gradually disclose themselves in all their wonderful extent and mysterious grandeur. Denon tells us, in a well-rounded period, that, on making a sharp turn round the point of a projecting mountain, they discovered all at once the site of Thebes in its whole extent; and that, electrified with amazement at the magnificent spectacle, the whole French army, suddenly and with one accord, clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils was accomplished. Dr. Richardson assures us, that the ruins can scarcely be seen from the river; that no where does the traveller round the point of a mountain to come in sight of them; and that he must be near or among them, before he can discover any thing imposing or overwhelming in their appearance. The lively Frenchman might retort, "*Tant pis pour le fait.*" But there is no need of exaggeration in speaking of the wonders of Thebes.†

to attend their church there. At Koos, there are said to be also 200 Christian families, and five priests.

* NORDEN, ii. p. 42.

† Mr. Belzoni, in his second visit to Thebes, travelled by a forced march overland from Rairamoun to Thebes. Setting off at midnight, he reached Manfaloot the next evening, and Siout the following morning before daylight. At sun-rise he mounted again, and arrived at dark at Tahta. Here he rested four hours in the convent, and then starting afresh by moonlight, arrived in the night at Djirjeh. At one in the morning, he resumed his journey, and reached Furshoot at noon. Not finding beasts immediately, it was four o'clock before he again set off; he arrived at night at a village three leagues above Badjoura, where he rested two hours.

THEBES.

"In the broadest part of this section of the valley of the Nile, where the river, running from S.W. to N.E., has a width of 1300 feet, between *Gournah* (*Gornou*, *El Gourni*,) on the north, and *El Naharriyeh* on the south, the splendid remains of Thebes are spread over a large area occupied by nine distinct townships. These are, *El Akaliteh*, *Nacah*, *Abu Hamud*, *Koum-el-Bahirat*, *Medinet Abû*, to the west; *Gournah*, to the north; *El Oksor* (*Luxor*), close to the river's edge; and *Kafr Karnak* and *Medamud* on its eastern bank."* The most remarkable ruins are found at *Medinet Abû*, *Gournah*, and *Karnak*. In proceeding to describe this almost boundless field of ruins, it is difficult to know where to begin, or what guide to follow. Denon, whose questionable fidelity renders it necessary to receive his statements with caution, thus describes the general aspect of the scene. "The situation of this city is as fine as can well be imagined, and the immense extent of its ruins convinces the spectator that he has not magnified its size; for, the diameter of Egypt not being sufficient to contain it, its monuments rest upon the two chains of mountains which are contiguous, while its tombs

and reached Gheneh at three the next day. Having dined, he proceeded through Koft and Kous to Benoot, rested a couple of hours there at night, and reached Luxor the day following at noon. The whole journey occupied five days and a half, of which eleven hours only were passed in sleep or rest. This journey, through a tract destitute for the most part of the necessaries of life, must be considered as one of the most arduous adventures ever undertaken by a modern traveller.—See BELZONI, vol. i. pp. 225, 6.

* Ency. Metrop. "*Medinet Abû* (*i. e.* the town of the Father, probably the *Papé* of the Copts)" is in lat. 25° 43′ 30″ N., long. 32° 37′ E.

occupy the valleys towards the west, far off into the desert. Four large hamlets divide among them the remains of the ancient monuments of Thebes, while the river, by the sinuosity of its course, seems still proud of flowing among its ruins." "Very imperfect ideas," remarks Mr. Belzoni, "can be formed of the extensive ruins of Thebes, from the accounts of even the most skilful and accurate travellers. The most sublime conceptions that can be derived from the most magnificent specimens of our present architecture, would fall very far short of these ruins; for such is the difference, not only in magnitude, but in form, proportion, and construction, that even the pencil can convey but a faint idea of the whole. It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, had been all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proofs of their existence. The temple at Luxor presents to the traveller at once one of the most splendid groupes of Egyptian grandeur. The extensive propylæon, with the two obelisks and colossal statues in front; the thick groupes of enormous columns; the variety of apartments, and the sanctuary it contains; the beautiful ornaments which adorn every part of the walls and columns; the battles on the propylæon; cause in the astonished traveller an oblivion of all that he has seen before. If his attention be attracted to the north side of Thebes, by the towering remains that project a great height above the wood of palm-trees, he will gradually enter that forest-like assemblage of ruins of temples, columns, obelisks, colossi, sphinxes, portals, and an endless number of other astonishing objects, that will convince him at once of the impossibility of a description. On the west side of the Nile, still the traveller finds himself among wonders. The temples of Gour-

nou, Memnonium, and Medinet Abou, attest the extent of the great city on this side. The unrivalled colossal figures in the plain of Thebes, the number of tombs excavated in the rocks, those in the great valley of the kings, with their paintings, sculptures, mummies, sarcophagi, figures, &c., are all objects worthy of the admiration of the traveller." *

The most distinct and complete description of the ruins has been supplied by Dr. Richardson, whose notes were evidently taken on the spot, and who may fairly be considered as rivalling Maundrell himself in the accuracy of his details, as well as in the intelligence which guided his examination. We must therefore again avail ourselves of his services as cicerone, taking the necessary freedom of abridging some part of his elaborate account.

"In describing the ruins of Thebes, I shall begin at the village of Gornou, because it is nearest the river, and the first object which the traveller encounters in his tour through the ruins on the west side of the Nile, from which it is distant about a quarter of a mile. This village stands in a grove of palm-trees, where the cultivated soil joins the rocky flat, exactly at the spot where the road turns off on the right, to the tombs of the kings. It consists of a number of houses of unburned brick, generally small, but some of them much larger and of superior workmanship to the average of ruined houses in this country. At the time when we visited it, it was quite uninhabited. The natives had abandoned it, and retired to the caves in the adjoining rocky flat; because, from the low situation, and the filling up of the canals, the village is liable to be overflowed during

* Belzoni, vol. i. p. 59.

the time of the inundation. But when the river subsides, and the ground becomes dry, they quit their rocky tenements, and return to their mansions of clay, which are more conveniently situated for water, grazing, and agriculture. This village is generally called Gornou, which is the name of the district on the north side or end of the valley. This district now contains several separate small villages, of which this appears to have once been the principal, from its containing a ruined temple, though some of the others are larger. Both in Egypt and Nubia, the name of the district and the name of the principal village are generally the same. This village has also been called *Ebek*; but, on asking the name of the ruin from the Arab guide, who was a native of the place, he called it *Cassr-el-Gornou*. The ruined temple here has been very little mentioned by travellers. It is small indeed, when compared with the Memnonium and Medinat Habou; yet it is much larger than those of Northern Dair, Dair-el-Medinat, and Southern Dair, which are seldom omitted. It is so much dilapidated that it is difficult to make out the extent of it. The principal entry appears to have been from the south, where there is a row of eight columns running along the front of the wall. The height is about five diameters, and both shafts and capitals are reeded. Over the door is the usual ornament of the globe, with serpent and wings. From the passage we entered a chamber, from each side of which passages go off into other chambers or courts. Some of these are small, and so much filled up with rubbish, that it is almost impossible to enter them. They are also distributed in a different manner from what chambers usually are in the interior of the temples. Hence, this building has by some travellers been called a

palace; but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples; and, from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the wall, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this, as well as in the great temples. Emblems frequent on other temples are also here met with: as sphinxes with the globe over their heads, and Osiris with a scourge and crook in the one hand, and a hatchet in the other. The figures are remarkably well cut, but it is difficult to trace any thing like a continued story in the sculpture, on account of the wall being so much dilapidated. There are no remains of stone houses in any of the towns which have been great and celebrated as seats of trade and opulence, and even of royalty; and I hardly think it would be presuming too much, to infer that stone houses were very sparingly used by the ancient Egyptians.

"Proceeding west from the temple of Gornou along the edge of the rocky flat, for about three quarters of a mile, where it turns in a southerly direction, we came to a broad avenue that has been formed along its surface for nearly an equal distance, straight up to the precipitous front of the rock. This beautiful avenue is exactly opposite to the grand propylon of the great temple at Carnac, and has been lined with a row of sphinxes of quartzy sand-stone, highly crystallised, and, to judge from the remaining fragments, they must have been of the finest workmanship. Here we also find many fragments of gigantic statues, the produce of the same quarry. Advancing along this avenue, over the rocky flat, which is every where strewed with the mouldering remains of brick huts, and immense high ruins, like caravansaries, of the

same material, which the natives call Christian convents,—we came, in about three quarters of a mile, to the precipitous front of the rock, where are the remains both of an ancient temple and a modern building. It must have formed a splendid termination to the avenue above mentioned, and is exactly opposite to the temple of Carnac; it is called Northern Dair. The high mounds of rubbish, and the masses of stone and polished granite, that lie scattered about, indicate the extent and splendour of the building; as the few shattered portions of the walls that still remain, testify the barbárian violence with which it has been overturned. There are several chambers; but they are small, filled up with stones, and close in upon the perpendicular front of the rock, in which is a doorway cased with polished granite, leading into several excavated chambers, which, without a great deal of labour to clear away the obstructing rubbish, it is impossible to examine. Several of the chambers on the outside of the rock, have also the posts and lentils of the door of polished granite. There is one beautiful upright table of the same material, about twelve feet high and five feet broad, covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; and a superb granite gateway, wrought in the same manner, on which the hawk frequently occurs among the sculptures, but there is no human figure. Attached to the ruin on the south side, there is a large stone vault in the form of an arch, without being constructed on the principle. The stones on the outside of the wall are built in line; but each successive course projects further into the interior of the building than the one below it, and the corners of the stones are rounded away, so as to give it the vaulted form. The stones in the uppermost course on each side are shorter, on which account

they are not in a perpendicular line with those on the outside. They are applied to each other by broad surfaces with a small quantity of cement between them, and are rounded and smoothed on the inside like the others. This is not constructed on the principle of the arch; but if any accident were to make the two uppermost stones fall in, so as to support themselves by lateral pressure, it would give both the key-stone and the principle of the arch. I do not considerthis vault as coeval with the ancient ruins among which it exists, but with that part of the building which was constructed by more modern architects, probably the Christians. The whole has been covered with unburnt brick, with a view to keeping out the heat. I observed the same form of the rounded arch without the principle, in the temples of Girgenti in Sicily. If there be any passage from the plain of Thebes through the mountain into the valley of *Beban-el-Melook*, and communicating with all the tombs in the rock, this, in my opinion, is the proper place to commence the examination in search of it. No place was more likely, from which to form a private passage, to enter the tombs of the great, than a temple situated close upon the rock on the other side. The passage from the tomb lately discovered by Mr. Belzoni, has been traced already half way through the mountain, running in this direction; and it would be difficult to assign any reason why the shaft of that tomb should descend so much, and by so many flights of steps, were it not to attain the low level of the plain on the other side. This ruin at Northern Dair has been but little mentioned by travellers, but it is one of the most ancient in the Thebaid.

"Having retraced our steps along the ancient avenue to the edge of the rocky flat, we turned south-

ward, and in a few minutes reached the MEMNONIUM. On our way thither, we passed many ruined huts, and many immense piles of unburnt brick, exactly like those square piles that are erected for being burned. I am disposed to think that they were only kept there till wanted for building. The term *Memnonium* is used by Strabo to designate that part of ancient Thebes which lies on the west side of the river. The French *savans*, without any sufficient reason, have restricted it to the magnificent ruin which we are proceeding to describe. This beautiful relic of antiquity looks to the east, and is fronted with a stupendous propylon, of which 234 feet in length are still remaining. The propylon stands on the edge of the arable soil; but the area for the *dromos* behind it, is floored with the solid rock, on which the rest of the temple is erected. Great part of the eastern wall has fallen down, and both ends are greatly dilapidated. Every stone in the propylon appears to have been shaken and loosened, as if from the concussion of an earthquake; for no human violence seems adequate to produce such an effect in so immense a mass. A stair leads from each end to the top of the propylon, from which passages go off into a number of chambers; but they are so broken and filled up, as hardly to admit of examination. No devices can be obtained from the eastern wall, and very little from the doorway. The sculpture on the west end of the latter, presents merely the figure of a hero with the globe and serpent over his head. In his right hand, he holds the lotus-headed sceptre, and the sacred *Tau* in his left; his standard is reared beside him on his right, and the bird of victory is hovering over it. Here, the tale of the sculpture breaks off; the work on this side of the passage has not been completed, and the ravages of desolation

prevent us from reading the other side, which has fallen down. The western side of the propylon has also suffered much, but still contains some specimens of the art of sculpture not unworthy of attention. Round the door is a scene of repose: the figures are seated, and hold sceptres and sacred *Taus* in their hands, with offerings before them. Passing over to the right, the eye is immediately caught by the appearance of a gigantic hero in a war chariot. His head is crowned with the globe and serpents; the sacred bird hovers above, but only the wings remain; the tyings of his cap stream out behind; he stands in a determined attitude, his bow bent, and the shaft ready to fly; there is no charioteer,—the reins are tied round his waist; and he is rushing into the midst of his falling and flying foes. The havoc of his arrows is seen in the heaps of wounded and slain.* The combatants on the side of the conqueror are dressed in short kirtles like the ancient Egyptians; and many of them are entirely naked. Those on the side of the vanquished are habited in a long and pretty close-fitting robe to their ankles. They are armed indiscriminately

* The Author of "Scenes and Impressions" thus describes this curious piece of ancient sculpture. "It is rudely cut in on the close-joined stones, and, though roughly executed, full of fire. The hero (as compared with the rest of the figures) is of a giant size; he stands erect in his chariot, his horses on their speed,—a high, cloud-pawing gallop; his arrow drawn to the head; the reins fastened round his unmoved loins: you have the flight of the vanquished, the headlong fallings of the horse and the chariot; you have the hurrying crowd of the soldiers on foot; a river; drownings; the succouring of warriors on the opposite bank; and, in a compartment beyond, you have a walled town; a storm, the assailants climbing ladders; the defenders on the parapet; the upheld shield; the down-thrust pike;—a sad, but yet a stirring picture, bringing to your mind many a historic scene alike memorable and melancholy."—p. 95.

with square shields rounded at the top, and carry swords or clubs, or an instrument resembling the reaping-sickle now in use, which they seem to have employed as a hook to bring their antagonist within their grasp, when seizing him by the hair, they plunged their dagger into his breast. The chief of the fugitive party is fleeing in his chariot before the conqueror. His greater distance and diminished power are represented by his inferior size, as well as that of his chariot and horses. His shield-bearer is struck with an arrow in his back, and is turning round as if to ward off a second attack. His companion in the chariot, who appears to have been in the act of fitting an arrow to his bow, alarmed at the disaster, looks round towards the victorious hero with a countenance strongly expressive of rage and apprehension; evincing a higher state of the art than we find exhibited in any of the tombs, and which we could hardly conceive to have existed at so early a period in the history of the art of sculpture as that in which this is believed to have been executed. There is a fortress in the rear of the fleeing army, with a ladder applied to the wall, on which the assailants are mounting; while the besieged are pushing them off and throwing down stones upon them. In the compartment above this, the fort seems to be in possession of the assailants, who are aiming their darts at those below, to make them surrender. Some of them are represented hanging over the wall, wishing to drop and make their escape, but, perceiving they must fall into the midst of their enemies at the bottom, they are afraid to let go their hold. The horror of their situation is admirably depicted. In the highest tower, a number of soldiers are raising up their hands in joyous acclamation at their success. Beside them is an instrument like a

catapulta, containing a number of arrows undischarged: with this, our view of the combat is terminated. The wall (beyond) is rough, and projects beyond the line, as if it had never been sculptured. Below the principal hero already described, are two others of smaller size and apparently younger, who are also mounted in their war-chariots, with the globe over their heads, and the sacred bird hovering above. This sculpture also terminates at the projecting unfinished wall above mentioned.

"Passing northward from the gateway, along the same front of the propylon, the representation of a captured town meets our view, exhibiting all the dreadful acts of riot and outrage that too frequently characterize this hideous method of glutting the vengeance of a savage conqueror, by giving up a town to be sacked. Towards the middle of the piece, the principal hero is seen on a throne, which is surrounded with the flowering lotus, the sacred plant of the Egyptians. The tyings of his head-dress flow down upon his shoulders. In his left hand he holds a sceptre, and with his right points to a procession below. Two banners are erected behind him. Near this great personage, another warrior seems as if just alighted from his chariot: his horses are held by three attendants,—a long tablet of hieroglyphics runs along their backs. This figure may be intended to represent the chief of the adverse party: he stands with a submissive and disconsolate air, and seems solicitous to attract the attention of the throned personage, who is entirely occupied with a procession of individuals advancing towards him, each with a roll in his hand. On the upper part of the wall are represented some smart skirmishings about a round tower, which is totally abandoned; or rather, it appears to have been left

unfinished. In different places, over the town and round about it, prisoners with their hands tied over their heads, are undergoing flagellation, or are led on with ropes about their necks, or their hands tied in the same posture; while their brutal conquerors are pulling their beards, beating them with clubs, and treating them with every species of indignity. Others of the victors are solely intent upon plunder, and laying their spoil upon beasts of burden. Several rows of hieroglyphics intervene, after which the sculpture again commences; but the wall is so shattered and bedaubed with mud, that it was impossible to understand it.

"There are fifty-six paces between the propylon and the front of the temple. This space was probably inclosed with a high wall at each end, and formed the *dromos;* but no traces of the walls exist, except the rough marks of their junction with the propylon. This space is now the public road between Gornou and Medinat Habou. The only remains of antiquity which it contains, are the pedestal and fragments of a most magnificent statue of large-grained granite, a little in advance of the front wall of the temple.....This is by far the finest relic of art which the place contains. By some travellers, it has been supposed to be the statue of Osymandyas; by others, that of Memnon; and by many, these two illustrious individuals have been regarded as one and the same person.* Hero-

* "The building called by the French the tomb of Osymandyas, bears also the name of Memnon; and it is remarked by Strabo, that Memnon and Ismendes may probably have been the same person. The name is also found in the grottoes at Byban-el-Molouk, on some statues representing Osiris, and in some inscriptions at Ombos, as well as on a seal of Denon."—*Sup. to Ency. Brit.* art. *Egypt.* Memnon, apparently derived from *Mai-Amon* or *Miamun*, Beloved of Ammon, may have been the title of several monarchs. In like manner, Ismendes or Smendes, which is supposed to signify the son of Mendes, appears to have been a title

dotus does not mention the name of either of those heroes as connected with Thebes, nor indeed the name of Osymandyas at all; and if Strabo, Pausanias, and Juvenal are to be heard on the subject, their description of the statue of Memnon cannot apply to the one under consideration, which has been entirely thrown off the pedestal, and broken into a thousand pieces by the fall. It is about 26 feet broad between the shoulders, 54 feet round the chest, and 13 feet 5 inches from the shoulder to the elbow.* The whole face has been completely marred by the hammer, the nose, eyes, and ears being entirely broken off; not a feature remains. The flaps of the head-dress fall down upon the breast on each side: that on the right has suffered much from violence; that on the left is more entire, and has been curiously and elegantly wrought. There are tablets of well-cut hieroglyphics down the back and on each arm, which serve to identify this enormous statue with the hero whose achievements are sculptured along the wall. The pedestal, true to its charge, has also been rent by the fall of the statue; and stone wedges have been driven into it in several places, with a view to detach the splintered fragments: the sides of it are adorned with hieroglyphics, but they are almost entirely covered with the sand collected round the base. As this statue is

borne by more than one sovereign; although it is not likely that both these should have been appellatives of the same individual. The Memnon of the Greeks was, however, a different person from this Osymandyas, whose name M. Champollion supposes to be the *Mandou-ei* (*Chéri de Mendou*) of the inscriptions, and whose reign he places 2272 B.C.—*Seconde Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas*, pp. 16, 141. See note at p. 107.

* "The colossus is unfortunately broken in pieces, but every fragment of it still excites admiration; the head and shoulders are 20 feet long, and the breadth of the chest is 22 feet; the little toe of the foot is three feet long."—HENNIKER, p. 128.

quite pre-eminent and alone, (the statues in the other temples being generally in pairs of nearly equal magnitude,) this temple was most probably the tomb of the hero whom it represents; and in my opinion, that hero was Osymandyas.

"The front wall of the temple is greatly dilapidated, and what remains of it does not indicate that imposing grandeur and profusion of ornament that generally characterise the façade of an Egyptian temple. Passing round, however, to the inside of the wall, (for it is impossible to enter by the doorway, which has been thrown down,) the walls are seen adorned in the usual manner, and the eye meets the horrors of another battle scene equally terrible with that on the propylon. The hero in his chariot, which has the figure of a lion rampant sculptured on its side, is dressed in robes chequered with red and pale blue; his bow is bent; the reins are tied round his waist; and he is driving furiously over the body of a hero who has been laid prostrate by an arrow. Panic-struck, his enemies are fleeing before him; men and horses in wild disorder are plunging into the river, and having swum across, are helped out by their friends who are assembled in crowds on the opposite bank.* A horse is wounded in the shoulder, and, writhing with pain, advances his leg, and tries to rub out the dart with his nose: his rider lies before him, shot through the breast. The object of contest is a round tower on an eminence in the bend of the river,

* It is to this sculpture, apparently, that the Author of "Scenes and Impressions" refers, when he says: "Here, there is a very curious incident portrayed, which one of my companions pointed out to me; a groupe recovering a drowned person, who is held with his head downwards, his hair falling as wet hair does: and on his stomach, one of the attendants is pressing with an open flat hand, as is our custom to this day."

the characteristics of which are not to be found in any situation in the Nile between Rosetta and the Second Cataract. Here the wall is destroyed, and prevents us from pursuing the story any further. On a higher compartment, numbers of individuals are advancing with offerings towards a great personage seated in the middle; near to whom a female is grasping the stem of a lotus, which she is endeavouring to cut with a hook. Above this is the sacred bull, with the globe and crescent over head; a person goes before, pouring out libations from a vase, and another comes up behind, bearing offerings. The rest of the wall is greatly injured, and covered with mud.

"The columns in front of the wall, forming the piazza, are adorned in the usual fashion, with representations of heroes and deities,—Isis, Osiris, Mendes, the hawk-headed and dog-headed deities, holding sceptres, and receiving offerings of lotus-flowers and goblets, with numerous tablets of hieroglyphics. That on the right shoulder of the large broken statue occurs frequently, and is *nearly* the same with that of the heroic personage whose achievements are sculptured along the wall. He is seated on a throne; his face, limbs, and chair are painted blue, like the figure of Osiris on the tombs. The front of these columns is formed into statues, representing Osiris with his hands crossed over his breast, holding the crook and scourge; the lower limbs closed up in the shape of a mummy, a row of hieroglyphics passing down the front. Four of these statues are still remaining on the east side of the *pronaos:* they consist of seven stones each, and are about twenty-two feet high. Facing these, at the distance of thirty-four paces, are four other columns, exactly similar. In all of them, the greater part of the head is wanting; the lower

part of the face and beard alone remain. There have been four on each side of the door of the *pronaos*, fronting an equal number on the opposite side of the court, that is, sixteen in all; while the northern and southern sides of the area have been bounded by two rows of columns, forming, with the sixteen Osiris columns,' a magnificent piazza all round the court. Only two of these columns now remain on the northern side, and three on the southern: they are reeded at the base and at the top, and are twelve feet in diameter, standing upon the solid rock, which is strewed over with a slight covering of sand. In the rear of the eastern row of these statues, there are fragments of many statues of black granite. One of them has the head punched off, which is much injured by the fall: the nose is broken, but the ears are entire, the eyes open, but not perforated; and the whole expression of the countenance is remarkably placid and benign, such as is not to be seen in the statuary of any other country. On the back of one of the statues, besides the hieroglyphics, there is sculptured the figure of a man, with the right hand extended, and a staff in the left. These are on the north side; but the row of statues appears to have been continued through the whole breadth of the temple, for, on the south side, there are also many fragments of statues. Here we see the remains of the body and pedestal of that noble head which is now in the British Museum, under the unwarrantable and gratuitous appellation of the Young Memnon. On each side of the pedestal is represented the elegant device of two men tying the lotus round what has been called the stalk of a table, but which appears to me to resemble the instrument which the Roman augurs called *ligula*, with which they examined the entrails of the victims.

This device is also exhibited on the pedestal of the statue which is generally considered to be the real statue of Memnon, and on that of his ancient companion. The device is by no means rare, as we have seen it on the monolithic niches at Deboode and Philæ, and many other places. This misnamed statue is about twenty-two feet high.

"Advancing about eight or ten paces from these venerable fragments, we come to another wall, which, on the east side, is covered with representations of Osiris, Mendes, the sacred bull, crowned hawks, hawk-headed deities, processions of priests, and people on their knees presenting offerings. On the other side, we are again presented with a battle scene, which has many circumstances in common with those already described: the hero is the same, and the object of attack is a fortified tower, as in the others.

"Between this ruined wall and the next, is an area thirty-five paces in length, which is filled up with a stupendous colonnade of eight rows of columns, six in each row, twenty-eight of which are still remaining, covered with sculptured figures and hieroglyphics. The two middle rows are higher and larger than the others, and have fine spreading capitals, resembling lotus-leaves. The ceiling consists of large flat stones, ornamented with the sacred bird and tablets of hieroglyphics. The farther wall is equally ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics, with processions and representations of Osiris and Isis: the latter holds in her hand a graduated staff, which rests on a crocodile, which rests on a globe. This wall is ornamented, on the other side, with processions of sacred boats and offerings to the several deities. Here, we find another colonnade of twenty columns, two in a row. The ceiling is ornamented with stars and boats, a figure of Nephthe, and two crocodiles. The next

wall is ten paces distant; and here, among other allegorical devices, we perceive portrayed, the hero of the contests, seated on a throne, beneath a wide-spreading tree, his head adorned with the *tutulus*, surmounted with serpents and feathers, and a square, plaited beard beneath his chin: his left hand is folded across his breast, and holds the sceptre up to his shoulder; in his right, he grasps the sacred *Tau*, which rests on his knee. Numbers of men are performing genuflexions before him, and grasping his throne with their hands. Before them stands the great goddess Isis, with a pen in her hand, which she is about to withdraw from the last letter of a hieroglyphic inscription on the cordate fruit of a tree, apparently the Thebaic palm. Behind her, an ibis-headed deity (Thoth?) has just completed another tablet of hieroglyphics on another fruit of the same kind; and behind the hero, Horus has just concluded the same operation. On examining these tablets, they are found to be the same that accompany the hero through all the battles. Among the animals sculptured upon this wall, we observed the cameleopard standing over water, with an eye above him and a sword behind him. Beyond this, there had been another chamber with another colonnade, of which only four columns now remain. This side of the wall is also extremely interesting for its sculptures and hieroglyphics. In one place, a deity is exhibited in the dress of a mummy, his arms crossed, and his hands holding the sceptre of Osiris, bound round with the lotus; a square tablet, of curious workmanship, like a breast-plate, is suspended by a chain round his neck. Before him is an offering, consisting of three antelopes and other ingredients; a priest stands with a censer in his hand, and another is pouring a libation

from a vase shaped like the sacred *Tau*, upon the lotus flowers, over which the incense is burning. The other wall that bounded this chamber, is entirely destroyed.

"We have now passed completely through this noble and most interesting ruin, of which only a skeleton remains. It has been about 200 feet wide, and 600 feet long. It contained six courts and chambers, passing from side to side of the temple, which were ornamented with about 160 columns, thirty feet high: all the side walls have been broken down, and the materials carried away. A few fragments of the party-walls that separated the apartments, forty-eight columns of all these stately colonnades, and a mass of the propylon, testify to the spectator what a noble edifice and what specimens of art once adorned this memorable spot, and send him away sorrowing for what it is now.

"The area round the temple is bounded by numbers of small niches, like seats, in a wall of sun-dried brick. On the west side, many of them are quite entire, and some of them have been used as sepulchres, which does not appear to have been their original intention. On the north and south, the greater part of them are destroyed; but behind them all around, we have a display of the most curious brick ruins in Thebes. They consist of a number of long parallel vaults adjoining each other; these are built of unburnt brick upon the solid rock, and are rounded in the top, in a regular masonic arch. The rows of brick forming the arches are double, and, in some cases, triple, all laid in the form of the arch; so that it may be said, that there are two or three arches, the one surmounting the other, as if to give greater security to the whole. Those on the west, or at the end of the

temple, run from north to south; they are quite touching each other, as if a common side wall served every two of them at the base, but each is arched in separately for itself. They are about ten feet wide. The remains of fourteen of them by the side of each other are still visible, running in this direction. Taking them continuously from end to end, they are between six and eight hundred feet long. Those on the sides of the temple, run from east to west; on the north side, they are ten in number, and on the south, eight; continuing thus to run from east to west for about half the length of the temple on each side, when they again open from north to south. The whole space has been surrounded with a brick wall, and there are no traces of any houses within its precincts, unless these long dark tunnels are to be considered as such. I cannot pretend to state the purpose for which these labyrinthine tunnels or vaults were constructed. They resemble extremely the shafts or corridors cut in the rock, which have been called the tombs of the kings; but they have no chambers like them. At present, some of them are open throughout the whole of their length, and are lighted by the apertures which the lapse of time and the encroachments of human violence have made in the roof. But under foot, they are half filled up with earth and rubbish, which in many places have been heaped over dead bodies that have been deposited here at different times. If these dismal contents were cleared away, and the tunnel laid open from end to end, the purpose for which they were constructed might become apparent. There is nothing like them in any other part of Thebes, or of Egypt, excepting the excavations in the rock of Beban-el-Melook; and if these were admitted to be the habitations of the kings of the

Troglodítæ, the others might be regarded as the mansions of their principal subjects, or as the first dwellings which the inhabitants constructed for their abode, after leaving their gloomy caverns in the rock, the arches being made double or treble in order to exclude more effectually the heat of the sun; but these structures are modern.

"We now proceeded southward along the edge of the rocky flat. Almost immediately after leaving the temple, we passed on our left many fragments of statues of highly-crystallized quartzy sandstone, which marked the site of an ancient edifice, whose substructions are now lying buried under the earth which the successive inundations of the Nile have accumulated over them. This was probably the predecessor of the temple which we have just described. On the right, a little further on, we came to three sides of a large square cut in the rock, and fronting the east. It is perforated with many doors on each side, that lead into as many houses or tombs of the ancient inhabitants of the soil. Proceeding a little further in the same direction, we came opposite to two ancient statues standing on our left, considerably advanced in the cultivated plain. When we visited this field in November, they were inaccessible from the depth of the water in the canal that runs all the way round the plain in front of the rock, and which was probably formed for bringing water to the vicinity of the village, whether below or above ground in this rocky eminence. The water had not yet disappeared from its ancient bed, but had subsided sufficiently to leave the road to the statues easily practicable. Rejoiced at the sight, we turned immediately from our route, and having passed the canal, held our way over a circular heap of ruins; then along an avenue strewed with

fragments of broken statues, bounded by a field of flowery addess on each hand; and in about five minutes reached the base of these noble and ancient monuments. We approached them with a heartfelt pleasure and veneration, feeling that, in being there, we had accomplished an object worthy of our toil; and regarding the moment that brought us to the foot of Memnon, as one of the most gratifying in the whole course of our Egyptian tour. Standing by its side, with our hands upon the pedestal, and looking up to the disintegrated frame of this monumental colossus, which for ages had been the wonder of the world, the theme of the philosopher, the poet, and the historian; every scar on its surface deepened our interest in its fate. Our enthusiasm became more intense as we continued to look on, and we felt for the stony Memnon, almost as we should have done for Memnon himself. Our joy would have been complete, if history could have told us the tale of this eventful plain, since the time that the statue of Memnon became an occupant of the soil. These two statues are nearly equal in size, about 52 feet high, and 40 feet asunder. The throne on which they rest is 30 feet long, eighteen feet broad, and between 7 and 8 feet high. They look to the east, are on a line with each other, and apparently directly opposite to the temple of Luxor. If there be any difference in size, the one on the south is the smaller of the two: it appears to be of one entire stone. The face, arms, and front of the body are greatly disintegrated, from the effects of human violence. Not a lineament of the countenance remains. The back, seat, and pedestal are entire. The headdress is beautifully wrought, as are also the shoulders, which remain uninjured. The massy hair projects from behind the ears, like that of the Sphinx. There

is a row of hieroglyphics down the back, but no inscription or hieroglyphics on the pedestal. The sides of the throne are highly ornamented, with the elegant device of two bearded figures tying the stem of the flexible lotus round the *ligula*. The statue is in a sitting posture, the hands resting on the knees. Outside of each leg is a small statue, with a spiked crown on its head, and the arms hanging down by its side. Between the feet is another small statue, that reaches nearly to the calf of the leg. The northernmost of the two statues, which appears to be that of the vocal Memnon, is in the same posture, with a similar figure between the feet, and on each side of the legs. It has been broken above the haunches, which was reported to Strabo to have been the effect of an earthquake. In his time, the head, with the disrupted half of the statue, was lying on the ground. The other half was sitting in its original position, which it still retains. The part that had been broken off has been carried away. The remaining part has now another, though I believe few will think it a better, half, built upon it, in regular courses of common cut sandstone. Four courses form the body and part of the neck, and one forms the head and the remaining part of the neck. It is fashioned entirely like the upper part of the other statue, with tablets of hieroglyphics, with the goose and egg over the back between them. The carved drapery on the arm has not been attempted, nor is the stone susceptible of such elegant workmanship as that which adorns the shoulder of its more fortunate neighbour. Upon that part of the ancient statue which still remains, namely, upon the side of the throne, the ornament of the two bearded figures tying the lotus round the stalk of the *ligula*, with the accompanying hieroglyphics, are as fresh and distinct as

on the other. Both statues are attired in the same drapery.

"But what characterizes this as the statue of vocal celebrity, are the numerous inscriptions, both in Greek and Latin, in verse and prose, with which the throne, legs, thighs, and body of it are covered; all of them attesting that the several writers had heard the heavenly voice of Memnon at the first hour, or before the second,—feeble indeed at first, but afterwards becoming strong and powerful, like a trumpet. We searched with eagerness for the name of the illustrious geographer; but, if ever it was there, it is now among the many illegibles that no human eye can decipher. Julia Bomilla, Cecilia Treboulla, Pulitha Balbima, and many others, attest that they heard the voice of the Memnon, in company with the Emperor Hadrian, and his royal consort, Sabina, whom they seem to have accompanied in their tour through the country. One person writes, 'I hear (*Audio*) the Memnon;' and another person, 'I heard the Memnon sitting in Thebes, opposite to Diospolis;' implying the former to be more particularly the name of the western part of the district, now called Thebes, and Diospolis that of the eastern.

"Resolved to try our fortune, and to give the Memnon an opportunity of being equally vocal to us, as he had been to other travellers, Lord Corry and myself set out one morning at peep of dawn, and arrived at the foot of the statue about half an hour before sun-rise. We remained till he was an hour above the horizon. But, though the god of day shone out as bright and cloudless as ever he did on the son of Tithoneus, no grateful salutation of welcome was echoed in return: all was still and silent as the grave. The voice had departed from Memnon; and the vivi-

fying ray touched the mute and monumental statue in vain. The report of his former vocality, however, still prevails in the country; and the Arabs call it *Salamat*, or the statue that bids good morning. The two statues, they also call *Shamy* and *Damy*.

"The material of the statues is a quartzy sandstone, highly crystallized, with a considerable tinge of iron. The stone gives a metallic ring when struck. It cannot be called a spotted stone. That appellation may apply to the statues of granite, more especially those of large-grained granite, such as the one that I have described as forming the statue of Osymandyas, and also to the greater number of the statues in the eastern Thebes. The two statues under consideration have been remarkably well polished; the smooth, glossy surface still remains on them in many places; and, but for the destroying hand of man, might have remained throughout. Considering the unknown ages during which they have pressed their yielding bed, it cannot seem surprising, that the pedestal on which they rest should have sunk considerably in the earth. But this subsidence is more apparent than real; for the annual inundation of the Nile contributes to accumulate the mud around their base. Hence, one inscription on the south side of the northern statue, was seen only by digging away the earth from its base. These two venerable statues evidently stood on opposite sides of an avenue, and were followed by a series of other colossal statues, the upper half of one of which still presses the soil, guarding the approach to a temple, whose ruins lay buried on the edge of the cultivated ground, till Mr. Salt uncovered them, and exposed a number of statues and sphinxes, together with traces of the foundation and columns of the magnificent temple to which they belonged. After

this, Mr. Belzoni struck the ground with his Ithuriel spear, and brought up a handsome statue of black granite, which is now in the British Museum. If the statue that we have just described be the Memnon of Strabo and Pausanias, (of which, I think, there can be little doubt,) this ruined temple ought properly to be called the Memnonium, and not that formerly described, where is the large broken statue of Osymandyas.*

* According to M. Champollion, the hieroglyphic inscription on the throne of the vocal colossus, shews, that it represents Amenophis-Memnon, or Phamenoph II., the seventh king of the eighteenth dynasty, who reigned nearly 1700 years B.C. One of the Greek inscriptions which attests its identity with the speaking statue of Memnon, states at the same time, that the monarch called Memnon by the Greeks, was named Phamenof in Egyptian, which is the Amenof of the hieroglyphic legend, with the masculine article (*ph*) prefixed.—*Precis.* 236. *Prem. Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas*, p. 77. A complete fac-simile of all the inscriptions is understood to have been taken by Mr. Salt: they were laboriously copied by Pococke, and form the subject of a learned treatise in the *Carmina Sepulchralia* of J. H. Leichius, republished by Pococke, in 1752. One of them complains in mournful verse, of the injury done to the statue by Cambyses; and another copy of verses acknowledges with gratitude the repairing of the statue after its mutilation by the Persian conqueror. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus has made mention of this vocal statue of Memnon. Strabo's account is as follows: "Of two colossi, consisting of an entire stone, and near each other, the one is still preserved; but of the other, the upper parts from the seat are fallen down, occasioned, as they say, by an earthquake. It is believed, that, once every day, a noise, *as of a stroke*, but not a great one, is made *from the remaining part* in the seat and base; and I, being on the spot with Ælius Gallus and a multitude of his friends and soldiers attending him, about the first hour of the day, heard the noise; but whether from the base or the colossus, or whether it was made purposely by some one of those that stood round the base, I cannot affirm. On account of the uncertainty of the cause, I am inclined to believe any thing rather than that a sound is emitted from stones so disposed." The testimony of Juvenal must be considered as decisive, so far as regards the state of the statue in his time, although he may be supposed to

"Leaving these interesting ruins, we crossed the canal, regained the road on the edge of the rocky flat, turned to the left, and, after riding about a quarter of a mile, arrived at *Medinat Habou*, which has evidently been the largest village on this side of the river, though now without an inhabitant. As we approached the temple, a long, broad terrace, faced with a stone wall, lined the right of our course to the gateway, which leads into a large walled court, crowded with stones, in front of a large propylon. The propylon has but little of sculpture or hieroglyphics, and has been built out of the ruins of a former edifice; for many of the stones in the centre of the wall are covered with deeply-cut hieroglyphics. Passing through this, we came to another and smaller propylon, from which we passed into a low and square court, in the middle of which had been erected a Christian church, many columns of which are still standing. Proceeding onward, we came into the principal part of the temple, which is adorned with a number of columns: it is an open court, with a number of side chambers; and in the middle is an insulated and spacious apartment, open at both ends, and probably used for exhibiting the idols and idolatrous rites of the Pagan worship. Beyond this chamber, are two other apartments, occupying the

refer to the popular belief, rather than to an ascertained fact, when he says,

"*Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.*"

Tacitus would be a valuable authority, if he spoke from his own knowledge, when he describes the statue of Memnon—"*ubi radiis solis icta est vocalem sonum reddens;*" but he derived his information from Germanicus. *Tâmah* and *Shâmah* (as their names are sometimes written) may be seen twelve miles off, "rising like solitary rocks in the midst of the plain." The surprising length of their shadows at sun-rise, long rendered them an object of curiosity.

middle of the building, with several side chambers, all of them covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and painted in various colours, some of which are still remarkably vivid. The only representation of any consequence is on the north side of this insulated chamber, and exhibits a person hoeing with the sacred hoe in presence of Osiris. The picture is so far of importance as it shews us the use of this awkward instrument, which has been called the sacred Alpha, and the sacred plough, and which we see here to be the ancient hoe. It is the common instrument represented in the right hand of a statue, and held upon the left breast, with the string of the bag for holding the seed, which hangs over the left shoulder. The flail for threshing the grain, is held in the left hand up to the right shoulder. This temple is comparatively small, and of inferior consideration. The insulated chamber and parts immediately adjoining, have a more ancient appearance than any of the other buildings in Medinat Habou. The immense propylon, which bespeaks a grandeur and consequence that but ill correspond to the temple, is evidently of a more modern date. On the north side of the temple, is a tank, which has been surrounded with statues of lion-headed Isis. Attached to this temple on the south, are the remains of what has been called a stately palace, though I am more disposed to consider them as a series of chambers built over the gateway leading to the grand temple, the original and regular entrance to which passes under and through the middle of it; an inconvenience to which a palace was not likely to be subjected. At the time that we visited Medinat Habou, this passage was completely blocked up with rubbish and masses of unburnt brick, and there was no entrance to the cham-

bers in the tower above the gateway, but through the court of the temple on the north side already described. The tower, or palace, whichsoever it is called, is covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics within and without. It is three stories high, and has two rooms in each story; but they are of small dimensions, and the upper ones are considerably injured. I consider it of Roman architecture. Proceeding about 350 feet in a direct line to the west of this gateway, over heaps of sand and houses of unburnt brick, we came to the propylon of the grand temple of Medinat Habou. The propylon is about 175 feet long, the temple itself is about 507 feet long, and the *cella* is about 148 feet broad without the walls. The front of the temple is much encumbered with houses of sun-burnt brick, which have been overturned and built successively one on the top of another, according as war or peace prevailed in the country. All of them, of course, have been erected since the downfal of paganism, when the temple ceased to be frequented by the worshippers of the gods of the Egyptians. The accumulation of rubbish is, indeed, so great, that but a small part of even the most colossal figures can be seen. Over the door is the usual ornament of the globe surmounted with the serpent and wings, and on each side of it, a figure of Osiris seated and being presented with offerings. A little further on, we perceive the sculptured figures of the principal hero, received both by Isis and the hawk-headed deity, who present him with the sacred *Tau*, as a proof of their taking him under their protection. Passing northward along the front of the propylon, we perceive a distinguished personage of gigantic size with his right arm raised above his head, and his hand holding a hatchet, which he is drawing back for the infliction of a tremendous blow; the sacred bird

hovers about the blade, and his left hand is extended as if grasping the hair of the unfortunate victims. But here the rubbish interposes, and where the rubbish is wanting, the hammers of the barbarians have effaced the rest.

"Turning the end of the propylon, we proceeded to view the northern wall of the temple. Here our eyes were speedily attracted by the representation of another battle scene, or rather a series of battles, that cover the whole outside of this northern wall. The work of the sculptor commences from the first propylon; but the accumulation of rubbish prevents our seeing any thing more than the head of the hero, with the Egyptian hawk hovering above it, his tablets of hieroglyphics, and his principal weapons of war, the bow and quiver. Having passed the projecting end of this second propylon, we come to the surrender and punishment of the unsuccessful combatants, who are marched on in a miserable plight, their hands tied behind their backs, and, what is still more painful, some of them with their hands tied over their heads, and presented by the hero to Osiris, the god of his country, who graciously extends his sceptre towards him, in approval of his gallant achievements. We came next to the representation of a sea or river-fight, apparently to repel an invasion. The principal hero, with his four sons before him, and his standard-bearer behind him, are on land. The four sons are of smaller size than their father, and considerably in advance of him. They are standing side by side with their bows bent, and twanging their arrows to repel the invaders. The hero himself, of gigantic size, stands behind them; his bow is also bent, and the shaft drawn home. By his two tablets of hieroglyphics, we discover him to

be the same hero whom we had noticed on the front of the propylon, receiving the sacred *tau* from Isis and the hawk-headed deity. Ten of his slaughtered foes are already under his feet, and one of his soldiers is pulling another from the scene of carnage, to place him in the same humiliating position. These were not the times when enmity ceased with the life or the resistance of the antagonist; but the victor wreaked his vengeance on the bodies of the dead. If Christianity has not yet made wars to cease, it has, at least, humanized the hearts of the combatants, and the dead and the conquered remain uninsulted. The Egyptians obviously have the advantage in the contest, though the affair is not yet finally decided. A boat of the enemy has been capsized, and the sailors, being thrown into the water, are endeavouring to save themselves by climbing up the sides of the other vessels; their friends seem too much engaged to assist them, and many are lying half dead with fatigue; yet the rest maintain the contest, shooting their arrows from the hulls and from the rigging, and coming to close quarters, grapple with the enemy; when boarded, they obstinately maintain their ground, and die sword in hand. The Egyptian boats are filled with prisoners, and every where the Egyptians prevail. The invaders are dressed in the tiara, or a kind of round bonnet with feathers; some of them have armour on the body. They are armed with bows, and swords, and round shields. The defendants have a close-fitting cap, with a bandage round the waist, and they are mostly naked. The prisoners, manacled and tied together, are led up to punishment with ropes about their necks, as already described. On the wall above, are numerous hieroglyphics, in

which the figure of a bull is frequently repeated, and many devices, in which a priest with uplifted hands is proffering his devotions to the sun.

" To this fight succeeds one of another description, the hunting of the lion. The scene is represented at the close of the chase. One lion, shot through by the arrows of his pursuers, is rolling on the ground under the horse's feet; the other, with his back stuck full of darts, but not subdued, is running and gaping tremendously, and just upon the point of entering a thicket, where the diversion seems to cease. The hero has turned round in his chariot, to aim a spear at another enemy in his rear; but the downfal of the wall prevents our seeing the victim of his blow.* The remains of another thicket are perceptible, and probably there was another lion. A body of troops are marching below, led on by a man with a drawn sword in his hand. The object of their attack is not quite obvious, although the wall here is less encumbered with rubbish than at any other part. On the other side of the breach in the wall, the battle scene is continued all the way to the end, which is so built up with houses of unburned brick that it is impossible to give any adequate description of it. It is no credit to the antiquaries either of France or England, that the whole of this ancient specimen of historial sculpture has not long been before the public. The end of the *cella* is completely built up; and the rubbish rises so high, that a person can with the greatest facility step from it to the top of the building. The southern side is more encumbered with rubbish than

* Dr. Richardson expresses himself as not quite satisfied that this scene is designed to represent a lion hunt, which is not an Egyptian sport; it is rather a battle in which the warrior was accompanied with a lion.

the modern. In different places, near the top of the walls, small portions of sculpture appear, which shew that this side of the temple was covered with the representation of battle scenes as well as the former.

" We now proceeded to take a view of the interior. The sides of the gateway are highly ornamented with the sacred *Tau*, supporting the sceptre of Osiris, repeated throughout its length, together with a row of hieroglyphic tablets guarded by mitred serpents. This leads into the *dromos*, a court of about 120 feet square, which is much covered with sand, and contains the remains of many brick houses. On each side is a piazza of nine columns, extending to the second propylon. The columns, the ceiling, and the walls, all round this court, are covered with hieroglyphics and sculpture, in which the hero is seen presenting offerings to the gods, who in return confer upon him the sacred *Tau*. Passing through the magnificent doorway of the second propylon, we enter the pronaos, which is an open court surrounded with a piazza: it has eight columns on the east and west, and five on the other sides, which are highly ornamented with figures of gods, goddesses, and heroes, and hieroglyphics; they have been painted in various colours. The ceiling is azure, studded with stars. The south and a part of the east wall are covered with a battle scene and a representation of the cruel mutilation of the vanquished. The north side of the piazza, and the remaining part of the east side, are covered with scenes of religious ceremonies and processions, in which the ibis-headed and hawk-headed deities are pouring over the hero streams of the sacred *Tau* and sceptres of Osiris. He afterwards assists at various ceremonies in honour of the god Apis, who is painted with a magnificent head-dress

and a scarlet collar. Mendes is represented sometimes, with five vases resembling the dwarf-cedar behind him.....In the centre of the court are the remains of a Christian church. There are two rows of columns on the west end of the court in front of the *cella*, which are also painted and sculptured. The *cella* itself was completely filled up with sand, and could not be entered. Much remains to be discovered about this temple, which is the most perfect, and apparently the most modern, of all the temples in Thebes. The space occupied by the ruins attached to it, is about a mile in circumference. Here the inhabitants of the adjoining village are constantly searching for beads and jewels.

"At the south corner of the ruins, but without he precincts of the village, there is a small temple, onsisting of three small rooms, ornamented in the same manner as the other temples; but it does not appear to have been finished, and is now employed to accommodate a small herd of goats, the successors to Mendes, to whom it probably was dedicated.

"To the south-east of this ruined temple stands the pleasant village of *El Barat* (or *Bâirat*), situated on the east side of one of the oldest and most remarkable monuments in Thebes; a strong embankment of earth, about 500 feet thick, and from 30 to 40 feet in height, enclosing an area of about 2000 feet square. The enclosure is at present cultivated. The bank itself is covered with sand to a considerable depth, and part of it is used as a burying-ground by the inhabitants of the village. From the great strength and thickness of the bank, I am disposed to regard it as an ancient reservoir made for retaining the waters of the river, for the purposes of agriculture and the supply of the city, when the Nile was low or the inundation

insufficient. A deep ravine like a canal, with similar embankments, runs along the west side of it.

"Travelling southward from the ruined temple of Medinat Abou, and a little way into the desert, we arrived at a mean-looking house, built of dry stone, covered with turf and faggots, surrounded by a dry, stone wall, and secured by a locked gate, to exclude the idle and unconcerned. We have seen the temples of pagan idolatry: this is the house of the Christians' God. Near to it there was a deep well, with a bucket and string lying beside it, to draw water for the few and persecuted votaries who resort to this place of Christian worship. The priest himself, whose humble abode was between two and three miles distant, was executing some repairs on this temple of the living God. On learning that we were Christians, the door instantly flew open, and we were cheerfully admitted into this sanctuary of public prayer. The floor was covered with mats made of the rind of the palm-tree, and a reading-desk stood on one side of the apartment. Though dirty and homely in appearance, it had an air of comfort. Like the rose in the wilderness, it shone by comparison: the purposes to which it is devoted, atoned for all its defects. Leaving this hallowed spot, which struck a deeper and more lasting interest into the mind than could have been awakened by the most splendid temple, we regained the bed of the ancient canal, at the end of which we turned a little way into the desert, and came to an ancient temple, standing among the ruins of another village. This temple has been surrounded with a high wall, and adorned with a propylon in front, part of which is still ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics. The temple itself is used as a sheepfold. The inside is finely sculptured and ornamented with figures of Isis

and Horus, to whom offerings are presented and divine honours paid, as to the principal objects of worship within its walls. The outside is rough, unpolished, and unsculptured. It is called Southern Dair, in contradistinction from Northern Dair. Near to this, on the edge of the cultivated ground, adjoining the rocky flat, are the remains of a mound of unburnt brick, which some travellers suppose to have been part of the wall of ancient Thebes. It appears to me, that this brick mound is merely the remains of the brick that was collected for the repair and building of the villages, the ruins of which we now behold around the temple.

"The rocky flat here is considerably wider, and a defile opens a passage among the mountains, into which we did not enter, but were informed that there is another Dair, with excavations in the rock. In several other mountain defiles above Medinat Habou, into which we entered, we found a number of excavations extremely well executed, covered with sculpture, and painted in the most brilliant colours; likewise a number of pits sunk perpendicularly into the rock, like that which has been improperly called the Well, in the tomb discovered by Mr. Belzoni, all of which have been used as burying-places: many of them still contain handsome mummy-cases, made of wood and stone, beautifully painted in a variety of colours, and covered with curious devices. The whole of these pits have apparently been opened; yet, on lifting up the lid of the mummy-case, the body is found lying wrapped up in its last clothes, apparently untouched. The stone mummy-case, which the Earl of Belmore presented to the British Museum, was found in one of these pits. High up in front, along the base of the mountain and over the rocky flat, all the way from

Medinat Habou, are innumerable excavations, many of them large and beautifully formed, and painted, and sculptured with many curious devices, illustrative of ancient customs. In one place above Medinat Habou the doors of these excavations are so numerous and so contiguous, that they resemble a row of houses in a village. They have a long piazza in front, and a large apartment within; also, a long shaft running back into the rock. They rise in tiers, one above another, according to the various elevations of the mountain. They have evidently been dwelling-houses; and from the shady piazza in front, the spectator enjoys the most delightful view that can be possibly obtained of the plain of Thebes.

"Continuing our route northward, by the base of the mountain, we came to another temple of Isis, situated in a most desert spot, on the west of, and nearly opposite to, the Memnonium, but concealed from its view by a large high mound, which rises in the rocky flat between them. It is called Dair-el-Medinat, as if it had been more closely connected with Medinat Habou than with any of the other temples, during the time that Christianity was the prevailing religion of the country. It is surrounded with a high wall of unburnt brick, and its name intimates that it was once the seat of a holy brotherhood. It consists of a small propylon.

"The front of this temple has two columns on each side of the gateway half built up; and there are three small chambers, which are entered separately from the pronaos. The whole piazza, chambers, and front of the temple are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, which are cut in a strikingly superior style, greatly surpassing that of any temple in Thebes, and resembling more the hieroglyphics in the tombs, which

are probably of more ancient date than those on the temples. The subjects are of the most simple description, and relate chiefly to the worship of Isis, who is represented with the lotus sceptre in her hand, and honoured with various offerings. Sometimes she is exhibited with the cow's head and human body; but most frequently as an entire human figure. The scarabæus and globe are the common devices over the door, with a person kneeling on each side of it. The tablets and hieroglyphics contain the scarabæus, and bear a strong resemblance to those at Northern Dair. There are no battle scenes in it, nor any processions. In the southern chamber, among a number of curious devices, is that of a balance with two scales depending from it. In the one scale, is a sort of urn, or censer, like that which is frequently presented to Isis, sometimes with incense, and sometimes containing a vegetable resembling the stalk of an onion. In the other scale, is a feather. The hawk-headed deity holds the rope of the former scale in his hand, as if about to ascertain which way the trepidations of the balance shall determine. The wolf-headed deity grasps the rope of the other scale in the same manner, and, probably, for the same purpose. Directly above each of them, a human head is placed upon the beam, about the third of its length from the end of the balance, and two-thirds from the centre of motion. On the centre of motion, a monkey sits with his hands upon his knees; thus seeming to indicate, that if the actions and oblations of the individual under consideration should outweigh a single feather in the balance, he should fall to the care of the hawk-headed deity, to be conducted through the air to the regions of bliss. If, on the contrary, they were found wanting, and the balance preponderated to the side of the feather, the

unfortunate being was then seized upon by the grinning wolf, to be carried deep into the lower parts of the earth, the regions of sorrow and despair. In all such devices the wolf-headed deity is stationed at the left end of the balance, and the hawk-headed deity at the right. But there is a third state, a *tertium quid*, typified by the monkey, if the balance should rest in an equipoise; in which the merits and demerits of the deceased are exactly balanced, so that the being becomes perfectly effete, an object for annihilation, neither of rewards nor punishment; as the monkey is neither fit for the society of men nor beasts. On one side of this curious groupe, the ibis-headed deity is represented with a scroll and pen in his hand, as if entering the result in the records of the temple, whatever that may be. On the other side is Horus, characterised by the lock of hair curling down his neck, and by wearing the scourge and sceptre of Osiris, showing that he possessed equally with him the power to punish and command.

"Throughout the chamber are many other mystical contrivances, as that of a ram with four heads receiving offerings, and adorned with the globe, and the sacred bird over head. A wolf placed upon an altar, with a scourge laid over him, and hard by, a number of people waiting at a tomb, which is shaped exactly like the sheikhs' tombs of the present day, the top being turned round in the form of the dome or arch. We have also the sacred boat, and the stems of the lotus twined round with serpents.

"In one part there is a curious assemblage of small figures squatted upon their seats, with their knees up to their breasts, and their hands raised. There are two rows of them, and twenty-one in each row, and each of them has a feather in its head,

which is sometimes that of a dog, a hawk, a hippopotamus, an ibis, or a wolf, but more frequently a human head. They are presented with the lotus and other offerings, by a person half-kneeling with a vase and a bird on his hand. Near the door is a curious exhibition of the wolf-headed and hawk-headed deities in a half-kneeling posture, with fists clenched and threatening each other, as is frequently seen in the tombs of the kings, in the chamber which contains the sarcophagus. The sacred bird with expanded wings, is painted along the ceiling of the three chambers; the floors of which have been torn up in quest of the treasure supposed to have been deposited there. At the north-east angle of the temple, there is a small tank; and on the south-west of it is the burial-ground of the former Christian possessors, whose sepulchres the Arabs are now ransacking for antiquities, and in which they sometimes find Greek MSS. rolled up and stuffed in the breast of the corpse. I have seen part of a Greek manuscript on papyrus, which was said to have been taken out of one of these tombs. This beautiful temple is by far the most entire and most highly-finished of all the temples in Thebes.

"In addition to these temples on the west side of the river, there are traces of many more, apparently of more ancient date, the walls of which are levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the materials have been carried away. Two of these, on the edge of the cultivated soil, have already been mentioned; one near the Memnonium, the other behind the two statues called *Shamy* and *Damy*. There is another on the rocky flat between it and the Memnonium, but nearer Medinat Habou; the substructions of which, however, are far from being of that colossal extent which characterise the magnificent edifices at those places. It has

been constructed partly of the stone of the country, and partly of sandstone: the greater part of the latter materials have been carried away, and it is probably these which we beheld in the propylons of the Memnonium and the temple at Medinat Habou. We also perceive on the site of this ancient temple, many fragments of colossal statues; some of limestone, others of the highly-crystallized quartzy stone, the same with that of the ancient statue of Memnon. There are also remains of another similar temple to the north of the Memnonium, on the rocky flat, with similar fragments of statues; and I have no doubt that many more would be found on a more careful examination of the ground. If it be admitted that Cambyses destroyed the temples and statues in Thebes, I should consider these relics as the witnesses of his cruel policy, and that the magnificent ruins which now astonish the traveller, were built after the Egyptians had recovered from that dreadful disaster; the greater part of them, perhaps, under the Greek empire. We see the materials of these ancient temples in the walls of the present ruins, and I should feel disposed to refer them to the era of the two statues. The fragments of the statues are of the same species of stone, and the workmanship is extremely similar. The quarry from which the stone has been taken, is near at hand. All the other statues in Thebes are of syenite, which was probably not procured till a later period in the history of the country.

"All over the rocky flat, and in the face of the mountain in several places, recesses have been cut in upon the front of the elevation, and carried back so as to form three sides of a square, till, a sufficient perpendicular height having been gained in front, numerous excavations have been made in the rock, with a piazza running all along the line of entrances. Each

mansion consists of a large chamber, with a shaft passing from it, at the further extremity of which is a niche for the reception of a mummy-case. The most conspicuous of these lodgments is above Medinat Habou, where there is one line of them extending between five and six hundred yards, and its numerous doors present exactly the appearance of a village. There are many others in the same rock, both above and below, in groups and detached, looking towards the rising, the meridian, and the setting sun, and more or less elevated above the level of the plain, according as the natural form of the mountain is suited for the excavation. In one of these, I counted fifty-two doors in one line, leading into as many separate excavations, each of them sufficient for the accommodation of a family, which would be more conveniently and comfortably lodged than in any of the houses of the present villages. Some of them have two rows of columns in front; others, only one row; and all are adorned with hieroglyphics and mythological devices. It is impossible to view these excavations, in their number and extent, without considering them as the dwellings of the first inhabitants of Thebes; and the taste and style with which they are formed and decorated, indicate a state of society greatly surpassing what is to be met with at present in any part of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants of Gornou still live for the greater part in these rocky mansions; but the modern inhabitants, on taking possession, are too indolent to clear out the apartments, so as to avail themselves of the whole of the accommodation provided by the ancient settlers. Instead of this, they merely scratch a hole by which to crawl in, and clear a little of the rubbish from the first chamber, in which they deposit their sleeping mats and any trifling furniture which they

possess. All the shaft and the inner chambers remain blocked up with the rubbish and sand that have drifted in from the surrounding flat. It is no uncommon thing to find a family residing in the outer chamber, and the master of it sleeping in the bottom of an ancient sarcophagus by way of a state bed; while the shaft and interior niches continue to possess the sarcophagi and mummy-cases filled with the bodies or bones of the former tenants of the soil, that had been lodged there between two and three thousand years before. To supply in part the accommodation that the whole of this subterranean abode would afford them, if restored to its pristine condition, they generally build near the door, a round hollow tower of unburned brick or stone plastered with mud, with openings in its side to serve for presses and other conveniences. It is closed at the top, and shaped like a funnel or open bowl, from which the camel eats his cut straw, beans, or other provender. The asses, the goats, and the sheep take their station near, and the dogs, intrusted with the defence of the settlement, occupy the heights above, and furiously assail every stranger who ventures to approach. The mistress and daughters of the family sit round the door, and retire into the cell on the approach of a stranger, who is received by the master of the family, and generally presented with bread and milk, coffee, and tobacco. Similar excavations are continued all round in the rocky flat, and up the face of the mountain, though of very steep ascent, on each side of the road to Biban-el-Melook, and in the openings of the defiles; so that, if the whole were examined and cleared out, I should not be astonished were it found to contain accommodation for more than 20,000 families: I may add, comfortable accommodation, for the mountain here is without any

damp, and its temperature, in its centre, is always the same, alike unaffected by the heat of the day or the chills of the night, which even here, in the mornings of December, January, and part of February, made us feelingly acknowledge that it was winter.* Domiciled, however, in his mountain recess, the Theban experiences no such changes of climate. He sits under his elevated piazza in front of his rocky cave, and looks from out its shade over this noble plain, equally warm and comfortable whether the sun or the moon and stars shine upon the field of vision, enjoying the contemplation of the scene in the most absolute repose."

The valley of Biban-el-Melook (Caves of the Kings) is about three quarters of an hour from Gornou. "It is a most dismal-looking spot, a valley of rubbish, without a drop of water or a blade of grass. The entrance to the tombs looks out from the rock like the entrance to so many mines; and, were it not for the recollections with which it is peopled, and the beautiful remains of ancient art which lie hid in the bosom of the mountain, would hardly ever be visited by man or beast. The heat is excessive, from the confined dimensions of the valley, and the reflection of the sun from the rock and sand. The whole valley is filled with rubbish that has been washed down from the rock, or carried out in the making of the tombs, with merely a narrow road up the centre.

"Strabo states, that there were originally about forty of these shafts or tombs; but, from his vague description, that the tombs of the kings are above the Memnonium, no person could ever imagine that

* "We saw ice about a quarter of an inch thick, which was frozen in an earthenware basin, by the nocturnal cold of Thebes, in the end of January."

they lie on the other side of the mountain, and that, in order to reach them, it is necessary to climb over its summit, or to wind along a defile, which must be entered half a mile nearer to the river than the site of the Memnonium. The same excellent Geographer also mentions, that, near the tombs, obelisks were erected, bearing inscriptions commemorative of the wealth and power of the kings, and the extent of their dominions, reaching to Scythia, Bactria, and India, which were all subdued. These obelisks have either been carried away by the rapacious invader, or are now lying buried under the rubbish at the base of the rock, for there is not an obelisk at present to be seen in the whole of the western Thebes.

"Diodorus Siculus states, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that forty-seven of these tombs were entered in their sacred registers, only seventeen of which remained in the time of Ptolemy Lagus; and in the 180th Olympiad, (about 60 years B.C.,) when Diodorus Siculus was in Egypt, many of these were greatly defaced. Before Mr. Belzoni began his operations in Thebes, only eleven of these tombs were known to the public. From the great success that crowned his exertions, the number of them now discovered is nearly double. Their general appearance is that of a continued shaft or corridor cut in the rock, in some places spreading out into large chambers; in other places, small chambers pass off by a small door from the shaft. In places where the rock is hard, the entrance is flush with the general surface of the rock, and is rather larger than the entrance into an ordinary mine, being about six feet wide, and eight feet high: in other places, where the rock is low and disintegrated, a broad excavation is formed on the surface, till it reaches a sufficient depth of solid stone, when it

narrows, and enters by a door of about six or eight feet wide, and about ten feet high. The passage then proceeds with a gradual descent for about 100 feet, widening or narrowing according to the plan or object of the architect, sometimes, but rarely, with side-chambers. The beautiful ornament of the globe with the serpent in its wings, is sculptured over the entrance. The ceiling is black, studded with silver stars; and the vulture with outspread wings, holding a ring and a broad-feathered sceptre by each of his feet, is frequently repeated on it, with numerous hieroglyphics, which are white or variously coloured. The walls on each side are covered with hieroglyphics and large sculptured figures of the deities of Egypt, and of the hero for whom the tomb was excavated. Sometimes, both the hieroglyphics and the figures are wrought in intaglio; at other times, they are in relief; but throughout the same tomb, they are generally all of one kind. The colours are green, blue, red, black, and yellow, on a white ground, and in many instances, are as fresh and vivid as if they had not been laid on a month. Intermixed with the figures, we frequently meet with curious devices, representing tribunals, where people are upon their trials, and sometimes undergoing punishment; the preparation of mummies, and people bearing them in procession on their shoulders; animals tied for sacrifice, and partly cut up; and occasionally, the more agreeable pictures of entertainments, with music and dancing, and well-dressed people listening to the sound of the harp played by a priest with his head shaved, and dressed in a loose, flowing white robe, shot with red stripes.*

* "On either side of the corridor are small apartments, which you stoop down to enter, and the walls of which you find covered with paintings; scenes of life faithfully represented,—of every day

"The shafts or corridors are of different lengths, from a hundred to between three and four hundred feet, or more. At the end of them, or in some part of their length, there is generally one large chamber, high in the ceiling and beautifully ornamented, in the centre of which stands the sarcophagus, generally of granite, and in the shape of an oblong square, rounded at one end, and covered with figures of Osiris and Isis, skeletons, and curious devices. It is generally cracked or broken into several pieces, though still adhering. There is not one sarcophagus in the tombs of the kings that is entire. The only lid that has been found unbroken, is that of the handsomest sarcophagus in the Thebaid, in what has been called 'the harp tomb;' it is highly polished, and quite entire, saving a little bit that is broken at the projecting feet. In some of the tombs, the shaft continues on from the large chamber, with nearly its former dimensions, small side chambers passing off on either hand; or in others, instead of side chambers, there are small excavations

life, its pleasures and labours, the instruments of its happiness and of its crimes. You see the labours of agriculture, the sower, the basket, the plough, the steers; and the artist has playfully depicted a calf skipping among the furrows. You have the making of bread, the cooking for a feast; you have a flower-garden and the scene of irrigation; you see couches and chairs, such as might at this day adorn a drawing-room in London or Paris; you have vases of every form, down to the common-jug; harps, with figures bending over them, and others seated and listening; barks, with large, curious, and many coloured sails; and lastly, weapons of war, the sword, the dagger, the bow, the arrow, the quiver, spears, helmets, and dresses of honour. From the corridor with these lateral chambers, you enter another, long and dark, leading to an empty apartment, large and lofty; and thence into a third passage, and other chambers beyond, which are gloomy, dark, and have a disagreeable smell. The colours on the walls are much faded; but the hero of the tomb and the various deities, hieroglyphics and mysteries, are every where to be seen."—*Scenes and Impressions*, pp. 101–3.

vations in the side of the corridor, about breast-high, of the average length of the human body, and such as might serve either for a grave to the dead, or a bed for the living; they are in the form of common horse-troughs, and resemble exceedingly those in the catacombs of Naples, Sicily, Malta, and Alexandria.

"All these tombs have been open for many years to the passing intruder;* they are much injured, filled with broken fragments of what formerly constituted their greatest pride and ornament, and polluted by swarms of bats, which occupy them in such legions that the visiter is frequently obliged to stand with his eyes shut, and bear their stormy flight for five or six minutes at a time.† If he can save his torch, the attack is soon over: if not, as often as he lights it with his flint and steel, it is again renewed. The walls are so contaminated with the filth of these abominable vermin, that in general the visiter's researches end in disappointment: and with all his impatience to examine the walls, he must not forget to look at his feet, lest, as we found in one of them, a snake should be lurking, which he may find it his interest to avoid.

"Of all the tombs at present known, only one is

* In one of them are found many inscriptions in Greek and Latin, principally names; also several of English, French, and German travellers. Among these, written in a small neat hand, in pencil, is recognised the hand-writing of the lamented Traveller, Burckhardt—"*Ibrahim—post reditum suum à limitibus regni Dongolæ.*"

† "In the dark and dismal passages of one, we disturbed innumerable bats: the inner apartments were filled with dirt, and the smell was horrid. The bats flew blindly round, touching us with their skinny wings, and giving that indescribable cry which, were they larger, would be a blood-curdling screech. As we returned from the inner passages, and caught the light of day at the mouth of the sepulchre, the atmosphere, and they too, as they flew through it, had a pale, blue, unearthly hue."—*Scenes*, &c. p. 106.

exempt from the melancholy wreck with which the course of time invariably covers the labours of man, and that was discovered by Mr. Belzoni a few weeks before our arrival in Thebes. The entrance into this tomb is six feet eleven inches wide, and eight feet nine inches high. The tomb is 309 feet long, and contains fourteen chambers of different sizes. The rock in which it is cut, is a species of limestone, soft and easily wrought. The highest part of the mountain range in the Thebaid, is not more than 400 feet above the level of the Nile. At the time of our first visit, the entrance to the tomb was still much obstructed, and we descended to the door as if we had been going into a sand-pit, crawling along through a narrow passage over the rubbish; this was afterwards cleared away, and the tomb is now approached by a flight of well-formed steps, leading down to the door. The first sight did not so much astonish us. The hieroglyphics were much more numerous than the figures; and if ever they had been painted, the colouring was entirely defaced. The ceiling is a black ground, with stars and tablets of hieroglyphics, which are white; and the globe with serpents in the wings, and the vulture with outspread wings, holding a ring and a feathered sceptre in each foot, crowned with the *tutulus*, or cap generally worn by Osiris, are repeated all over the first compartment. The colouring is white, red, and black. At the door, the hero, always accompanied by the two tablets of hieroglyphics, is received by Arueres, or the hawk-headed deity, bearing the sceptre of Osiris, intimating his authority in the air, like Apollo's derived from Jove. To this succeeds an immense tablet of hieroglyphics, in which the name of the hero frequently occurs, together with the picturesque beetle rolling his ball,

an emblem under which was worshipped the moving power of the world, guarded by a cynocephalus. Here the corridor narrows, as if for a door, the top being ornamented with the winged globe; it then resumes its former dimensions. The figures are faintly coloured, and chiefly mummy-shaped, sometimes with a plaited beard. Some have a *scarabæus* with outspread wings for their head; others have the head of a ram, a hawk, a dog, or a cow. There are also numerous tablets of hieroglyphics, partly coloured, and in relief. Here, on each side, a wolf is seated on an altar; and below him, a female, with a tower on her head, like Ceres, is on her knees, rolling a circle or broad hoop before her, a device of which I have not found any explanation. In the Egyptian Mythology, the wolf appears to have typified the messenger between this and the other world. Osiris returned from the dead in the shape of a wolf, to assist his wife and son in their conflict with Typhon. Hence, I presume, the constant attendance of the wolf at the entrance of the tombs, as also the frequent occurrence of the wolf's head on the vases in the sarcophagi; and, if we may be allowed to interpret symbols by known facts, the broad circle which is poised under the hand of the goddess, may be intended to typify that grand cycle of years, at the conclusion of which, all things were to commence anew, as at the creation of the world.

"Descending a stair of twenty-six steps, we now entered a third compartment, in which the colouring of the figures, red and blue, is much more vivid, and the devices are more interesting. Serpents, with one, two, or three heads, are seen moving along, with four human feet and uplifted wings; but the principal object is a *scarabæus*, with the head concealed by a sort of semi-lunar frame, and a hawk perched on

each side of it; serpent-headed boats also are drawn along, with men and beetles on board. In the bottom of the next compartment, is a pit or well, 30 feet deep, 14 feet long, and 12 wide, the sides of which are painted and coloured in the same manner, with representations of Osiris, robed in white, seated upon the checkered throne of the world, with the mitre on his head, the crook and scourge in his hand: before him stands Isis, his worthy consort, the horned moon on her head; and behind him are Arueres, or the hawk-headed deity, and the hero, designated by his tablets of hieroglyphics. This well was filled with sand, wood, and stones, which Mr. Belzoni cleared out. A stick was lying across its mouth, with a piece of rope coiled round it, and hanging down into the well. The stick was of sycamore wood, excessively light and dry, but not broken; the rope was made of the rind of the palm-tree, of the same materials, and as well manufactured, as the ropes are in Egypt at the present day; it was also dry and remarkably brittle. As we have not received from antiquity any regular account of the interior of these tombs, we are left to conjecture the use of many of the contrivances therein exhibited, and among others, the purpose of this pit. It appears to me, that it was formed for the reception of other sarcophagi, and that the ropes hanging into the mouth of it, and the blocks of wood found in the bottom of it, are the remains of those materials which the riflers of the tomb employed in examining it, expecting, probably, to find some treasure beneath. This conjecture is strengthened by many of the sarcophagi being found lodged in pits, into which they must have been let down by ropes; and pieces of ropes are still found remaining at the sides of the pits. In this pit were probably deposited

the minor branches or dependents of the chief whose mortal remains occupied the stately chamber within.

" Here, at first sight, appeared to be the end of the tomb. A wall has been built across the corridor, and plastered over, which, though not completely finished, presented apparently a bar to further progress; a break in this wall, however, invited examination. The pit, accordingly, was speedily planked over, and the breach in the wall being enlarged, the successful explorer found himself ushered into a magnificent square chamber, that threw into the shade every thing that he had yet seen. It is about twenty-five feet square. Four strong square columns of the rock have been left in the middle to support the roof. The ceiling is black, as above described. On the right hand, the sides are ornamented with processions of boats and of men carrying serpents coiled up at different distances; twelve men hold a rope or chain, which is fastened round the neck of an erect mummy; and a number of mummies are laid along on a couch formed in the shape of a serpent, and extending round two sides of the room. On the left, are processions of snakes borne along by people in white, and twelve human heads upon his back; so that, at first sight, the snake appears to be cut in as many places as he has men to support him. In the lowest compartment, is also a procession of a long but slender snake, carried along by a number of people, between each of whom, upon the body of the snake, is a machine resembling a hand-barrow; it has distinctly two shafts, several cross-bars, and a wheel. In the rear of this procession, is seen the most interesting exhibition in the whole tomb: it consists of four groups, with four individuals in each; each group differently costumed, and apparently of different nations. The first four

are attired in loose, flowing, spotted robes, open before, fastened with a string round the waist, and elegantly knotted at the neck over the breast. The robes shew the thigh, which is tattooed, in all of them, with the sign of the cross, the legs with a crown; and the cross is also tattooed upon their arms. Their complexion is fair; they have projecting beards upon their chins, and mustachios; their hair is curiously plaited, similar to that of the Madagascar prince, and is cut behind on a level with the chin, projecting from the head as if it were artificial. Two white plumes are placed in the parting of the hair, on the crown of the head. They hold themselves erect, and maintain a dignified and graceful deportment. Close behind them come four negroes, dressed in white, their petticoats descending to their ankles, through which the colour of their skin is distinctly perceptible, and their black feet and ankles look like black shoes and gaiters; the petticoat is tied with a red belt, and supported by a broad sash over the left shoulder. They have white ear-rings and white bracelets, like ivory. Their hair is black, plaited, and parted from the crown, falling regularly down in small locks over the head. After the four blacks, come four other whites, who have the same complexion and features as the first four, but with a different head-dress and costume. They have a dense brown beard, with short mustachios, and upon their heads, a black mass, more like a Welsh wig than the hair of the Berberi Arabs, to which it is generally compared. It comes down nearly to the eye-brows, with a small peak before the ear, and a large convexity behind, and is bound round with a white strap tied over the crown of the head; it is not plaited, nor ornamented with feathers. They wear a striped kirtle, like a philibeg,

black, red, and white, bordered and fringed; the rest of their body is naked. Their head-dress and beard give them a lowering and dissatisfied look, and they have been called Jews. Next come four russet men. Their black hair, plaited from the crown, hangs regularly all round the head; it is cut short immediately over the eyebrows, and hangs down behind the ears into the neck They have a small, square piece of black beard stuck to the point of their chin, but no mustachios. They have white kirtles tied round their waists; the rest of their body is naked. Behind the last of the four, almost touching the hair of his head, is seen a small bearded figure squatted upon a seat, with his knees up to his breast; the globe, encircled by a serpent, is suspended over his head. He may be a god, or he may be a judge; he appears to have neither hands nor arms; but his pitiful and insignificant appearance does not, according to the custom of the ancient Egyptians, prevent him from being considered as a representative of either. After him are two birds, the one resembling a parrot, the other an ibis, though rather between an ibis and a goose: perhaps it is the *chenalopex*, a bird sacred to Osiris, and supposed to be the sheldrake. Then comes a hawk-headed personage, supposed to be Arueres, adorned with an elegant tippet, bracelets, and armlets; and a yellow kirtle, with black stripes, is fastened round his waist: thus caparisoned, he walks up in the rear of the procession, leaning on a staff. With him the procession closes.

"The four individuals who take the lead in this interesting procession, have been supposed to be Persians; the four next, Ethiopians; the four next, Jews; and the four last, Egyptians, who had been in bondage, and were now restored to their homes by

the success of Pharaoh Necho. Those who are called Jews, have not, however, the least appearance of being captives; there is nothing dejected about them, nor do either the hieroglyphics over their heads, their features, or their costume warrant us in referring them to that ancient people. We find in the book of Jeremiah, that Pharaoh Necho was soundly beat by the King of Babylon, a circumstance which furnishes no reason for swelling his train with captive Babylonians, who have, if possible, still less the appearance of being captives than the four above-mentioned. Herodotus does not state that Necho made any expedition into Ethiopia, although his son Psammis did: the result is not mentioned; but it is added, that he died soon afterwards, having reigned only six years. All the princes of this family were buried in the temple of Minerva at Sais, in the Delta.* So that neither the sacred writings, nor the pages of Herodotus afford support to the ingenious explanation of this extraordinary procession, which has been offered by Mr. Belzoni and his learned expositor. So far from considering this procession to be composed of groups of captives selected from so many different nations, the spectator is immediately struck with them as being the people of the greatest consequence of any in the room, with the exception of the gods and goddesses, and the titled hero himself. They are by far the most gorgeously attired, and the most exalted in their appearance. It is worthy of remark, that the first four are more sumptuously arrayed than the second four, the second than the third, and the third than the fourth, their dresses corresponding to the order of precedency. They have all a clean appearance, and their hair is dressed with the greatest care. The dress of the first four individuals, though their

costume is the same, differs in respect of colour: the first is on a white ground, covered with pale red spots; the second is on a lead-coloured ground, traversed by stripes that resemble a feather, between each of which are blue and red spots; the last is on a white ground, with black spots, and resembles the skin of the sacrificed bull which we see in another part of the tomb: these dresses are all bound round with a checkered binding, and tied round the waist with a belt of the same. The dress of the other three groups is respectively the same. The first four are tattooed on the arms, thighs, and legs; they have all the figure of the cross upon their arms and thighs, and, either on the arm or the leg, they have a round instrument like a *fibula* or clasp. We find this instrument on the breast of the serpent that is on each side of the door of this small chamber, coiled up on the lower half of a globe, and crowned with the handled measure, with the sceptre of Osiris attached by a ring in the middle before it, and five stems of the flowering lotus beneath: the whole has been interpreted to mean sacerdotal. Their insignia would indicate them to be priests of that religious sect who worshipped both Christ and the serpent. The last four, or russet group, both in respect to the small piece of beard stuck under the chin, and the white kirtle, resemble exactly the priest who is cutting up the sacrificed bull; their kirtle seems to be fuller, and their hair is dressed in a much superior style. The sacrificing priest has a white sash for folding up his kirtle, which passes over his left shoulder in the same manner as the sash of the four blacks. The ribbon round the heads of the third group is tied in the same manner as that round the head of the female in the door of one of the chambers,

who is supposed to be Buto or Latona. There are thirty-five short columns of hieroglyphics over the heads of these sixteen individuals and their hawk-headed attendant. For these reasons, I am disposed to consider the above personages as intimately concerned in the sacred rites, and as representing the principal orders of priests in Thebes, joined in procession according to their respective rank. The reason of their being of different colours and in different costumes, it is difficult to assign; but there are not wanting instances of the same thing in other countries. Among the Chinese, who worship the sun, moon, and stars, like the Egyptians, we are informed that there are four orders of priests, whose respective dresses were white, black, yellow, and russet, which might be typical of the clear light of the sun, the darkness of the night, the pale light of the moon, and the ruddy hue of the morning and evening sky. The colours of the Chinese orders coincide remarkably with those of the persons who compose this procession.

"Upon each side of the four columns that occupy the centre of this room, the hero is received by the different deities in succession; by the deity with the hawk's head, by one with the ibis's head, by one with the wolf's head, by the female deity already mentioned, and by Osiris himself.*

"Passing off from this chamber on the right, we entered another square chamber, of about the same dimensions, with only two columns in the centre. Here; the operator has been arrested in the midst of his labours. The walls have been whitewashed; the crevices

* "Facing the entrance in this hall, is one of the finest compositions in Egypt. It consists of four figures as large as life; Osiris sitting on his throne, receiving the homage of a hero, who is introduced by the hawk-headed deity: behind the throne is a female figure, as if in attendance.'—BELZONI, vol. i. p. 377.

that have splintered off in forming it, have been filled up; but there is no painting upon the walls or upon the columns. The figures are all outlined, and the wall is ready for the workman to commence his operations; the lines have been drawn in red by some inferior hand, and afterwards corrected by the master in black, according to the manner in which they were to be wrought. The very circumstance of this room being in an unfinished state, renders it more instructive than if it had been found completed, like the others, inasmuch as it shews that the manner in which the artists proceeded in their operations at that remote period, was exactly the same as that which they employ in the present day. The expression of the eyes and countenances of the figures, is extremely soft and interesting.* On the columns, the principal personage is admitted to an interview with the different gods and the goddess, as in the former chamber; and on the walls, besides the usual representations of Osiris, Isis, Arueres, Thoth, and the hero, we have processions of boats, cows reposing, serpents, birds, cynocephali, people dressed like mummies, sticking hatchets into their heads, others beating themselves, (as they are represented to have done in the festival of Mars, held at Papremis,) and numerous hieroglyphics. The following appears to have been their mode of operation.

* "In these unfinished figures," says Sir F. Henniker, "the sweetness of the face and the extraordinary length and beauty of the eye, rivet attention. At Munich, I saw two young Brazilians, with eyes similar to those represented in this tomb; they had been brought from the river Amazons by Prof. Martius." "The human figures found in relief and painted on the walls, both of the temples and the tombs in ancient Thebes," remarks another traveller, "have in all their profiles a like beauty: all is mildness,—graver in the male forms. Gentle, very gentle and sweet is the smile, and soft the look, in almost all the figures of Isis which I saw."—*Scenes, &c.*, p. 91.

Having cut out and smoothed the surface of the chamber, the next process was, to fill up any crevices, and to whitewash it all over; the outlines of the figures were then drawn, according to which they were cut in intaglio or in relief; they were then whitewashed again, and painted red, blue, green, or yellow, and attired in their proper costume.

"Having returned from the outlined chamber into the one with four columns, we descended a stair of twelve steps, and continued along the corridor in the same direction as before. The sides of the stair are ornamented in the same manner with the rest of the tomb; and in the door at the foot of it, the hero, dressed in a long, loose, white robe, with sandals on his feet, is received by Isis, who is here represented of a russet colour, the same with that of the hero himself. She is attired in a close-fitting, light-coloured robe, divided into rows of regular hexagons, each of which is filled with hieroglyphics and emblematic representations. Her head is crowned with the *modium*, from which two black horns shoot up, and encompass a red globe or moon. She has an amulet hanging round her neck; with her left hand she lays hold of the hero's right, and with her right hand holds out to him the amulet, towards which he raises his left in an attitude of surprise. Immediately within the door, the hero is seen seated upon a throne, which is highly ornamented. The sacred bird, with the ring in his claw, hovers over his head. In his right hand, he holds a sceptre with his two tablets and other hieroglyphics inscribed upon it, and he extends his left hand as if in the act of blessing an offering. The object before him resembles a screen, or parlour-blind, placed upon a leg or stalk: I do not consider it as an offering; it seems rather to be a table of a particular construction.

"The corridor now descends a few steps, and at the foot of the stair, we find the tablets containing the hero's name and that of his father,* guarded by two winged serpents. Near them, a figure resembling, both in complexion and costume, the fourth group of priests, is cutting off the legs of a bull. At first sight, one is startled to see a bull under the sacrificial knife in Egypt; but Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians sacrificed bulls without blemish, and calves: the females were sacred to Isis, and could not be used for that purpose. The sides of the next door are ornamented with coiled snakes placed upon the lower half of the globe, with stems of the flowering lotus. On each hand, a female figure of most interesting appearance, with a feather in her head, occupies the centre space in the door. We now enter a most elegant chamber, 20 feet long by 14 feet wide. The walls are covered with groups of personages, and the hero is seen presenting himself before the different deities in succession. On his entrance, a female deity presents him with the handled *tau*. He first appears before the dog-headed deity, who bears the sceptre of Osiris, and is probably meant to represent Anubis; next he appears before Isis, to whom he offers incense; and last of all, before Osiris, arrayed in his celestial robe of white. From this elegant chamber, we passed into another infinitely more magnificent: it has two rows of square columns in the middle, six in each row, on each of which the same ceremony of the hero meeting the different deities, is repeated. Arueres, Anubis, and Osiris are the principal male deities, and Isis, in her different characters, is the only female deity. Round the walls are boats with a ram-headed deity on

* Nichao and Psammuthis.

board, and processions of captives, with their hands tied behind their backs. Over the door is a female deity on her knees, her wings extended, and on her head a tower or throne. Off this large chamber, on the right, there is a small room, in which there is a remarkably handsome figure of a young cow, with two men grooming the legs and tail, and one supporting the body: the rest of the room is covered with hieroglyphics. Opposite to this, on the left side of the large chamber, is a small room, the walls of which are entirely covered with representations of serpents with two or more heads, and many hieroglyphics.

"Having advanced beyond the columns, we came into a large chamber, 30 feet by 20, and 27 feet high. The female figure with outspread wings and the tower on her head, is portrayed upon the top at each end, the same as we frequently see it at each end of the sarcophagi. The ceiling is much higher than that of any of the other chambers, and, what is still more remarkable, is in the form of a round arch; as if the excavators had understood that this is the most durable form of a roof, the surface being less likely to fall in, and the best calculated to support the superincumbent weight of the rock. The devices with which it is covered are also worthy of attention, particularly a group that is immediately over head on stepping down from the chamber of columns. The most conspicuous figures are, a large black bull, probably Mnevis, the hideous erect quadruped called the wife of Typhon, and an enormous crocodile. The rest of the cieling is black, interspersed with stars. Along the sides and the ends of the chamber are portrayed numerous processions with boats, and many representations of gods and men; but it would require a volume to describe them all. Off this chamber, to the

right, is a small room, which is merely whitewashed, the wall being plain without any device, except, in the door, a majestic head-dress with two horns spreading in a wavy line beneath. To the left of the large chamber, is another, in the centre of which are two square columns, on the sides of which the hero is represented making his appearance before the different deities, as before. On one of the columns, a *human sacrifice* stares us in the face. Three human figures rest on their knees, with their heads struck off, and a serpent erects his crest, as if to drink the stream of life as it gurgles from their veins, while behind them, the executioner brandishes the ensanguined knife, ready to decollate three other victims who are lying prostrate and bound with a cord. A bench of rock, about the height of a side-board, runs all round this chamber: it is well finished and painted like the rest of the walls. The principal devices are tiger-shaped couches.

"From this chamber, (which, from the greater freshness of the colouring, I should imagine to have been the last finished,) we returned to the large chamber, and, on our left, passed into another, the largest of any in the tomb, being about 40 feet by 17. It has one row of four columns in the centre, one of which has fallen down, and the chamber has never been finished: there is no painting on the walls, and they have been very imperfectly whitewashed. Mr. Belzoni found in it the mummy of a bull, and several small figures of pottery ware, vitrified externally, and of a remarkably fine blue colour. When we visited the tomb, there was an immense number of wooden mummy-shaped figures in it, about eight inches long, and covered with asphaltum: they were probably intended to be given to friends as a memorial of the de-

ceased, to whom they might bear a slight resemblance, for they differ both in feature and shape in different tombs. They are generally made of the sycamore wood, and were in such countless numbers in this chamber, that it would seem to have been a general storehouse. From this lumber-room, we again returned to the principal chamber, where our attention was engaged by the choicest morsel of antiquity in the whole tomb; an alabaster sarcophagus 9 feet 5 inches long, 3 feet 7 inches broad, and 2 feet 2 inches deep. It is of a yellowish white colour, translucent, and is covered, both within and without, with hieroglyphics, sphinxes, and curious devices, in intaglio, and painted blue. The lid had been dexterously fitted on, falling into a ledge, which remains entire all round, except at the angles, where it has been broken in order to raise the lid, which has been shivered to pieces. Many of the fragments were lying about, but the greater part had been carried off. The alabaster is remarkably fine, and the workmanship excellent. From under the sarcophagus there went off a narrow passage, about 6 feet high and 4 feet wide, now filled up with rubbish. Mr. Belzoni pursued it to the distance of 300 feet, when he found it obstructed with the *detritus* of the rock and bat's dung.*

"Over the whole of this tomb, the colours are re-

* It is remarkable that this circumstance did not induce the fortunate discoverer to prosecute his researches a little further, since he had evidently reached a point from which this passage must have communicated with the open air, by another entrance, which has been obstructed by part of the roof falling in. The bats could not have entered by the tomb, for there is not a soil on any part of it. A little excavation would have unravelled the mystery; and it would probably have been found, that it ends in a common passage that goes completely through the mountain, and from which the whole labyrinth of these curious excavations might be examined.

markably vivid, and the painting does not seem to have suffered either from time or human violence. It is impossible adequately to describe the sensations of delight and astonishment that by turns took possession of our minds, as we moved along the corridor, and examined the different groups and hieroglyphics that occur in every successive chamber.* We had been told, that what we saw was a tomb; but it required a constant effort of the mind to convince us that it was such.† Only one sarcophagus in one chamber, and twelve chambers, exclusive of the long corridor, all highly ornamented for nothing! It may have been a subterraneous temple, exhibiting the religious creed of the worshippers or the rites of initiation. It may have been a subterraneous palace like those of the king of the Troglodytæ. But never was there such a superfluous waste, if we are to suppose that all this was done merely for the reception of one sarcophagus. Not one of the usual badges of royalty accompanies the principal personage in the paintings; nor is there any thing by which he can be recognised as a king. There is no crown upon his head, and he has no attendants. It is evident, that this tomb has never been generally open further than the well. Thus far, the hieroglyphics and devices are soiled by contact with the external air; but it contains no inscriptions whatever, which shews that the external entrance

* The whole of the hieroglyphics in this tomb are stated by Mr. Belzoni to consist of 500 different characters.

† "It is really like a scene of magic,—the sudden transition from the naked solitude of the silent, unpeopled, scorching desert into chambers all adorned with brilliant and vivid paintings. Is this a tomb? It cannot be. Come, come, Aladdin, rub thy lamp and order supper. These halls are suited to the banquet and the song. But it *is* a tomb: these are the chambers of the grave."—*Scenes*, &c. p. 103.

must have been blocked up at a very early period. All beyond the well is so fresh, that it never could have been generally open to the air."*

That these tombs were intended to subserve some other religious purpose, there can, we think, be no doubt. Like the chambers of imagery seen by the Jewish prophet, they were doubtless the scene of idolatrous rites "done in the dark," and nefarious mysteries. They may also have been the residence and workshop of the college of priests. Besides these mysterious sanctuaries, there are found large pits which have evidently been formed as general receptacles for the vulgar dead. One of these, discovered by Earl Belmore, near the small temple of Isis above the Memnonium, contained upwards of 1000 mummies, "decently wrapped up in grave-clothes, and laid in a horizontal posture one above another." Sir F. Henniker was present at the opening, by the Arabs, of what proved to be "a Grecian-Egyptian sepulchre, the first of the kind hitherto discovered," of which they offered him "the haul" for four guineas. It consisted of three chambers, containing fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches, which fell to atoms at the touch. There

* Richardson, vol. ii. pp. 7—78, vol. i. pp. 263—306. These tombs, Mr. Jowett remarks, cannot be better described than in the words of Ezekiel (ch. viii. 8—10). "Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do there. So I went in and saw; and behold, every form of creeping thing and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about." The Israelites, adds Mr. J. "were but copyists: the master sketches are to be seen in all the ancient temples and tombs of Egypt." Many other passages in Scripture receive illustration from these extraordinary tombs. See in particular Isa. xiv. 18, xxii. 16.

were also "coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practised by the Capuchin friars in Sicily. One of these stood erect at the entrance; the others were laid prostrate on benches. The heads were shaved, the beards of a few days' growth. On the principal coffin was found the following inscription:—

ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΙΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΣΑΡΧΩΝ ΘΗΒΩΝ ☥

The hieroglyphics testify to the degeneracy of the art. The papyrus found in this case was not, as usual, rolled up, but folded flat. The body was enveloped in thirty linen wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt."* From another, this Traveller copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about 1650 years old. Some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty. "Among the dead," he adds, "I found platted hair, and hands, the nails of which prove the ancient use of henneh; also, a female body entirely covered with an elegant network of blue beads or bugles, ornamented with small scarabees and deities. I discovered a basket full of the *viaticum*, about a shilling's worth of biscuits, to last the whole voyage from this world to the next: the panier is of the same construction as those still made at the Cataracts and in South America." It is extremely difficult now to procure at Thebes any little antiquities of value. The Arabs bring for sale small mummy ornaments, such as the little *termini* of wood or pottery always found in the tombs, rings of wood or pottery, scarabæi, "pocket idols," probably worn as amulets, scraps of papyrus, and a variety of trifling articles; but these are the mere refuse of the privileged collectors, and of

* Hemniker, p. 136. This case and papyrus were presented to the British Museum.

the many sharp-witted nondescripts in their service. "The whole of ancient Thebes is the private property of the English and French consuls. A line of demarcation is drawn through every temple; and these buildings that have hitherto withstood the attacks of barbarians, will not resist the speculations of civilised cupidity, virtuosi and antiquaries."* The plain is strewed with broken bones; mummy-chests broken up, are sold for fire-wood,† and the *amomum* ‡ or

* Henniker, p. 139.

† "These cases are generally of Egyptian sycamore, but differ very much from each other as to the degree in which they are ornamented. Sometimes there are one or two inner cases, besides the outer one. Leaves and flowers of acacia are often found round the body, and sometimes lumps of asphaltum, as much as two pounds in weight. The case is covered with a cement resembling plaster of Paris, in which various figures are cast. The whole is painted generally with a yellow ground, on which are hieroglyphics and figures of green. Small idols are found lying about, and sometimes vases containing the intestines of the mummies, generally of baked clay painted, some few of alabaster: there is much pottery besides, and many wooden vessels. Mr. Belzoni found some leaf-gold beaten nearly as thin as ours. No instruments of war are found in the tombs. This gentleman found only an arrow with a copper point, well fixed in one end, while the other had a notch. Figures of the *scarabæus* are sometimes found executed in alabaster, verde antico, and other materials. From the garments in which the mummies are sometimes wrapped, it appears that linen manufactures were brought to equal perfection among the ancient Egyptians, as they are now among us. They understood the tanning of leather, of which some shoes are found. Some of the leather is stained with various colours, and embossed. The art of gilding is proved to have existed among them in a state of great perfection. They knew how to cast copper, as well as how to form it into sheets. A few specimens of varnishing are found, which shew that this art and the baking of the varnish on clay, were in such perfection that it appears doubtful whether it could now be any where imitated. In the art of painting, they were a little behind in not giving their figures relief by shading; but their colours, particularly the red and green, are well disposed, and produce a splendid effect, especially by candle-light."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. pp. 86, 7.

‡ Amomum, whence our word mummy, comes from the Coptic

bitumen offends the nose wherever there is a fire; while the Arab fellahs are becoming rich in paras by the traffic in the leather-covered skeletons of the ancient Thebans.*

The ruins on the east side of the river are far from being so interesting as those on the Libyan side: they consist almost entirely of the temples of Luxor and Karnak. No excavations have hitherto been discovered. The edifices here, however, are on a grander scale. Luxor (El Aksor, the ruins,) is at present the port of the eastern Thebaid; and the remains of an ancient pier, apparently of Roman workmanship, shew that it was so in former times. The ruined temple at this place is, like the Memnonium, a mere skeleton: the greater part of the columns in the interior, and part of the sanctuary, are still standing; but the outer walls have been thrown down, and the materials carried away. It is nearly 800 feet in length, and the propylon extending along the front measures in width about 200 feet at its present base, which is betwen 20 and 30 feet above the foundation.† This

mom, which signifies wax. Dr. Granville has recently discovered the whole process of embalment; and by boiling out the wax, he has succeeded in restoring a mummy to the texture, condition, and corruptibility of a recent corpse, so as to admit of its being dissected; and decomposition has taken place within thirty hours after.

* The price of a mummy in 1820, was from five to ten shillings. "These practised rifiers of the grave," we are told, "know at a glance, whether it is a mummy of the first, second, or third class; and they will put one of the latter into an empty case belonging to a higher class, and sell it to the stranger."—*Scenes, &c.* p. 112.

† This temple is described by Sir F. Henniker as "swarming with dogs, Arabs, houses, and other filth, by the accumulation of which the entrance of this magnificent fabric, which ought to be 50 feet in height, will not now admit a man without stooping. Part of the building has been converted, first into a Greek church; now into a cinder hole." "In one court," says another Traveller, "you

temple resembles in its plan, that at the Memnonium, more than those of Karnak and Medinat Habou: it consists of a propylon, large colonnades, and several chambers. On the front of the propylon is exhibited a battle scene, in a most spirited style, in many respects resembling one of those at the Memnonium. Stairs, which are now much dilapidated, lead to the top, giving off passages to small chambers as they ascend. The base of the propylon is built up all round with the houses of the present village. All along the front are several statues: the mitre-shaped head-dress and part of the face of two of them, (one on each side of the gateway,) appear above the rubbish; and others are to be seen in the interior of the houses, just rearing their colossal heads above the mud. They are all of the large-grained granite called syenite, beautifully formed and highly polished. A little in advance of the propylon, towards the east, are two beautiful obelisks from the same quarry, in perfect preservation; they are about 80 feet high, and 10 feet square at the base, and are covered all round, from top to bottom, with deeply-cut hieroglyphics, beginning at the top with the mitred hawk, emblematic of their dedication to the sun.*

find a mosque and some dark habitations; in another, some meaner hovels, litters of dirty straw, the ox, the ass, the goat, ragged children, and their poor and sickly-looking parents. Some parts which are roofed, and might be made commodious as a shelter, are left vacant and silent for the timid lizard."—*Scenes, &c.* p. 83.

* "Before the grand entrance of this vast edifice, two lofty obelisks stand proudly pointing to the sky, fair as the daring sculptor left them. The sacred figures and hieroglyphic characters are beautifully cut into the hard granite, and have the sharp finish of yesterday. The very stone looks not discoloured. You see them as Cambyses saw them, when he stayed his chariot wheels to gaze up at them, and the Persian war-cry ceased before these acknow-

"Behind the propylon is the dromos, a large open court about 300 feet long and 160 feet wide, surrounded with a piazza formed by a double row of columns, which appears to have been walled and covered in. All the columns, as well as the side of the propylon, are covered with sculpture. From the dromos, the visiter passes on between a double row of stately columns, 12 feet in diameter, and between 30 and 40 feet high, with spreading capitals resembling the budding lotus: there are six columns in each row. We come next to what has the appearance of a cella; it is peripteral, having a row of eleven columns on each side. The walls are pretty entire, and inclose a space about 160 feet long, and 140 wide, which is at present occupied by a number of the villagers and their cattle. It contains several columns, and the fragments of many more. From the figure of the cross and other insignia displayed along the walls, it appears to have been once used as a place of Christian worship. There has been a door-way at each end, both of which are now built up, and the regular entrance is over a low part of the side wall. We next came to another colonnade, consisting of ten rows of columns, three columns in each row, all of which are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; then to a cross wall with a door-way in the middle of it; beyond which is another colonnade, consisting of eight rows of columns, four columns in each row, leading to what may be regarded as the sanctuary of the temple. Here, in the

ledged symbols of the sacred element of fire. Very noble are all these remains, and on the propylon is a war-scene much spoken of; but my eyes were continually attracted towards the aspiring obelisks, and again and again you turn to them with increasing wonder and silent admiration."—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 82. "The obelisks," says Sir F. Henniker, "though half-buried, are the finest in the world."

middle of the wall, a niche, apparently designed for a statue, occupies the place where, in conformity to the plans of the other temples, we expected to find a door; but this we met with on the north side, and, on entering, we found ourselves in the *sanctum sanctorum*, or innermost apartment of all, a small chamber about 14 feet square, covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. From this we passed into another chamber, containing twelve columns; and thence into another, containing four columns, and adorned with an equal number without, with the appearance of there having been many more; all of them highly ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics. We have now arrived at the end of the ruin, and near the brink of the river, towards which there has been no door of access; but the present termination does not seem to have been the original one. The subjects of the sculpture or hieroglyphics do not differ materially from those already described.

"On the east side of the temple, there is an immense heap of rubbish higher than the temple itself, consisting of mud and sand, and broken pottery-ware. The present village of Luxor occupies the centre of the ruin, and spreads out a considerable way to the north, and south, and east. It contains one hundred Coptic families, who have four priests, and a place of worship about four miles distant in the desert.* There are about five times the number of Mussulmans, who live in small huts about twelve feet square, among vermin, dust, and filth, the usual com-

* When Mr. Jowett was at Luxor, the number of priests was reduced to three. In the school were from fifteen to twenty scholars: the master, as usual, was nearly blind; he had, however, copied some Coptic and Arabic on paper, which the boys learned almost by rote. Their church, which is in the hills, more than an hour's ride off, is also the church to a village adjacent, called Zenia, where there are about forty Christian families.

forts of the moslems in Egypt. These wretches neither enjoy themselves, nor permit others to enjoy the sweets of a tranquil and social life.*

"The temple of Luxor was probably built on the banks of the Nile for the convenience of sailors and wayfaring men, where, without much loss of time, they might stop to say their prayers, present their offerings, perform their vows for past favours, and bribe the priests for promises of future success. Great and magnificent as it is, it only serves to shew the way to an edifice much greater, to which it bears only the proportion of a lodge to a palace; I mean the splendid ruin of the temple at Karnak.

"The distance from Luxor to Karnak is about a mile and a half, or two miles. The whole road was formerly lined with a row of sphinxes on each side. At present, these are entirely covered up for about two-thirds of the way on the end nearest to Luxor, and the track lies over the superincumbent ruins of unburnt brick and broken pottery-ware, covered with dust and scattered tufts of a hard, rushy grass, such as generally grows in those parts of the country which are not subjected to the fertilizing inundations of the Nile, or watered by the labour of man. Several high mounds appear in the course of the way, as if small hamlets or villas had formerly enlivened the scene. On the latter part of the road, near to Karnak, a row of criosphinxes (that is, with a ram's head and a lion's body) still exists on each side of the way. Some of them are very entire, but all are quite uncovered; they are shaded, part of the way, by a grove of palm-trees on each side. The road is regularly formed,

* "In the city of the hundred gates, the inhabitants on the east bank live in mud-hovels; on the west, they live underground."—HENNIKER.

and is 63 feet wide. The sphinxes, which are 12 feet asunder, are represented *couchant*, with their heads towards the road. They are of common sandstone, the same as that of which the temples are built. Each of them has, standing up between the paws, a small mummy-shaped figure, with the hands crossed over the breast, and the sacred *tau* in each, and a row of hieroglyphics down the front.* The road proceeds for a little way up a gentle ascent, after which it gradually slopes down, and terminates in a fine granite

* "In those forms, in that couched posture, in the decaying, shapeless heads, the huge, worn paws, the little image between them, and the sacred *tau* grasped in its crossed hands, there is something which disturbs you with a sense of awe. In the locality you cannot err; you are on a highway to a heathen temple; one that the Roman came, as you come, to visit and admire, and the Greek before him. And you know that priest and king, lord and slave, the festival throng and the solitary worshipper, trod for centuries where you do; and you know, that there has been the crowding flight of the vanquished towards their sanctuary and last hold, and the quick trampling of armed pursuers, and the neighing of the war-horse, and the voice of the trumpet, and the shout, as of a king among them, all on this silent spot. And you see before you, and on all sides, ruins; the stones which formed walls and square-temple-towers, thrown down in vast heaps; or still in large masses, erect as the builder placed them; and where their material has been fine, their surfaces and corners smooth, and uninjured by time. They are neither grey nor blackened: like the bones of man, they seem to whiten under the sun of the desert. Here is no lichen, no moss, no rank grass or mantling ivy, no wall-flower or wild fig-tree to robe them, and to conceal their deformities, and bloom above them. No; all is the nakedness of desolation,—the colossal skeleton of a giant fabric standing in the unwatered sand, in solitude and silence,—a silence broken only by the approach of the stranger; for then the wild and houseless dogs, which own no master, pick their scanty food in nightly prowlings round the village, and bask in the sand-heaps near throughout the day, start up, and howl at him as he passes, and with yell, and bark, and grin, pursue his path, and mock his meditations. Old men and boys come out of the village to chase and still them, and supply their place; bringing with them little relics and ornaments for sale; and they talk and trouble you."—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 86-8.

gateway in front of a temple of Isis, close to the village of Karnak. This handsome temple, which is one of a suite of smaller temples connected with the grand temple, consists of a propylon, a small dromos with columns on each side, a pronaos with four columns on each hand, and a cella divided into five different apartments. The sculpture and hieroglyphics are of the same description as on the other temples, and the worship of Isis prevails throughout.

"The regular approach to the large temple, however, lies considerably to the east. This is likewise bordered by two rows of sphinxes, which are much broken, and covered up with sand, and then passes through four immense propylons, the gifts of so many illustrious monarchs. The gateways are chiefly of polished granite, and, as well as the sides, are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and adorned with numerous colossal statues, placed at the distance of four or five hundred feet from each other. Entering by the side, the traveller is placed in the centre of this splendid ruin, where the astonished eye passes over the wrecks of a sacred edifice extending about 600 feet on each hand, the whole length of the temple being about 1200 feet, and 420 feet in breadth.

"Besides this entrance, which leads directly from the Nile at Luxor, and which appears to have been formed for the religious processions and ceremonies that passed between the two places in sight of the wondering multitude, there is another, which seems to have been the principal and public entrance from the west, facing Northern Dair on the opposite side of the river. This entrance, which is near the wall of unburnt brick that inclosed the whole of the sacred ground, is also approached between two rows of sphinxes, part of which was uncovered by the Earl of

Belmore, and passes through a magnificent propylon, 400 feet long and 40 feet thick. It has eight windows in two rows, and four false doors on each side of the gateway. The north-wing of the propylon is very much fallen down. The front is not sculptured, nor ornamented with hieroglyphics; from which I infer that it has been left in an unfinished state. There is a staircase in the northern end leading to the top; and a passage runs over the ceiling of the doorway, from the north to the south wing. Looking forward from the centre of this gateway, the vast scene of havoc and destruction presents itself in all the extent of this immense temple, with its columns, and walls, and intersecting propylons, all prostrate in one heap of ruins, looking as if the thunders of heaven had smitten it at the command of an insulted God! Yet, this is but a part of the sacred premises of Diospolis. On every hand are gateways and adjoining temples, which, in other places, would be reckoned magnificent, and rows of sphinxes bounding the avenues leading to the different doors in the sides of this grand temple, this centre of pagan worship, the abode of the mighty Ammon. The walls that remain are so shattered, and the stones are so detached from each other, that I am disposed to ascribe the effect to the concussion of an earthquake, rather than to any human operation.

"This gateway leads into a spacious court, which might be considered as the dromos, did not a double row of stately columns, about 40 feet high, six in each row, almost preclude our regarding it as such. A row of smaller columns passes down each side; and on the right, a small temple projects considerably into the court. The columns in the middle of the court terminate in front of two broken colossal statues of large-grained granite, standing in front of another propylon.

which is completely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. Great part of it, however, has fallen down, and we see in the centre of the wall, many stones which had previously formed part of a temple more ancient than the present ruins. Each side of the passage is richly sculptured over with gods, and priests, and offerings, and hieroglyphics.

"To this propylon succeeds an immense colonnade, consisting of eighteen columns running across the building, and nine in the length of it. The two rows of columns passing down the middle are the largest, (as in the Memnonium,) and are about 11 feet in diameter. These supported the highest part of the roof, in the sides of which are small windows for the admission of light to this part of the temple. The other columns are about 8 feet in diameter, and about 32 feet high. They are not monolithic. The wall of the propylon, the side walls of the temple, and all the 162 columns, are completely covered with the sculptured images of the hawk-headed, wolf-headed, and human-headed deities.* This colonnade brings us to the end of this half of the temple, on the outside of which are sculptured two immense boats. One of them is 51 feet long, and has the head of a ram at each end, with only one principal person on board, who, in one part of the vessel, is arranging an offering, and, in another part of it, working the oar. The other boat is 45 feet long, and has a number of people on

* "To account for the occurrence of the immense colonnades that we meet with in the Egyptian temples, and more especially in those of the Thebaid, it may be observed, that the Egyptians had no other way of supporting a roof than by the erection of columns, the masonic arch not being then understood; so that, whenever a roof over a large space was required, a large colonnade was indispensible. The frequent and entire exhibition of their polymorphous deities, was another use that they made of the colonnades."

board, who are in the act of poling it forward. At this part of the temple entered the grand passage from Luxor, through the series of propylons and by the avenues of sphinxes already mentioned. The other half of the temple is equally, or, perhaps, more interesting, for we have not yet reached the sanctuary. Of four granite obelisks that adorned this part of the building, three are still standing: they are about 70 feet high, and 9 feet square at the base. The other has been thrown down and cut through the middle, that part of it might be carried away, which circumstances have prevented. A little to the west of the obelisk are several beautiful columns, well turned and highly polished, about 20 feet in height. The capitals are exquisitely wrought, and resemble the flower of the lotus. They seem to have been merely ornamental, and stand at the entrance of a sanctuary, which is also of highly-polished granite, and occupies the middle of this part of this temple. This sanctuary is open at each end, and divided into two open compartments, by small partition walls that advance but a short way upon the floor. The ceiling is also of granite, painted blue, and adorned with stars. The walls are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; and offerings to Osiris and Mendes, occurring throughout, shew the purpose for which it was constructed, and the infamous nature of the Egyptian devotion. Latterly, however, this sanctuary seems to have been chiefly appropriated for the reception of the images vessels, and sacred utensils employed in the rites of their religion. The Earl of Belmore caused excavations to be made in it, and the discovery of a granite boat, with an image on board, a number of small statues, and other remains of antiquity, were the result; proving at once the sagacity of his lordship's conjec-

ture, and the use for which this innermost apartment was constructed.

" But walls of granite alone were not considered as adequate to guard the sanctity of this little fane; stone walls were also added, with chambers on each side, exclusive of the walls of the temple. Beyond this is another extensive colonnade, which is much broken down, as well as the side walls of the temple. Indeed, the whole of this division of the edifice has suffered much more than the other; and in many parts, it is quite level with the rubbish, so that we could merely trace the continuous line of the wall, and in some places not even that. Passing out at this end of the temple, there are the remains of another colonnade, and, at the distance of about twenty paces, another gateway, which at one time probably formed a part of this most magnificent edifice; but the intermediate space is so much covered with rubbish, that it was impossible to trace any connexion between them. Much digging would be requisite to enable the antiquary to form a correct plan of this most interesting field of ruins. The great temple, the habitation of their gods, occupies the centre; the field all round is intersected by avenues lined with sphinxes, leading up to the temple, like so many *radii* from the circumference to the centre. Between these different avenues stood the houses of the city. Each quarter was provided with a gateway, and frequently with a temple and place of worship in the course of the avenue, between it and the great temple. Several of these are buried in the rubbish. In one which was uncovered by Mr. Belzoni, were found rows of female statues with the human body and the lion's head, in a sitting posture, with their hands upon their knees, the left hand holding the sacred *tau*. Near to this temple is

a large tank containing water; there is also another large tank near the great temple.*

"Every thing, in regard to the plan and splendid embellishment of this great capital, appears to have been subservient to religion; for never was there a city, not even modern Rome, of which it might be said with equal truth, that the temple is every thing, and the habitations of individuals of no consideration. And if we take into account, on the western side of the river, Medinat Habou, which faces Luxor, and Northern Dair, which faces Karnak, all of which formed but so many cardinal points in the religious processions of the Theban priests; (for, though the tabernacle of Jupiter dwelt in Diospolis or Karnak, yet, it was carried over the river every year, and remained for a few days in Libya;) we have a space of between nine and ten miles, over which they exhibited the pomp and parade of their religion, both in going and returning. Almost every part of the road through this immense theatre, was lined with sphinxes, statues, propylons, and objects calculated to awaken

* "At Karnak," says Mr. Jowett, "there are no Christians; but, in an obscure part of one of the temples, on a pillar, I found an inscription, in small red letters, which shews the former existence of Christianity here. It appears to be a list of bishops who perhaps left this memorial of a council held at this place. In the Greek convent at Cairo, I observed the public notice of the patriarch's having gone to Patmos in the September preceding, written, in the rudest characters, with charcoal on the wall."—*Christ. Researches*, pp. 146, 150. "Yes, in the solitude of these ruins, a weak, small sect, who, having 'little strength,' yet 'kept his word,' have read the gospel of Christ, and have sung the song of Moses to the ancient accompaniment of the loud cymbal;—here, even here, where the priests of Pharoah have sacrificed, and where Babylonian revellers may have stalled their foaming horses, spread their silken carpets, and drunk from their golden wine cups, after fulfilling what they knew not to be the will of the Most High."—*Scenes, &c.*, p. 94.

and keep alive the flame of devotion throughout the procession; and in the whole of the imposing ceremonies of pagan idolatry, I cannot conceive any thing more extatic or confounding, than the view which must have burst upon the ravished sight, when, at the close of the solemnity of bringing back their god from the other side of the river, they entered the grand temple at Karnak, to replace him in his shrine, with harps, and cymbals, and songs of rejoicing. I would attempt to describe the enthusiasm of the votaries; but the god was a ram, a hawk, a monkey, or a goat; and we blush to think that there should be a God in heaven, and that the heart of man should acknowledge any other.

"The field of ruins, more especially called Karnak, is about a mile in diameter. Probably, the whole of this space was once, in the prouder days of Thebes, consecrated entirely to the use of the temple. There are evidences of walls considerably beyond this, which, perhaps, enclosed the city in its greatest extent; but, after the seat of government had been withdrawn, the capital removed to another spot, and the trade transferred to another mart, the inhabitants narrowed the circuit of their walls, and planted their houses within the line of the sacred confines. Traces of ancient brick buildings extend about a quarter of a mile beyond the gateways and more recent walls, after which commences the level and cultivated plain, intersected by numerous and deep canals.

"From Karnak, we proceeded to Medamoud, which lies about a couple of miles to the east; but, from the low ground being still damp and unfit for travelling, we were obliged to take a circuitous route, and were full an hour in reaching it. In our way thither, we passed through the tents of the Bedoween Arabs, who

occupy the uncultivated part of the plain near the mountain, and pasture their flocks among the coarse rushy grass that springs up in these neglected fields. Here and there, a small patch of cultivated ground is met with; but the greater part of the land lies waste to supply the wants of the cattle. The ruins of many houses of sun-dried bricks shew Medamoud to have been a town of considerable extent. At present, it is quite uninhabited. A dilapidated gateway and a few granite columns are all that remain of an ancient temple, and shew that the same patient spirit of labour, and the same taste for ornamenting their sacred buildings with hieroglyphics and the images of their polymorphous deities, prevailed here as in other parts of the country. The greater part of the stone of which the temple was built, has been carried away, probably to assist in the construction of the stupendous edifice at Karnak. There are many evidences of Medamoud having once been a seat of Christian worship. The figure of the cross still remains on many of the houses, and the figure of the Virgin Mary, with the usual representations of God the Father and God the Son, still exist on the interior of a large building near the west end of the ruins.* The ruins of the ancient temple prove that Medamoud was a place of consideration in more ancient times; and not a few of the learned suppose it to have formed a part of ancient Thebes, which would be making that ancient city occupy nearly the whole of the plain on both sides of the river. From the report of its ancient population and wealth, a person may be induced to believe almost

* Medamoud has been supposed by some to be the site of Maximianopolis, the seat of a metropolitan, which D'Anville fixes at Negadi. It is full three miles from the Nile in a direct line, and about one and a half from the mountain.

any thing of the extent of this ancient capital: there do not exist, however, in the present day, any proofs in support of the opinion of its having been ever joined to Karnak by a connected series of buildings, like Luxor, or of their having ever been inclosed within the same walls. I am therefore more disposed to consider this as an adjoining village, than an integral part of ancient Thebes.

"When we examine in detail the workmanship of the temples on the eastern side of the river, we do not find that it is superior, and I should rather feel disposed to say not equal, to that displayed upon the temples on the west; it is only the battle scene on the propylon at Luxor, and the pastoral scenes on the north wall at Karnak, that can be put in competition with the ornamental part of the Memnonium and Medinat Habou. The execution and composition of both may be considered as of equal merit, judging from the imperfect specimens that remain for our inspection. In regard to the general sculpture and hieroglyphics, the small temple of Isis behind the Memnonium infinitely surpasses them all in point of execution. I am disposed to consider this small temple as one of the oldest in Thebes; and were I to arrange them in a chronological order, I should mention next, the *body* of the Memnonium; (the propylon seems to be considerably more recent;) next, the body of the smaller temple at Medinat Habou, both the propylons of which appear to be much more modern than the small temple of Isis at Karnak; next, the temple at Luxor; then, the large temple at Karnak; and, last of all, the large temple at Medinat Habou. Small temples probably preceded large ones; and temples built of the stone of the country in the

immediate neighbourhood, probably preceded those built of materials which were brought from a distance. There are several relics of the former on the western side of the river, but none, as far as I perceived, on the east, where they are all of sandstone, obtained from the extensive quarries of Hadjar Silsil. There are no obelisks on the western side of the river; and those on the eastern side appear to be older than the temples, and the hieroglyphics on them are deeper and better cut. There are many statues, both at Luxor and Karnak, of the red large-grained granite of Assouan: there are none on the western side of the river, saving the large broken statue at the Memnonium. On the eastern side of the river, there are no statues made of the stone of the adjoining rock, or of the highly crystalized quartzy sandstone; but, on the western side of the river, there are many fragments of both in different places. The two statues of Shamy and Damy are the largest, and apparently the oldest in Thebes. The angles in the arms, knees, and different flexures of the body, are more acute, and the soil upon the stone is greater; they are probably coeval with the first series of temples. Some small figures made of the same stone, and cut in the same style, are found in the tombs of the kings. If the first series of temples are those which were destroyed by the orders of Cambyses, (admitting such an event to have taken place,) the date of the temples in Diospolis, of the different propylons, and of the large temple in the western Thebes, is probably subsequent to that period; and their being constructed of the materials of other sandstone temples, furnishes a presumption that they were constructed posterior to some great disaster, and most probably to the one alluded

to.* The greater part of these temples I consider to have been erected by the hierarchy, and not by the government of the country; for not one of them has been begun and carried on regularly to a conclusion, but they have been built up in detachments; first, a small cella, then side chambers, then a pronaos, then a propylon, then a colonnade, a dromos, a propylon, and so on, as they obtained money from the success of their speculation, or donations from grateful sovereigns. The later parts of the temple are hardly ever in proportion with the former, so that they appear to have begun their buildings without any regular plan." †

Diodorus Siculus mentions four temples at Thebes, admirable for their beauty and grandeur, which are supposed to be those of Luxor, Karnak, Medinat Habou, and Memnonium. The city itself, he states to have been 140 stadia in circuit, which corresponds, according to the measurements of the French, to the area occupied by the magnificent ruins at those places, excluding the Hippodrome and Medamoud.‡ Who was

* "Herodotus mentions a spacious temple in Thebes, which contained a number of wooden statues; and he states that they existed in the time of Hecatæus, who is believed to have flourished in the days of Darius Hystaspes, the successor of Cambyses; a proof that the Theban temples had not been all destroyed by the son of Cyrus. But the venerable historian does not mention, whether that temple was on the eastern side of the river or on the western, and is altogether silent as to its dimensions, and as to the number of temples in Thebes."

† Richardson, vol. ii. pp. 78—110. Mr. Jowett, speaking of the ruins at Karnak, says: "The specimens of massive architecture here, exceed all that we have hitherto seen, for their extent, the magnificence of some parts, the beauty of the obelisks, and particularly the simple grandeur of one gateway. Portions of them are considered to be of high antiquity. Symmetry, however, is violated in the finest parts."—P. 146.

‡ Between 14 and 15,000 metres, or about seventeen miles and a half.—*Ency. Metrop.*

the real founder of Thebes, he says, is a subject of dispute, not only among historians, but even among the priests of Egypt. According to the received tradition, the city of a hundred gates was built by Osiris, who gave it the name of his mother; but succeeding ages called it Diospolis and Thebes. Diospolis is afterwards stated to have been built by Busiris II., the same, probably, as the Osiris referred to.* This was the city, we are told, to which Homer refers in the well-known passage as amplified by Pope:—

> "Not all proud Thebes' unrivalled walls contain,
> The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
> That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
> And pours her heroes thro' a hundred gates,
> Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars
> From each wide portal issuing to the wars." (*Il.* ix.)

The most ancient edifices of which remains now exist, are ascertained to have been commenced after the final expulsion of the Shepherd-kings of Memphis

* Busiris appears to be only a corruption of Osiris with the article prefixed, P'Osiris. The real origin and import of the name of this ancient capital are involved in the obscurity of fable. Bryant cites from the Scholiast on Lycophron, the assertion, that the city Theba in Greece was so denominated from the sacred Cow of Cadmus (ἀπο Κάδμου βοος); and Theba, in Syriac, is said to signify a heifer, which was sacred to Isis. Pindar makes Theba to have been the daughter of Meltpa, the consort of Asopus (Olymp. vi. 5); while another tradition makes Thebah the concubine of Jupiter and the mother of Ægyptus; a genealogy clearly fabulous, yet strikingly agreeing with the legend, that Osiris (the same as Ægyptus) gave to the city the name of his mother. There can be no doubt that the Grecian Thebes received its name from Egyptian colonists. M. Champollion supposes the word to be derived from the Egyptian *Thbaki*, "the city;" an etymology which we cannot regard as probable. Other learned writers contend that *Theba* signifies the Ark! See BRYANT'S *Anal.* vol. iii. pp. 304, 402. FABER *on the Cabiri*, vol. i. p. 178; ii. 164. Upon the whole, it seems most probable, that Thebes received its original name from a real personage, the mother of the founder, whatever may be the primary signification of the word itself.

by the third monarch of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1778 B.C. This is by far the the most brilliant epoch of the Egyptian annals.* During the interval which separated the sixteenth dynasty from the eighteenth, the Theban monarchs are stated to have been tributaries to the pastor-kings of Memphis. It was probably on occasion of the liberation of the country from this detested yoke, that the first Diospolitan monarch of the eighteenth dynasty assumed the name of *Amenoftep,* Approved of Ammon, (the Amenophis of the Greeks,) and that the splendid temple and city were founded on the eastern side of the Nile, which received their dedicatory name in honour of the same patron deity, the Egyptian Zeus or Jupiter. It is evident, that the name to which Diospolis corresponds, originally denoted only the eastern quarter of Thebes; but it seems to have gradually superseded the original name of the city. The No-Ammon of the Old Testament is supposed to be the proper form of the appellation which the Greeks, according to their invariable custom, translated. It is remarkable, however, that no inscription, so far as we are aware, should yet have been found to exhibit the Egyptian name of the Ammonian capital.† In the time of Homer, it still retained the venerable name of Thebes; and Apollonius Rhodius thus celebrates the high antiquity of this

* Under the reign of this dynasty (extending from the year 1822 B.C. to about 1500 B.C.) took place the expulsion of the shepherds, the restoration of the Egyptian monarchy, the construction of the finest edifices of Thebes and of Nubia, the exodus of the Hebrew under the guidance of Moses, and the emigration into Greece of the Egyptian colonies of Danaus.—CHAMPOLLION'S *Prem. Lettre à M. le Duc de Blacas*, p. 98.

† Dr. Richardson says, that the Arabs called Karnak, *Hamdi*. Can this word be related to the ancient name? The Arabs believe, that Medinat Habou takes its name from a famous monarch called Habou.

famous capital, the mother-city of Grecian civilization.

"They who the worship of the gods attend,
Where Thebes beholds Tritonian towers ascend.
Oldest of mortals they who peopled earth,
Ere yet in heaven the sacred signs had birth.
The Danai, sacred race, were then unknown;
Th' Arcadians held the plains of Greece alone,
On acorns wont in sylvan wilds to feed;
Ere men the lunar wanderings learned to read;
Ere yet the heroes of Deucalion's blood
Pelasgia peopled with a glorious brood.
The fertile plains of Egypt flourished then,
Productive cradle of the first of men." *

The reign of Osymandyas, indeed, who is supposed to have been the first monarch of what is called the sixteenth dynasty, (the second of credible history,) carries us back to nearly three and twenty centuries before the Christian era; nor can there be a doubt that Thebes was founded very soon after the dispersion of mankind.

It will hardly be thought that we have dwelt too long on the monuments of this most interesting spot; but we must now hasten to complete, with as much brevity as possible, our description of the rest of Egypt. There is a beautiful walk up the river on the eastern bank; and at a bend in the stream, a raised camel-path commands an interesting retrospective view of the magnificent field of ruins—Luxor, Karnak, the ruins on the western bank, with the rocky hills behind them, the reaches of the tranquil river, the verdant vale in contrast with the sands of the Arabian desert, the grand colonnade of Luxor in shadow, the back of the propylon, the pointed obelisks, and the large masses of Karnak, with the scattered groves of date-trees; all these, seen in the light of the setting-sun, form a

* Preston's Translation, b. iv. l. 380.

landscape almost unrivalled for its "sad sublimity of aspect." "There are no ruins like these ruins," says the picturesque writer so often cited, and whom we must here take leave of,—"the strong and proud masses of which mark where Egyptian Thebes, 'the world's great empress,' the terror of other times, once laughed within her hundred gates! *Jacet obruta.*"*

The next place of any consequence which occurs in ascending the Nile, is Hermont, a small village on the western bank. The ruins of the ancient Hermonthis (formerly an episcopal see) are found about a mile from the river, between the present village and the mountain. They consist of a small temple and an immense heap of rubbish composed of unburned brick. The walls of the pronaos are standing, but in many places much dilapidated; the cella is pretty entire, and covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, which are well cut, and indicate a more ancient date than most of the temples in Egypt. Yet even here, we find stones with hieroglyphics inverted, as if the temple had been built or repaired with the materials of another edifice. The representations on the walls consist chiefly of cats, ibisses, serpents, and cynocephali. On the end wall, there are a cameleopard and a wolf, looking different ways. The brutal Typhon is seen displaying the character of the ourang-outang, together with his hideous consort. Behind him is the god Mendes, of whom he seems in awe. Harpocrates is seen seated on the budding lotus, his finger on his mouth; and on his right, Isis is nursing Horus. On the south side of the temple, there is a tank of water, lined with stone, with steps leading down to it, which

* Scenes and Impressions, p. 113.

was once used for the ceremonies of the temple: now, being nearer to the village than the river, the natives frequent it for washing their clothes. At a considerable distance to the south of this tank, are ruins of an extensive building which appears to have been a Christian church. "The figure of the cross is cut upon the wall in several places. There have been four rows of granite columns within the cella, of Greek or Roman workmanship. The walls have been built of the materials of an old Egyptian temple: many of the stones are very large, stretching quite through the wall, and are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. Part of the interior is still covered with plaster and painted with red figures, such as are usually exhibited in the Greek churches. There are still Christians at Hermont."*

Between this place and Asfoun (*Asphynis*), the bed of sandstone terminates towards the north. The latter town stands about a mile from the river, in the widest part of the plain of Esneh. Except a few granite columns of Roman workmanship, there are no antiquities. The immense mound of rubbish on which the town is built, indicates an ancient site; and in the sandy plain bordering on the cultivated ground, are found a number of mummy pits, and many broken sarcophagi of terra-cotta are scattered about, the traces of a former population. The whole tract, from the patches of arable soil which occur, appears to have been once a fertile plain, although the greater part is now buried in sand. At the distance of an hour and a half's ride from the village, is a ruined Coptic convent, a large building of unburnt brick, in a most wretched condition. The walls are covered with

* Richardson, vol. i. pp. 530—3.

Arabic and Coptic inscriptions. Two rooms are laid with mats, and provided with jars of water, for the use of those who come hither to worship; but the monks have long withdrawn from the empty cells.

Esneh, the ancient Latopolis (situated in 25° 17′ 38″ N. lat., and 32° 29′ 56″ E. long.),* is the last garrison town southward, and the last Coptic bishopric. It is a respectable market town for this part of the world, and has some flourishing manufactures.† Mr. Jowett found the ecclesiastical establishment here to consist of a bishop and six priests. The Christian population numbers between 3 and 400 families, who have two churches, and a third further up the country. They appeared wretchedly poor. In the school were found sixteen scholars under a blind schoolmaster. The bishop stated, that his jurisdiction extended over all the country to the south, but that there are no Christians beyond Edfou.

The remains of a temple, the only ruin in Esneh, occupy the middle of the town. It is built of sandstone, and resembles, in the moulding passing down the angles and in some other circumstances, the temple at Dendera; but it is smaller, and the sculpture is far from being so well executed. The pronaos is for the most part filled up with drifted sand and dirt, and the remainder is used as a warehouse. It contains six-rows of four columns each, with the lotus-leaved

* According to M. Nouet in Malte Brun. In the Ency. Metrop., its position is stated to be in lat. 24° 58′ S., long. 32° 35′ E. Latopolis was so called from the fish that was adored there. Its modern name (*Asna*) is said to signify illustrious.—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 163.

† Among other things, a great quantity of very fine cotton stuffs and shawls called *malayeh*, much used in Egypt, are manufactured here. The Sennaar caravan disposes here of a portion of its articles, particularly gum-arabic, ostrich feathers, and ivory.

capital; but no two capitals are exactly the same.* Different devices resembling those at Dendera, are introduced on the ceiling between the rows of columns; and between the last row and the wall on each side are represented what have been called the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The figures supposed to represent the signs, are the same as those in the zodiac of Dendera, but with a somewhat different arrangement;† from which certain sagacious philosophers have inferred, that this zodiac must be 2145 years older than that at Dendera, and that it was constructed between six and seven thousand years ago. Dr. Richardson denies that these mythological groupes have an astronomical import;‡ but, however this point may be decided, nothing can be more absurd than the chronological reveries which have been founded upon the alleged high antiquity of this temple. The roadway is now upon a level with the roof of the body of the temple, and on this are built the pigmy houses of the Arabs, so that nothing below the moulding can now be seen.

* These capitals, Sir F. Henniker remarks, "display the taste of the Egyptians,—regular irregularity, like the roses of a Roman archway, variations of the same subject with a family likeness throughout the whole." Yet, though each is individually beautiful, the want of uniformity injures the effect of all. Denon speaks of the portico at Esneh as the finest fragment of Egyptian architecture.

† At Dendera, the ascending signs begin with *aquarius*, and end with the beetle, and the descending signs begin with *capricornus*, and end with *leo*. Here, the ascending signs begin with *pisces*, and end with *leo*, while the descending signs end with *virgo*, between which and *leo* is a sphinx. See Richardson, vol. i. p. 312.

‡ See note at p. 66. M. Delambre, whose authority, on astronomical questions, commands the highest respect, has shewn that they furnish no data for determining the age of the buildings which they adorn; and M. Letronne has adduced strong grounds for believing that they are merely astrological.—*Ency. Metrop.*

At a place called Dair, three miles N. of Esneh, and considerably inland, are found the ruins of a small temple in a much more dilapidated state, with the remains of a similar zodiac sculptured on the ceiling of the pronaos. The walls are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, but the workmanship is inferior and unequal. Within the pronaos, there is a good figure of Harpocrates seated on the budding lotus.* The surrounding plain is a good soil, but imperfectly cultivated, and beautiful fields are suffered to become parched and desert through the neglect of irrigation.

Immediately opposite to Esneh, at what was anciently *Contra-Lato*, is another small temple, much dilapidated, and apparently older than any of the temples at Esneh. It stands at a considerable distance from the river, and appears to advantage only at that distance, as it contains nothing of sufficient interest to compensate for the trouble of visiting it.

The banks of the Nile in this fertile district are not diversified by any unusual scenery. Crops of wheat or of millet, cotton or sugar plantations, and fields of *balmieh* (a pleasant leguminous vegetable), with numerous Persian wheels busily at work, enliven the scene; while, here and there, the naked or half-clothed natives may be seen loitering on the banks, or a solitary sheikh upon his ill-favoured ass, plodding his dusty way to one of the villages scattered over the plain. At length, the valley narrows again, the mountains on each side approaching the river, and on the eastern bank, near the village of El Kob (or El Kâb) are

* Dr. Richardson noticed also, on the north-east corner, a hero with a hatchet in his hand, with which he is about to massacre a number of captives. Sir F. Henniker mentions among the hieroglyphics, "a serpent with legs and arms, acting footman to a lady with a cat's face."

found the stony ruins and sepulchral grottoes of Elethyia. The ruins are very inconsiderable. Six columns of a ruined temple, and two walls, a figure of Nephthe, some fragments of statues and sphinxes, the vestiges of many mud huts, and a tank of muddy water, comprise all the antiquities. The town walls, which still remain, are, in the opinion of Dr. Richardson, too entire, and the bricks too fresh, to allow of their being ascribed to the ancient Egyptians. They are about thirty feet high and twenty thick, and enclose an area about a mile in length and three quarters of a mile in breadth. "About half a mile to the north, opposite to the salient angle of the mountain, there is a small peripteral temple, dedicated to the co-templar dfvinities Isis and Osiris, in several parts of which they are represented embracing." *

"But none of the temples at Eleithias," continues the learned Traveller, "can long engage the attention, while the interesting scenes portrayed in the sepulchral grottoes are so near at hand. These grottoes are inferior, both in dimensions and in decorations, to those in Thebes; but they are extremely interesting, inasmuch as they represent many circumstances connected with the private life and customs of the ancient Egyptians, which are not to be found in the tombs of that ancient capital." In one of the largest, there is an agricultural scene, in which the labourers are represented ploughing, hoeing, sowing, and rolling; the proprietor himself superintends the whole, followed by his attendants, much in the same manner as a sheikh or *kashef* would be in the present day; only, instead of a chair, a mat, and a pitcher, which are borne by

* These ruins are apparently referred to by Denon as the city and temples of Chenubis. AIKIN'S *Denon*, vol. ii. p. 269.

the attendants in this representation, the attendants would now carry a mat, a musket, a water-bottle, and a tobacco-pipe. In another part, is a harvest scene: some are reaping, and others winnowing the grain, which the oxen have trodden out; others again are pulling and unbolling the flax. Further on, is a representation, of the vintage; next, a banquet, with musicians and dancers; and further on, fishing, fowling, and cutting up game. The painting is rude, but distinct and extremely interesting. In another part of the tomb is a funeral procession, conducted by men bearing torches: the widow walks near the bier with hair dishevelled, followed by friends or mourners. Last of all, an offering is presented to Osiris, who looks complacently on the suppliant. The interior of this tomb is profusely covered with hieroglyphics; and at the further extremity are three sitting statues, a man and two women,—it may be presumed, his wives. In another grotto, are represented a death-bed scene and preparations for embalming, hunting, and other rural sports. The work on these tombs is much more disintegrated and decayed than that on the temple, from which its higher antiquity has been inferred.* The grottoes are cut in the front of the rock, facing the S.W., and commanding an extensive view of the river. The villagers at El Kob appeared, to Dr. Richardson, poorly clothed, but healthy and cheerful, with complexions decidedly darker than that of the inhabitants of Thebes. Their huts were of the

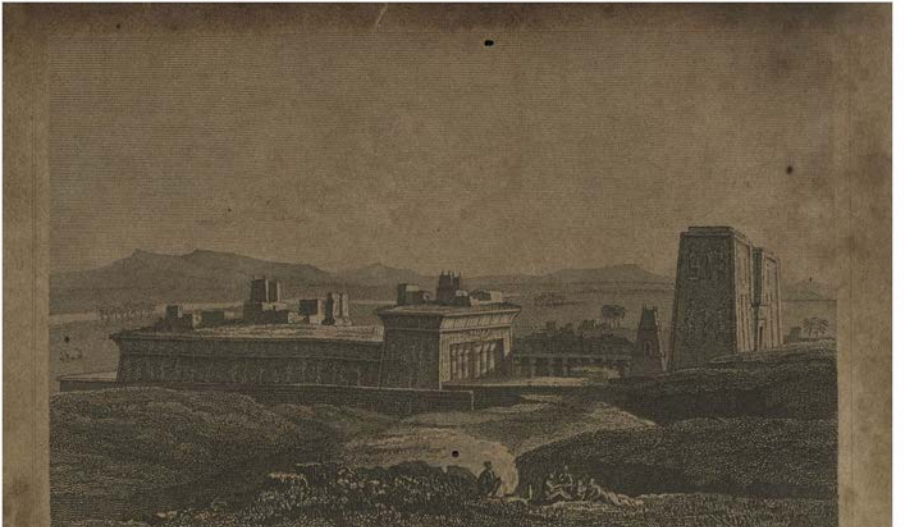
* The greater part of these scenes are described in the large French work on Egypt, but are much more correctly given in the drawings of Major Hayes in Hamilton's Ægyptiaca. Implements nearly of the same construction as are here represented, are still in use in Egypt. Among the musical instruments are a harp with nine strings, another with seven, and a double flute.

usual description, about twelve feet in diameter. They brought for sale, a poor assortment of Greek and Roman coins, chiefly of the eras of the Ptolemies and Justinian, and a few *scarabæi*.*

A few miles further up the river, the traveller reaches Edfou (the ancient *Apollinopolis Magna*),† a town containing from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants, among whom there are about five or six families of Copts. This is the last place in which they are to be found. They had formerly a church about half a mile distant, but it is broken down, and now, the nearest church is at Esneh, to which they occasionally repair: setting off on the Thursday night, they arrive on the Saturday, and keep the eve of the Sabbath, which is with them as holy as the Lord's day itself. Two or three times a year, they are visited by a priest from Esneh, and once a year by the bishop. Mr. Jowett, on attempting to converse with them on reli-

* "Elethyia, or the City of Lucina (Bubasta), had an altar on which human victims were immolated."—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 163. It has evidently been a place of some consequence; and traces still exist of the road by which it communicated with Berenice and the emerald mines. There is here a landing-place, which has evidently been used for the loading of the boats; and Belzoni gives it as his opinion, that "this place must have been more frequented by the caravans from the sea, than Coptos, as it is a somewhat shorter journey to the Nile."—Vol. ii. p. 97.

† In lat. 24° 58′ 43″ N.; long. 32° 54′ E. Edfou, written also Odfu and Atbo, is said to be called by the Arabs, *Athbah*, which signifies destitute of trees.—MINUTOLI'S *Recollections*, p. 153. A little to the northward of Edfou are the ruins of Hieraconpolis, a city consecrated to the hawk. They consist of the remains of a gate belonging to an edifice of considerable magnitude. The stone of which the supposed temple was built, is so friable, that the form of the structure is entirely lost, and none of the plan can be made out. Some yards further, the ruins of another building are with difficulty distinguishable. The other remains are a few heaps of highly burned bricks, and some blocks of granite.—AIKIN'S *Denon*, vol. ii. p. 106.



TEMPLE OF APOLLONOPOLIS MAGNA AT EDFOU.

London. Published by J. Burgess, Paternoster Row.

gious subjects through his interpreter, found them almost destitute of ideas; not one of them was found able to read; and it is impossible, he says, to suppose that they are Christians on any better ground than because their parents were such. Dr. Richardson describes the inhabitants in general as remarkably civil and extremely filthy. The town swarms with vermin and ferocious dogs. Troops of females were seen returning from their morning excursion to the river, their water-pitchers on their heads, and, dressed in their dismal brown mantles of dirty *beteen*, had an appearance which united the picturesque and the disgusting. The natives here manufacture blue cotton cloth and earthenware jars.

At the north-western corner of the village, and on the highest ground, stands a magnificent temple, which, though seen after Dendera, and inferior in size to that of Karnak, is said to yield in effect to neither, the mole and entrance being particularly noble. Numerous brick huts have been erected upon the top of the temple, in the peristyle, and in front of the propylon, so as to render access to it difficult every way. The propylon is in the form of a truncated pyramid, and is at once the most imposing and one of the best proportioned in Egypt. From a base 90 feet in length by 30 feet in width, it rises up on each side of the gateway, "like two square towers without embrasures," gradually narrowing till, at the height of 100 feet, it measures on the flattened top only 75 feet by 13. Handsome stairs lead from the gateway on either hand to the different chambers and to the summit. Over the entrance is the globe with the serpent and wings, and on each side is sculptured on the wall a colossal figure of Isis, attended by the hawk-headed deity and another colossal figure armed with a hatchet.

Within the propylon is an open court, or *dromos*, inclosed with high walls covered with sculpture, and adorned with a peristyle of eleven columns, besides five on each side of the doorway, all covered with sculpture. The pronaos, at the northern end of the court, has six columns in front, with varied capitals, resembling the leaf of the *doum*, or Thebaic palm, the leaf of the date-tree, and the budding lotus. The winged globe and serpent occur again over the door, and are frequently repeated on each side, with other strange devices of beetles, long-tailed monkeys, &c. A moulding passes down the corners of the temple, the same as at Dendera and Esneh, so as to include the whole in a frame. Within the pronaos are two rows of columns, three in each row, loaded with hieroglyphics and devices; the globe with wings is painted along the centre of the ceiling, and each intercolumniation has its peculiar ornament; but there is no zodiac. On the walls, Osiris, Isis, and Horus are receiving offerings. The entrance to the cella is quite blocked up with sand and rubbish.

The exterior of this beautiful temple is covered with similar decorations; only the figures are larger and less numerous. Isis is represented with her hair done up in the fashion of the Berber Arabs: before her stands a priest in a similar head-dress, who is offering incense, while a hawk is in the act of flying from his breast. In another part, a priest is sacrificing a gazelle to Osiris. Harpocrates seated on his lotus, the two-headed scarabæus rolling his ball, the horse, the ram, the ibis, the hawk, and even the unhallowed pig, are all represented on the walls of this magnificent edifice. The whole has been surrounded with a high stone wall, at once to exclude the unhallowed gaze, and to protect the sanctuary from vi-

lence; but it is now banked up with rubbish. The temple measures about 440 feet by 220, and its largest columns are 21 feet in girth and 42 feet in height.

Not far from this large temple, and on a lower level towards the S.W., stands a small peripteral temple, supposed to have been dedicated to the worship of Typhon, whose horrible image occurs above the capitals of the columns and elsewhere on the walls; but in no place is he presented with offerings.* On the west end, Isis is represented in a chair, with lotus flowers springing up all around her; in another place, she is nursing Horus before Osiris; in another, a groupe of women, with children in their arms, are on their knees before Nephthe, and Horus is standing behind her. The whole of the emblems indicate that the temple was dedicated to "the genius of population," rather than to the destroyer. The cella of this temple also is filled up with sand. There ought to be tombs in the neighbourhood of Edfou, but none have been discovered. †

A short distance above Edfou, the valley again contracts; and at *Hadjar Silsily* (the rock of the chain), the sandstone rocks on each side come close to the river, rising from 60 to 100 feet above its level, but not precipitously. ‡ Here is an extensive and

* Dr. Richardson expresses his doubt whether this horrible dwarf be really designed to represent Typhon the gigantic destroyer, whose image, according to Plutarch, was the crocodile or the wolf. He supposes him to be the Egyptian Neptune.

† "At Edfou," says Malte Brun, "is a large temple, the corridors and mysterious passages of which are still to be seen." This seems to imply extensive excavations; but we have been unable to ascertain the authority for his statement. M. Drovetti has discovered near this temple an avenue of sphinxes.

‡ "One part of the passage has been often noticed for its contracted breadth, and is said to have been traversed in ancient times by a chain, which stopped the navigation of the river. It has even

ancient quarry, which has been fashioned into dwellings and shrines, and covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. The most extensive excavations are on the eastern side, where the ancient roads leading into them still bear the tracks of wheel-carriages. These roads have been cut from the river through the sandstone, where it is shattered, porous, and of little value, into the parts of the rock where it becomes more compact and fit for being wrought: by pursuing them, the traveller may easily unravel the whole labyrinth. Some of the quarries are about 600 feet long, 300 feet wide, and from 70 to 80 feet high, but they never descend, apparently, below the level of the Nile. In some places, stairs have been cut in the rock; but in general, the only ladder is formed by square foot-holes cut in the face of the rock, such as those by which the naked monks scale the precipitous front of the rocks at *Djebel el Tair*, near Minyet. In different parts of the excavations, are several inscriptions in Coptic, but by far the greater number are in Greek, recording the offerings of individuals. Dr. Richardson supposes, that the greater part of the quarry was most probably wrought by the Greeks in the time of the Ptolemies, when the worship of Jupiter Ammon was most especially in vogue. In one part, he observed a sphinx half cut out; in another, stones merely outlined; and in other instances, blocks nearly disengaged, and the splinters lying about with so fresh an appearance, that

been affirmed, that the French discovered an iron bolt on the west side. My boatmen affected to shew the place whence it was taken; and in confirmation of the idea of the navigation having been stopped by a chain, we have the present Arabian name, *Hadjar Silsilis*, the rock of the chain. One of the rocks has been cut into a rude cubic mass, on the summit of which lies another horizontally, of a triangular shape, and at a distance appears like the head of a bird."—LIGHT'S *Travels*, p. 49.

it seemed as if the labourer had left his work only the evening before, and might be expected to return to resume it. But that yesterday was 2000 years ago, and the morrow never came.

The quarries on the western bank are much less considerable. The principal objects of attraction are along the edge of the river: they consist of numerous tablets, devices, and excavations, resembling tombs or temples cut in the perpendicular face of the rock. In one of these, the lion-headed Isis, with the moon over her head, is associated with an ibis-headed deity; and near them, Typhon, with a lunated head-dress, is receiving an offering from a personage, to whom he is holding forth the sacred *tau*. This is remarkable as being the only instance, Dr. Richardson says, in which he recollects to have seen an offering presented to this mis-shapen deity in any of the Egyptian temples. Many of the excavations have fallen in. The greater part have been covered with hieroglyphics, and some have been painted. "The one that most arrested our attention," he continues, "is at the lower end of the series. It has four columns in front, with several niches in the inside containing statues. The sculpture and hieroglyphics with which the walls are covered, shew that it was originally a heathen temple; and the figure of the cross painted up in several places, indicates that subsequently it has been converted into a place of Christian worship. In another of these excavations, we saw the figure of the cross painted upon the wall, with the inscription over it, CTAYPOC ΔΩN XPICTIANΩN, the cross of the Christians; and on the wall opposite, ΓC + ẊC. We did not see the remains of any town or village in this place; and as there is no arable land in the immediate vicinity, it is probable that any houses that were erected here, were merely

for the accommodation of the labourers in the quarries.

Having passed this strait, near the point where the river bends towards the west, and the cultivated soil again appears, the traveller has a view of the noble ruin of the temple of Ombos, standing upon the eastern bank of the river, and fronting the west.* This is a very uncommon circumstance, as all the other temples in Egypt front the east. Nor is this the only peculiarity. "This temple," says Sir F. Henniker, "differs from all others, inasmuch as the number of pillars is uneven, and that there are two entrances and two *adyta*.† Thirteen pillars are yet standing, and two have fallen." Dr. Richardson supposes, however, that there were originally eighteen. His description of this fine remain is as follows: "There is no propylon or *dromos* in front of the temple, but the portico is very magnificent, and presents an imposing façade 83 feet in length towards the river. It has consisted of fifteen massy columns, five in front and three in depth. They are about 30 feet high, and nearly 20 feet in circumference at the base, and are covered with sculptured figures and hieroglyphics, with capitals modelled after the palm-branch, the *doum*, and the lotus. The remains of the whole building are about 120 feet in length. The interior is quite different from that of any other temple in the country. It is entered from the portico by three doors, which have the globe and serpent with wings sculptured over

* Properly speaking, the river, after flowing from the E., here bends again towards the N.; but in ascending it, it must be spoken of as turning to the west. The elbow which it makes, forms a sort of harbour.

† It consists, in fact, of two united, though distinct, but perfectly symmetrical buildings.

each. The middle door leads into a large chamber, which seems to have no communication with any other part; but it is so much filled up with sand and stones, that this cannot be ascertained. The other two doors lead to passages passing on through the le suite of four chambers, almost all of which have doors communicating with the outside, but not with each other, through the partition-wall in the centre of the edifice. In the first chamber, over the door of communication, is a Greek inscription which appears to be coeval with the building itself.* Some of the stones are very large: we measured one, which is 20 feet 5 inches long, by 6 feet 10 inches broad, and 4 feet 9 inches thick. The whole of the interior is very much filled with sand, and the walls have partly fallen down. Near the north-east corner, I observed that part of the wall rests on Roman brick. The whole temple has been surrounded with a high wall. There was also, probably, another row of columns in the portico, fronting that part of the body of the temple which now appears stripped and like a shapeless projection from the rest: the columns would then be eighteen in number, which is more conformable to the Greek taste in building, which did not admit of an odd number of columns in the façade. On the south side of the temple, the bases of large columns still remain, but they appear to have belonged to another temple. The sculpture on this temple does not appear ever to have been finished: the best executed is on the pronaos. Osiris is frequently depicted with a crocodile's head, with the sceptre and sacred *tau* in his hand, and receiving offerings. The crocodile repeat-

* The inscription is given by Mr. Hamilton. It is a dedication to Aroëris-Apollo and the co-templar deities.

edly occurs among the hieroglyphics; and in one place, we saw him as if placed on an altar, and surrounded with votaries, but we did not see him among the sculptured figures.*

"At the south-west corner of the pronaos, but considerably in advance of it, and close upon the brink of the river, there is a lofty structure resembling a propylon: it is remarkably well built, and covered with sculpture, but much dilapidated. Joined to it is a high ruined wall of unburned brick, which has been carried all round the temple; probably designed for walking round the sacred crocodile which was worshipped here, as the long tank beside the propylon might be intended for bathing him. On the opposite, or north-west corner of the temple, close upon the river, are remains of a small temple of Isis, with Isis-headed columns, and an excellent figure of the goddess sculptured upon the wall."

It would seem from the preceding account, that the crocodile was worshipped by the Ombites as an emblem of Osiris, as the serpent was the bestial symbol of Cnuphis, and the ibis and the hawk were representatives of other deities. That revolting modification of idolatry which consists in the adoration of sacred animals, (and to which we may be allowed to give the name of zoolatry,) doubtless originated, in many instances, in their being regarded and represented as simple emblems of the deity to whom they had a supposed relation. But, in the downward process of do-

* In this temple, M. Jomard states, there are some unfinished paintings, which "shew that the Egyptians employed in their drawings the same geometrical methods as the moderns. They divided the surface into small squares, a method which they also doubtless employed in geography." The colouring in many parts is still very bright.

latrous superstition, the living hieroglyphic in time became the ultimate object of worship. Thus, in the symbolical worship of the golden Apis by the rebellious Israelites, we seem to have the first stage of that idolatrous corruption of religion, of which the Egyptians claim to be regarded as the inventors; which subsequently degenerated, in the hands of an artful priesthood, into the worship of a living idol; and which at length reached its climax of horrible absurdity and wickedness, in the sacrifice of human victims to the serpent, or the crocodile, the bestial symbols of cruelty and vice.* In some instances, the religious honours paid to sacred animals, have been supposed to derive a pretence from the usefulness of the species, and to have been dictated by a perverted gratitude, or rather by a sinister policy, with a view to secure their preservation. For the adoration of the crocodile, no such reason can be assigned. How then can it have originated? It seems most probable, that it was originally selected as an emblem of some abstract idea by which it was connected with Osiris. Possibly, as being the king of the river, it might be an emblem of royalty or power; or its name might bear some accidental relation to sovereignty.† This association once

* The worship of the crocodile was not peculiar to Ombos, and its high antiquity may be inferred from the statement of Herodotus respecting the sacred crocodiles of Lake Mœris. See p. 18 of this volume. Some have supposed the crocodile to be intended in the apocryphal book of Bel and the Dragon. At Ahanta, on the Gold Coast, it is an object of worship at the present day. At Accra, the hyena is said to be the favourite object of adoration; in the kingdom of Dahomey, the snake; and vultures all over that part of the western coast. The practice of human sacrifices is equally prevalent there.

† "Bochart thinks, that Pharaoh properly signifies the crocodile, and that Ezekiel (xxix. 3) alludes to this when he says: 'Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon

established, the animal itself soon acquired the sacredness originally attaching only to the symbol, and Osiris saw himself supplanted by the literal monster of the Nile.

The inveterate feud between the Ombites and the Tentyrites, has already been referred to. They quarrelled about their bestial deities, and they appear to have been worthy of their gods. Both towns are now equally desolate and uninhabited. The ruins of *Koum Ombos* (as it is now called) are at a short distance to the north of the temple; they consist merely of small brick huts, half-buried beneath the sand, and tenanted by foxes and jackals.* There is no village within two miles; but, a little to the east of the temple, there

that lieth in the midst of his rivers?"—CALMET'S *Dict.*, art. *Pharaoh*. May there not be a sort of paronomasia in the passage referred to? Pharaoh appears to be the Coptic word *ouro*, a king, with the masculine article prefixed, *phouro*. *Ouro* is also the name of the basilisk or asp; but it is remarkable, that the hieroglyphic for *ouro*, king, is a sort of *dragon;* and to this symbol, probably, the sacred writers allude. (Isa. xxvii. 1; li. 9.) The dragon (*than*) was a fabulous lizard, and the *levi-than*, or jointed dragon, was the crocodile. That the crocodile was anciently the symbol of Egypt, is certain from Roman coins still extant; and that it was also regarded as a royal animal, is clear from the magnificent description in the book of Job, in which he is styled "*the king* over all the sons of pride," or, as the Septuagint, Syriac, and Chaldee read, "king over all that live in the waters." We may therefore conclude, that either, like the basilisk, it bore the name of king (*phouro*), or was a hieroglyphic symbol of royalty; so that the literal translation of the type, though not of the word Pharaoh, was dragon or crocodile.

* All the lower part of the ancient town, except what has been washed away by the river, is covered with a mound of sand. For some years past, the river has turned more directly towards the Arabian chain, and threatens to destroy in time all the monuments on the left bank, unless dikes are raised to give another direction to the stream. Denon speaks of an enormous mole here, which is at present in ruins in its upper part, the foundations of which have been laid bare by the inundation to the depth of 60 feet.

is a cultivated and well-watered field on the edge of the desert, where are found numerous mummy-pits. These are generally divided into three compartments, with horizontal niches, in which the mummies were laid on their backs, the feet outwards. Dr. Richardson searched in vain for the pits in which the crocodile mummies were deposited. The nearest village is Draou or Daroo, about two miles higher up the river, on the opposite bank.

The country still continues narrow, but is well cultivated, and abounds with palm-trees. At length, the barren mountain range on the west of the river begins to assume a bolder aspect, rising into a round, bluff point, called *Djebel Howa*, (the mountain of the wind,) which overlooks the town and plain of Assouan; the island of Elephantina, the rugged cataract, and the branching Nile. Its summit is crowned with the tomb of a Marabout Shiekh; and half way down its side are the extensive ruins of the convent of St. George, with numerous excavations. Burckhardt speaks of them as highly interesting from their apparent antiquity. "Each of them consists of a square chamber covered with hieroglyphics, in which are square pillars without capitals: the largest of these measure two feet and a half, and are fifteen feet in height; they are all of very rude workmanship. In some of the temples are four, in others, six or eight pillars. The Greeks have made chapels of almost all these temples." On the eastern bank, the mountain is low, and the valley more extended; it is cultivated, and adorned with the picturesque palm-tree. The view up the river, which winds towards the west, terminates in a precipitous granite cliff crowned with the ruined walls and houses of the ancient Syene. "Passing the eye along the river as we advanced," says Dr.

Richardson, "it was impossible not to be impressed with the singular majesty of its appearance: parted, at the bottom of the cataract, by the granite base of the green and beautiful island of Elephantina, it poured along its sides, as if from an invisible source, and having united its waters at the low northern point of the island, held on its noble and rapid course to the ocean. On the western bank, passing up the river from *Djebel Howa*, all is rock and sand; the mountain ridge bounded our prospect to the south, and it seemed as if we had reached the extremity of our navigation, as we had that of ancient Egypt."

ASSOUAN.

ASSOUAN, according to the observations of the French, is situated in lat. 24° 5′ 23″ N., long. 32° 54′ 49″ E. Its natural position, so well adapted for a frontier town, has rendered it at all times a place of importance. It was formerly a bishopric, but no Christians are now found here. Ruined churches and convents strike the eye of the traveller, but the Christian faith is unknown. Not only is it the last town in Egypt, but it is the last place, in this direction, in which the Arabic is spoken as the vernacular tongue. Below the Cataract, Ethiopia begins;* and the transition is as strongly marked as ever, in the different aspect and language of the natives and the altered character of the country.

* It is twice mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel as the southern frontier of Egypt (xxix. 10, xxx. 6), but, in our authorised version, the sense of the original is obscured. It should have been rendered: "I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from Migdol to Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia." Migdol or Magdolos was near the Red Sea on the Syrian frontier. See *Exod.* xiv. 2. *Jer.* xliv. 1. xlvi. 14.

"Syene," remarks the French Geographer, "which, under so many different masters, has been the southern frontier of Egypt, presents, in a greater degree than any other spot, that confused mixture of monuments which reminds us of the instability of all human things. Here, the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies raised the temples and the palaces which are found half-buried under the drifting sand. Here are forts and walls built by the Romans and the Arabians. And on the remains of all these buildings are found French inscriptions, attesting that the warriors and learned men of modern Europe pitched their tents and erected their observatories on this spot. But the eternal grandeur of nature here presents a still more magnificent spectacle. Here are the terraces of that peculiar kind of reddish granite, hence called syenite. These mighty terraces, shaped into peaks, cross the bed of the Nile; and over them the river rolls majestically its impetuous, foaming waves. Here are the quarries from which were dug the obelisks and colossal statues of the Egyptian temples. An obelisk partially formed, and still remaining attached to the native rock, bears testimony to the laborious and patient efforts of human art. In the midst of this valley, skirted for the most part with arid rocks, a series of delightful islands, covered with palms, date-trees, mulberry-trees, acacias, and napecas, has deservedly obtained the name of the Tropical Gardens." *

The present town of Assouan has been built a little to the north of a former town of Saracenic origin, the ruins of which are seen above it, and which was itself built upon the ruins of the Roman city. The whole town is encompassed with vestiges of buildings; the

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 90.

most interesting are about the old town, which occupies a strong and commanding position: the walls still remain, and though slight and of sun-dried brick, are very entire. They are flanked with towers at unequal distances. Many of the walls of the houses are also standing, but they are all unroofed. From the interior of many of them, passages lead down to the chambers of houses belonging to the ancient city, which are now underground: they have been decorated in a style greatly superior to that of the super-incumbent dwellings. Dr. Richardson noticed, deep in the rubbish at the lower part of the town, Roman columns of granite and fragments of several statues. The abandonment of the old town is said to have been occasioned by the alarming visitation of the plague;* but, unwilling to travel further than was deemed necessary, the inhabitants moved just the breadth of the city, and the northern wall of the ancient city forms, in one part, the southern wall of the present town. Without the eastern wall, is the burial-ground of the ancient city, nearly three miles in circumference. Many of the grave-stones are covered with inscriptions in the Kufic character.† To the south of

* In A.H. 806, 21,000 persons died of the plague at Assouan; a fact from which we may estimate its importance in those times.

† These inscriptions, Mr. Bruce informs us, shew the tombs to be those of the Arabs belonging to the army of Khaled Ibn el Waaled, surnamed by Mahommed, *Saif Ullah* (the sword of God), who, in the khalifate of Omar, took and destroyed Syene after losing great part of his army before it. "It was afterwards rebuilt by the shepherds of Beja; then by Christians; was again taken in the time of Saladin, and with the rest of Egypt, has ever since belonged to Cairo. It was conquered by, or rather surrendered to, Selim, emperor of the Turks, in 1516, who planted two advanced posts (Deir and Ibrim) beyond the cataract in Nubia, with small garrisons of janissaries to guard them, where they continue to this day."—BRUCE, ii. 60. Assouan, this Traveller adds, means in

the old town, there are many tombs cut in the sandstone rock, which is found interposed between the strata of granite and basalt. Several granite columns of Roman workmanship near the ancient pier, and a small, square stone building adorned with sculpture and hieroglyphics, but apparently unfinished, which the imagination of M. Savary turned into an ancient observatory,* are the only remains of Syene.

The island of Elephantina, now called *Djeziret-el-zahir*, the flowery island,† is about 2000 feet in length, and 600 feet in breadth. The northern end is low and alluvial, well-cultivated, and shaded with palm-trees. Here are ruins of Roman fortifications, opposite to which, on the eastern bank of the Nile, are remains of Arabian works. The southern extremity of the island is rocky and elevated; and the bare granite comes down to the edge of the river. Here is an ancient quarry, from which large columns have been excavated: the marks of the workman's chisel and wedge are as fresh as if they were of yesterday. Some are lying blocked out and partly wrought; and a large sarcophagus is two-thirds cut out of the rock.

Arabic, *enlightened*, but, in the language of Beja, a circle. But, in the Coptic, *Suan* signifies the opening. From this word the Greeks formed Syene, and the Arabs, prefixing the article, As-Souan.

* Savary fancied, that this "observatory" was built over the mouth of the ancient well into which the sun is stated to have shone vertically on the day of the summer solstice; and he supposed that this assumed circumstance would afford data for ascertaining the position of the tropic thirty centuries ago. M. Malte Brun, has shewn, that the well could be of little assistance in this matter; nor can the vague observations of the ancients be relied upon. Dr. Richardson supposes the building in question to have been intended as a small fane for the daily worship of the people on the east side of the river; but he remarks, that the name which it now bears, *Medrasseh*, implies a place of study.

† Improperly written by Norden *El Sagr*, by Dr. Richardson *El Sag*, and by Belzoni *El Shag*.

Near this quarry, an immense mound of rubbish stretches across the island, formed of broken pottery and other materials. At a short distance to the northward, are six magnificent columns of an ancient temple, covered with the usual hieroglyphic sculpture, but with no mound near it. In another part of the island, a granite statue of Osiris, much defaced, shews the way to a small peripteral temple, 36 feet by 29, with seven square columns on each side. Over the door is the usual ornament of the globe, serpent, and wings; but, except in the sculpture and hieroglyphics which cover the walls, it has nothing of the character of an Egyptian temple. It is in a very ruinous state. To the south-west of this temple are seen the two elevated shafts of a pyramidal propylon, which probably belonged to a more magnificent temple, the foundations of which must be sought for beneath the mounds of rubbish. Masses of granite are scattered about in several directions. Many fragments of brick and stone buildings are found along the edge of the river, together with circular pits dug in the granite rock, full of water; and numerous tablets of hieroglyphics and other sculptures have been carved upon the polished face of the granite rocks on both sides of the river. Among the innumerable fragments of pottery strewed over the whole field of ruins, occur some singular memorials of the Roman troops who have been quartered here. "Many broken pieces of red earthenware, shreds of the potsherd, are found, which appear to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portion of corn. The name of Antoninus is legible on some of them. They are in Greek, written in black, in a running-hand very similar to that which is used in a Greek letter at this very day. They are in small pieces about half the size of a man's

hand, and each one appears complete, though it is difficult to decipher them." *

The whole of this beautiful island is inhabited by Nubians, who are perfectly black, without bearing any resemblance in their features to the negro; whereas the inhabitants of Assouan are of the Arab race, probably with some mixture of Nubian blood, strong and swarthy. Dr. Richardson noticed also several families differing in complexion, as well as in feature, from both; their hue, a reddish-brown resembling mahogany, and their physiognomy approaching very near to that of "the young Memnon" and the "russet groupe" of priests in the great tomb at Beban-el-Melook. The women of Assouan never leave their houses while the sun is up; but perform their avocations of fetching water, &c., before sun-rise and after sun-set. The Nubian women, on the contrary, are not afraid of the sun, and before marriage, go almost entirely unclothed, but wear a profusion of large glass beads of various colours round their necks and wrists. Sir F. Henniker speaks in glowing terms of the handsome features, animated expression, and graceful forms of these sable nymphs of Elephantina; and Dr. Richardson describes them as having countenances at once sweet and animated, like those portrayed in the ancient tombs. It would seem that Isis herself must have been a Nubian. †

* Jowett, p. 140. "This," remarks the author, "seems to illustrate Ezek. iv. 1. Under the Romans, it was garrisoned by three cohorts.—STRABO, xvii. i. 469.

† "The long residence of the French had in some degree civilized the inhabitants of Assouan. Those of Elephantina appeared a distinct race, intermixed with Berbers or Barabras, commonly called *Gooblis*, natives of Nubia, who seemed to flock here either for a livelihood or for refuge. I was surprised to find so much kindness from people who were literally in a constant state of war-

BERENICE.

UNDER nearly the same parallel as Assouan, in the most southerly part of the vast desert of the Thebaid, which lies between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea, is the site of the ancient city of Berenice, delightfully situated in an extensive plain almost surrounded with mountains. Its ruins are still perceptible even to the arrangement of the streets; and in the centre is a small Egyptian temple, built of soft calcareous stone and sandstone, adorned in the usual manner with hieroglyphics and bas-reliefs. It is nearly covered with sand. Opposite to the town is a very fine natural harbour, open towards the north, the entrance of which has been deep enough for small vessels, but the bar is now impassable at low water. The plain is sandy, with a small proportion of clay, impregnated with saline incrustations. It abounds with the *sount* (acacia), and with a small tree called *suvaro*, which grows close to the salt-water and out of the rocks, rising to the height of about eight feet; its leaves resemble in texture those of the laurel, and it makes good fire-wood. Towards the sea, the plain is perpetually moist, and might be made to yield good pasture. The only water now found here, is that of three wells, which is not potable, being so bitter as to increase thirst, instead of slaking it. Mr. Belzoni supposes that there may exist

fare and defence, subject at all times to the predatory excursions of their neighbours living near the Cataracts. Every spot was cultivated, and every person employed. None asked for money, and I walked about, greeted by all I met with courteous and friendly salams. The intercourse I had with the natives of Assouan, was of a very different nature; and in spite of French civilization and French progeny, which the countenances and complexion of many of the younger part of the inhabitants betrayed, I never received marks of attention without a demand on my generosity."—LIGHT'S *Travels*, pp. 51, 3.

in the mountains, springs which are now either choked up or unknown.* He observed, however, no traces of any aqueduct. The nearest mountains are to the westward of the town, between five and six miles distant. On the north, the mountain range is about twelve miles distant, running out into a cape called *Ras-el-Golahen:* on the south, they are at the distance of fifteen miles, sweeping round like an amphitheatre. The city has occupied an area of 2000 feet by 1600, which Mr. Belzoni supposes to have enclosed about 2000 houses.† At a short distance are several detached groupes of ruins; and altogether, the population of this ancient port may have amounted to as many as 10,000 inhabitants. In the nearest rocks, which are of a soft calcareous stone, were observed some sepulchral excavations.‡

The regular road to Berenice was from Coptos: the route followed by Mr. Belzoni communicates with the Nile near Eleithyia and Edfou.§ The Emerald Mines are further to the north, in the heart of the desert, a seven days' journey from Esneh, which is the nearest place on the Nile. Mr. Belzoni found about fifty men encamped at the foot of a high mountain called Zubara,‖ in which the mines are found. They had been at work for six months without success, and bitterly execrated the tyrant whose avarice had sent them to toil and perish in that dreary and barren solitude. The mines of the ancients were found all

* At a place called *Amusie,* a day's journey from *Sakiet* (the Berenice of M. Calliaud), a running spring rises out of a granite chasm; a singular phenomenon in such a country. "It affords water enough to make a jet of about an inch diameter, and the water is excellent."

† The largest houses appeared to have been about 40 feet by 20.

‡ Belzoni, vol. ii. pp. 73—97. § See p. 176 of this volume.

‖ Supposed to be the *Smaragdus Mons* of Ptolemy.

choked up with the rubbish of the upper part that had fallen in; and the labour requisite to clear them was great, owing to the narrowness of the shaft, "scarcely capable of containing the body of a man crawling like a cameleon." They are something like the mummy pits of Gornou. The cavities follow the veins of mica and marble, and have been carried to a great distance into the heart of the mountain, in all directions, and at various angles of inclination. The two strata of marble which inclose the mica, approach each other, till at length they unite; and it is at that point that the emeralds are generally found. Those which have hitherto been discovered, however, are in small quantity, and of a secondary quality. Either the mines were exhausted by the ancients, or the Pasha's operations have been unskilfully conducted.*

THE OASES.

We must not take leave of the land of Egypt, without adverting to that very singular feature in its topography, the Oases, which are found, like green islands, studding the Libyan desert. These are generally reckoned three in number; the *Oasis Magna*, of which the principal town is El Karjeh; the *Oasis Parva*, or that of El Kassar; and the Northern Oasis, or that of Siwah. But to these must now be added the Western Oasis, which appears not to have been mentioned by any ancient geographer except Olympiodorus, and which was never visited by any European before Sir Archibald Edmonstone in 1819.

OASIS OF SIWAH.

The Oasis of Siwah has long possessed a mysterious interest, from its inclosing the site of the far-famed

* Belzoni, vol. ii. pp. 48—51.

temple of Jupiter Ammon. Mr. Browne, who visited Siwah in 1792, was the first modern traveller who penetrated to that Oasis; but he was unable to reach the site of the temple, owing to the savage jealousy of the natives. He set out from Alexandria with a small caravan of Arab merchants. After a march of seventy-five hours along the coast, he came to a very abundant spring; here he left the coast, and proceeded south-west, crossing a perfect desert. On the third night from the spring, he reached a miserable village called *Karet-Om-el-Sogheir*, where water is found, with a number of date-trees. At about a mile and a half from this place, the country again becomes desert. On the fifteenth day from Alexandria, he reached Siwah. The entire journey occupied 139 hours in marching, the latter part being performed with unusual celerity. It is reckoned, however, not above a fourteen days' journey from Derna on the coast.

In Sept. 1798, Mr. Hornemann set out with the Fezzan caravan from Cairo. They passed by the valley of the Natron lakes, and that of Mokarrah. After eleven days' journey to the W.S.W., always in the desert, he at length came to *Omm-el-Sogheir*; and thence, in twenty hours, reached Siwah,—a journey of thirteen days.*

In 1819, M. Calliaud, being provided with *firmauns* from Mohammed Ali, reached Siwah from Fayoum, after a fatiguing journey of eighteen days. Two months after, in Feb. 1820, M. Drovetti availed himself of an expedition under Hassan Bey, sent to reduce the Siwahans to obedience, to visit the whole of this

* The distance from Cairo to Siwah, according to Browne, is twelve days, or about 100 leagues; and it is reckoned about the same distance from Siwah to El Karjeh.

mysterious spot.* Setting out from Terrâneh, they proceeded to the southern point of the Lake Mareotis; from Zâouyah, they travelled S.E. to Hammâmeh, one of the points of the road taken by the hadji caravan from Tripoli; thence, turning S., they reached Lebbak, on the road taken by Hornemann in going from Cairo to Mokarrah. To reach this place, which, by the shortest road, is only 40 leagues from the Nile, the expedition had travelled about 57 leagues. From Lebbak, they proceeded by a road over the mountains to Garah (the Karet of Browne), a distance of 45 leagues: at one place, there is water to drink. At length, passing Zeytoun, where are ruins, they reached Siwah, after having travelled about 130 leagues from Terrâneh.

In October 1820, Siwah was visited by Baron Von Minutoli, a Prussian general, who attempted without success to penetrate to Cyrene.†

* The Siwahans, after a brave but fruitless opposition for three hours against the Egyptian artillery, submitted to the forces of the Pasha, about 2000 strong. They had hitherto been independent. Hassan Bey, the governor of Baheireh, had already subdued the Little Oasis. For the details relating to this expedition and M. Drovetti's observations, we are indebted to the Cabinet of Foreign Voyages, vol. i.

† The party left Alexandria on the 5th of October, and proceeded along the coast to Abousir, (supposed to be Taposiris,) where are ruins of an extensive temple. Here they halted for some days. On the 10th, they entered the desert, and on the 15th, after having travelled four days without meeting with any well or spring, encamped at *Beer-el-Hubba*, where is good water. They then traversed an undulating country, "touching on the Roman ruins of *Zuba Soye Wahe* and *Guble*," and at length reached *El Baratoun*, the ancient Parætonium, reckoned 200 miles W. of Alexandria. On the 22nd, they reached *Beer-el-Kor*, where the Baron thought fit to abandon the project of reaching Cyrene, and turned aside to the Oasis of Siwah. Some of the party, however, pushed on to *Ausherim*, on the frontier of Tripoli, which is here formed by a high mountain, *Djebel Gebir*, that forms the northern slope of

The information furnished by these different travellers, enables us to give a tolerably complete description of this almost unknown district.

Siwah Kebir (Great Siwah), the capital of the Oasis to which it gives name, is situated in lat. 29° 12′ 20″ N., (nearly the same as that of Beni Souef,) and in 26° 6′ 9″ E. long. The Oasis, according to Mr. Browne, is about six miles from E. to W., and between four and five wide, which, if understood of the fertile part only, agrees with the statement of M. Calliaud. But M. Drovetti, including the whole space between the town and the two lakes on the N.E. and N.W., makes the district an irregular quadrilateral area about five leagues by four.* A large proportion of this space is occupied by date-trees; the palm, the pomegranate, the fig-tree, the olive, the vine, the apricot, the plantain, the plum, and even the apple, are said to flourish in the gardens. Dates and dried apricots are an article of commerce. A considerable quantity of rice of a reddish hue, is cultivated, with a little wheat; and the fields produce parsnips and other vegetables. The soil is in general a sandy clay, but all the environs are covered with salt, and the water of the lakes is brackish. Rock salt is found in large blocks, sometimes perfectly white, which are used for building materials. Crystallized gypsum also is found, and the rock is full of petrified

an elevated plain. At its N.E. foot is an ancient square fortress, of Saracen architecture, the lower part of which is still in perfect preservation: it is called *Kassar Eshtabi*. This was their ultimate point. Not obtaining leave from the Bey of Derna to enter his territory, they left Eshtabi at noon on the 14th of November, and reached Siwah on the evening of the 18th.

* Gen. Minutoli, however, makes it extend about nine miles in length, and no where much above two in breadth. Besides Siwah Kebir, the chief town, it contains three smaller ones, all fortified and well-peopled; Siwah Shargieh, Siwah Gharbièh, and Máshie, or Menshyeh.

shells. Yet, notwithstanding this abundance of salt throughout the district, the springs are perfectly sweet, and the fresh water often runs close to the salt water. Nor can any soil be more fertile. Even in the middle of the salt lake to the west of the town, there are two little islands, on which grow the date-tree and other fruit-trees: on the other side are very fine olive-plantations, which are reached by a causey made across the lake. To the west of Siwah is a sulphur-mine, which was formerly worked, till it became an object of sanguinary contest. Mineral tepid springs are numerous in the environs; and the frequency of earthquakes is doubtless connected with these geological phenomena.

The external appearance of the town of Siwah is striking and singular, as well as its internal arrangement. It is built upon a steep conical rock of testaceous limestone, and, both in its form and in its crowded population, bears a resemblance to a bee-hive. The streets, narrow and crooked, are like staircases; and are so dark from the overhanging stories, that the inhabitants use a lamp at noon-day. In the centre of the town, the streets are generally 5 feet broad and about 11 feet high; but others are so low that you must stoop to pass through them. Each house has several stories, the upper communicating with the lower by galleries and chambers which cover the streets. The number of stories visible is three or four, and is, on the whole, five or six. On every marriage, the father builds a lodgment for his son above his own, so that the town is continually rising higher. The external walls of the town are inclined, and are flanked by towers. They form nearly a square about 400 yards in circumference, with between twelve and fifteen gates. There are three wells within the walls, one of

sweet, and two of brackish water. The houses and the walls are for the most part built of natron, or mineral soda, and rock salt mixed with sand, coated with a gypseous earth, which preserves the salt from melting. The town is divided into two quarters: the upper town is inhabited only by married people, women, and children; the lower, by widowers and youths, who, though allowed to go into the other quarter by day, must retire at dusk under penalty of a fine. The total population of the town is between 2000 and 2500: that of the Oasis is supposed to amount to 8000 souls.*

The predominant character of the Siwahans is suspicion and distrust; they are jealous to excess, superstitious, unsociable, and gloomy, yet not inhospitable; rigid moslems, temperate and frugal, and brave. Their language is said to be the Berber, which has been supposed to be a remnant of the ancient Punic. The men wear a white cotton shirt with large sleeves, and reaching to the feet, with a sort of scarf called a *milayeh*; on the head, a *tarbouch*, or red Tunisine cap, without a shawl or turban; and yellow leather shoes. In winter, they wear an *ihhram* or blanket. The women wear a blue robe and *milayeh*; they braid their hair after the fashion of the women of Cairo, entwining glass beads with it, and are fond of silver bracelets and necklaces and ear-rings of the same metal. They make baskets, both of straw and leaves, much resembling those of the Berbers, but of finer workmanship. A few mats also are made, and some rude vessels, but there are no other manufactures, the men being wholly employed in agriculture and trade. They make a sort

* It is somewhat remarkable, that Mr. Browne should have given no description of this singular town. The above account rests on the testimony of the French travellers.

of wine from the red date, which they call *lagoby*, and drink very freely: it is sweet and heady, but does not keep. They do not smoke, but chew leaf tobacco. Their common food consists of dates, rice, unleavened cakes, dough fried in palm-oil, *kous-kous*, a sort of pudding, curdled milk instead of butter, occasionally the flesh of camels and goats, chickens, river shell-fish, beans and lentils. The cattle of the Oasis consist of only 250 oxen, 1500 asses, 300 goats, and but few camels, which do not thrive here.*

The trade of Siwah is carried on chiefly by the caravans. Five hundred loaded camels come from Egypt every year, by way of Damanhour, Fayoum, and Alexandria, bringing wheat, lentils, and other pulse, *milayehs* of blue and white cloth, handkerchiefs and linen, leaf tobacco, looking-glasses, and ordinary Venetian glass-ware. The Little Oasis supplies them with rice. The caravans from Tripoli, Mourzouk, and Fezzan, bring corn, quilts, *burnouses* or blankets, *tarbouches* or bonnets, morocco boots and slippers, sulphur, and slaves. In return for these various articles, the Siwahans have nothing to give but dates,† oil, and fruit. The dates, they carry themselves to Alexandria and the Little Oasis, to exchange for some of the above commodities. The Bedouin Arabs frequent Siwah, where they are supplied with many articles of food at a cheaper rate than they could be obtained in the towns of Egypt.

Opposite to the rock on which the town is built, on the east, is another similar hill, called *Beled-el-Kouffar*, the ancient town, in which are found quarries and

* M. Drovetti mentions also the sheep and the buffalo. The asses are fine and strong; the cows lean and red-haired; the sheep large, with broad, flat tails.

† From 5000 to 9000 camel-loads of dates are gathered annually.

catacombs: but they are not of a very remarkable description. No other remains of antiquity have been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of the principal town; but, considerably to the eastward, are found the ruins called *El Birbe* (the temple), which Mr. Browne first made the public of civilised Europe acquainted with, though he was prevented from pursuing the discovery. He describes it as "a single apartment, built of massive stones of the same kind as those of which the pyramids consist, and covered originally with six large and solid blocks that reach from one wall to the other. The length is 32 feet "in the clear;" the height, about 18; the width, 15. A gate at one extremity forms the principal entrance, and two doors, also near that extremity, open opposite to each other. The other end is quite ruinous. There is no appearance of any other edifice having been attached to it, and the less so, as there are remains of sculpture on the exterior of the walls. In the interior are three rows of emblematical figures, apparently designed to represent a procession; and the space between them is filled with hieroglyphic characters. The soffit is also adorned in the same manner, but one of the stones which formed it, is fallen in: the other five remain entire.* The sculpture is sufficiently distinguishable, and even the colours in some places remain. The soil around seems to indicate that other buildings have once existed near the place. I observed some hewn stones wrought in the walls of the modern buildings, but was unable to identify them by any marks of sculpture."†

* Two of these have since been thrown down by an earthquake.

† Browne's Travels, pp. 19, 20. This traveller was told, that there were many other ruins near; "but, after walking for some time where they were described to be, and observing that they pointed

It is difficult to recognise in this brief description given by the English Traveller, the same site and ruins to which the following details relate. A league and a half from the town of Siwah, towards the E.,* are ruins of a large temple built in the Egyptian style, to which the natives give the name of *Omm Beydah*. The vestiges of a triple enclosure, enormous stones lying on the ground, and masses still standing, prove it to have been a monument of the first order. The part still standing, and in tolerable preservation, is 11 yards in length, and consists of part of a principal gateway and two great walls, which are covered with three enormous stones, measuring 27 feet by 34: they must weigh about 100,000 lbs. The only apartment which can be made out, was 37 yards and a half in length. At the distance of seven yards from the angle of the gateway, are fragments of columns a yard in diameter: the capitals scattered about are too much dilapidated to allow of making out the design. The edifice is built of testaceous limestone, the same as the rock on which the temple stands: the materials were procured from the mountain which lies to the east. Some large blocks present the appearance of a

out as ruins what were in fact only rough stones apparently detached from the rock," he "returned fatigued and dissatisfied." It ought to be mentioned, that he appears to have laboured at the time under severe indisposition; but he had not Belzoni's scent for ruins. It is indeed clear, that he never penetrated to *Siwah Kebir*, the chief town, since he describes *El Birbe* as only two miles from the village he reached, whereas it is above twice that distance east of Great Siwah. The village at which he stopped, was probably *Siwah Shargieh*, Eastern Siwah.

* According to M. Drovetti, Omm Beydah is a league and a half from Siwah Kebir towards the N.E. Baron Minutoli's account makes it one league to the S.E., between Shargieh and *Djebel Drara Enbrik*. The distances may be reconciled by supposing that a German league is referred to in the latter instance. The correct bearing must be S.E.

beautiful calcareous spar, speckled and striped. The courses are regular, the joints cemented with gypsum. The rock has been cut into the form of a wall, to form the outward enclosure, within which are remains of a stone wall, forming the inner enclosure. The ground on which the temple is built, is raised about five feet. The whole area of ruins is a rectangular space of about 360 feet by 300. The last stones towards the south, in the midst of ponds, would indicate, if they have not been removed from their places, that the temple was still more extensive. Behind the ruins towards the east, in the middle of a grove of palm-trees, near the village of Gharmy, are the remains of several chambers without sculpture. At the foot of the plateau, there is a marshy hollow, where a great quantity of water collects. The water of the springs has contributed to undermine the foundations of the temple, which have also been excavated to the depth of four feet and a half, so as to occasion the building to sink. These circumstances, together with the annual rains, the proximity of the salt lakes, and the friable nature of the materials, sufficiently account for the very ruinous state of the edifice.

"It is the more to be regretted," remarks the writer, "that the temple of *Omm Beydah* is nearly destroyed, because the existing decorations bear the closest resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. The figures, scenes, and arrangement are entirely the same. Here is *the god with the ram's head*, such as is seen at Thebes and Latopolis, who here receives the homage of the priests. The ram is the figure that most frequently occurs among the ornaments. The interior and the ceiling of the apartment still standing, were richly adorned with hieroglyphic sculptures in relief, and painted. The figures of the gods and priests

form long processions, occupying three rows, surmounted with a multitude of hieroglyphic tablets, painted blue or green. The same style and the same cast of countenance are remarked here as in the monuments of the Thebaid; the same costumes and sacrifices. The ceiling was occupied by two rows of gigantic vultures with extended wings, with tablets of hieroglyphics, and stars painted red on a blue ground. Under the ruins of the entrance gate, and on two of the faces of a rectangular block, is sculptured in full relief, the figure of Typhon or the evil genius, about five feet high. A similar block has been used in the basin of the mosque of Siwah. They were, without doubt, the pedestals of columns resembling the Typhonium of Edfou, to which these ruins bear a resemblance, but on a larger scale."*

* Cabinet of Voyages, pp. 295—7. In a subsequent article, the following particulars are given on the authority of Baron Minutoli. Close to the entrance, Ammon receives homage from a king, who presents two obelisks. Behind the god stands Venus Dione, as inmate of the temple. As immediate ornaments of the portal, are seen a serpent, introduced as an arabesque border; a male sphinx reposing, with the urn of the Nile between his feet; the sacred falcon or hawk; and next to it, the disk of the sun surrounded with the serpent, bearing on its neck the mystic key. A mass of rock which has fallen down, seems likewise to have sculptures on the exterior. First appears Isis, distinguished by the horned disk on her head; next, Osiris (according to the Ammonian mythology the son of Ammon), with the head-dress and palm-branches, and above, the goat's horns enclosing the sun's disk; then follow two divinities, male and female, with serpent's heads; then Dsjom, the Egyptian Hercules, with the sphere on his head; and Minerva (Neith) with a ram's head, the mysterious goddess of Sais and mother of the Sun, with the solar disk and the symbol of the *Agathodæmon*. Of the male figure which follows, only the arm and sceptre are preserved, and all the other sculptures of the exterior are too much decayed to be ascertained. The interior is likewise entirely covered with sculptures, the symmetrical arrangement of which is very pleasing. The height of the walls, from the scalloped

That this temple was dedicated to Jupiter Ammon, is evident; and a quarter of a league to the S.E. of these ruins, in a pleasant grove of date-palms, is the celebrated Fountain of the Sun, formerly dedicated to the Ammonian deity. It is about 30 paces in length, 20 in breadth, and the depth is stated to be six fathoms. It is perfectly transparent, and innumerable small bubbles constantly rise from the bottom, as in boiling water. A periodical change in the temperature is still perceptible. It is warmer by night than by day, and a steam usually rises from it in the morning; a fact noticed by ancient writers. It forms a little lake, from which issues a limpid brook, that soon joins another spring in the same palm-grove; and their united waters flowing towards the temple, form the swamp already mentioned, owing, probably, to the stopping up of the ancient drains. Palm-bushes and rushes grow in abundance in this marsh. Close by this fountain, in the shade of the palm-grove, are the

border to the ceiling, is 19½ feet. The ceiling is ornamented with vultures, with outstretched wings, and badges of command in their talons, between stars. Next the ceiling is a row of symbolical figures: sacred falcons, over which is the solar disk and serpent, do homage to the sceptre of the gods, and between them are tablets of hieroglyphics. The second row of figures represents a religious festival. Pilgrims with staves are coming from a distance and saluting each other; then come men bearing dishes, and others prepared to dance; then, sacred candelabra in the form of the lotus, before which persons stand in the attitude of adoration, with tables set out, and numerous platforms. Below the hieroglyphics is a broader line of figures. Ammon with the ram's head, enthroned within lotus-stems, is worshipped by a kneeling figure, probably the founder of the temple, and surrounded by the co-templar divinities; Isis, horned, Osiris, with the crook and scourge, Phtha, Neith, Anubis, and others; the male and female deities alternating. On the opposite side, the representations are similarly arranged. Ammon is again seen in his lotus sanctuary, as before; and there is a representation of a solemn sacrifice

ancient foundations of a small temple, supposed to be the remains of the small Ammonian sanctuary mentioned by Diodorus as being near the Fountain of the Sun. The natives asserted that, some years before, a Frank had gone near this spring, in consequence of which it had suddenly ceased to flow, but it burst forth again after his departure. Mr. Browne must have been the traveller alluded to, although either he was not aware of being near the fountain, or he has omitted to notice it. It would seem, from this circumstance, that the spring is liable to intermit.

The village of *Siwah Shargieh* (Eastern Siwah), situated on a hill in the vicinity of Omm Beydah, is supposed by the General to be the site of the ancient palace of Ammon.* Its situation is in favour of the supposition, and antique remains are still to be found at Shargieh.

To the S.E. of Omm Beydah is a mountain called *Djebel Drara Enbrik*, (or, as M. Calliaud writes it, *Dârr Abouberique*,) which is full of quarries and catacombs. It is from this mountain that the materials were obtained for building the great temple. It is composed of limestone mixed with gypsum, and containing beds of fossil shells, and is divided into several conical eminences. From the summit is obtained a very extensive view over the whole district. Several of the excavations, which appear to have been originally quarries, have been converted into catacombs, and adorned

* Diodorus, xvii. 50. Curtius, iv. 7. This Siwah Shargieh might seem to be the *Gharmy* or *Agharmy* of M. Drovetti, who conjectures, from the ancient foundations found there, that it was the site of the citadel of Omm Beydah. He describes it as situated to the E. of Siwah, at a short distance from Omm Beydah, the ruins of which it commands, being built on a steep rock, like Siwah Kebir. The word Gharmy, however, comes nearer to *Gharbieh*, or Western Siwah.

with pillars. The first that M. Drovetti entered, is an unfinished apartment, 17 feet by 19½, the roof supported by six square pillars. At the back, it appears to have communicated with a subterraneous passage which the sands have blocked up. Another catacomb near this is entirely filled up. The natives say, that it contains a subterraneous passage communicating with the ruined temple at Omm Beydah. Some Greek characters are carelessly traced upon the rock. A little higher up is a third *hypogeum* of better workmanship, consisting of four chambers. The entrance hall is 20 feet by 19, and appears to have been ornamented with six columns, of which nothing remains but the capitals suspended to the roof. The cornice and ornamental work are in the Egyptian style, but there are no hieroglyphics, sculptures, or inscriptions. To the N.W. of Omm Beydah is an insulated conical hill, called *Djebel Mouta*, or *Gara-el-Mota Shargieh* (the hill of sepulchres on the east), which is completely perforated with similar excavations. The sepulchres and passages are hewn in the limestone rock without much skill, but many of them are adorned with hieroglyphics on stucco, painted green, red, yellow, and blue. There are also traces of Greek inscriptions. No tombs are met with that have not been violated, and nothing is found within them, but desolation and rubbish, crumbling bones and torn bandages. The fragments exhibit no positive indication of embalment, and no bitumen is to be met with. In 1820, a part of these catacombs was inhabited by a tribe of Arabs from the Oasis of Augelah, and formed a subterraneous village.* Although none of them will admit of com-

* Mr. Browne describes some excavations, measuring about 12 feet by 6, and 6 feet in height. They were without ornament or inscription, and were evidently of an inferior order. In them

parison with the catacombs of Thebes or Alexandria, and they are probably of much more modern date, they are an interesting memorial of the ancient populousness and flourishing state of this insulated settlement.

But we have yet to explore the environs of Siwah to the westward. In pursuing the route from Siwah Kebir to the Sacred Lake, we first traverse for an hour a large plain covered with salt, in a direction a little inclining to N.; and then, for two hours more, travel over sands. On the right hand, are a large salt lake and the mountain called *Djebel Garah el Kamyseh*. Beyond this mountain, in a sandy plain, stand the ruins of a temple called *Amoudein*. Its form was that of a long parallelogram 90 feet by 25. The façade has inclined walls, and rests upon a raised basement composed of square blocks of testaceous limestone, in regular courses about six inches high: the other parts are of sun-burned brick. There are no sculptures or hieroglyphics; only some Greek characters on the façade. Kamyseh is agreeably situated. A stream of sweet water meanders from E. to W., watering fertile gardens, planted with the olive, the peach, and the pomegranate. Not far from the village are the remains of an ancient edifice of hewn stone, 92 feet in length, the style of which is something similar to the Egyptian, but the ruins are of an indeterminate character. There is also a quantity of rubbish of ancient buildings in the neighbourhood.

were "many parts of human skulls and other bones, with fragments of skin, and even of hair attached to them. All these have undergone the action of fire." It is not easy to understand how the hair could resist the fire. It is evident, however, that these must be fragments of mummies, destroyed by the modern inhabitants, possibly for the sake of the bitumen.

The mountain, which resembles *Djebel Mouta* in form, is excavated in a multitude of catacombs, but of smaller dimensions and inferior workmanship. In several of them, the outer gates have the Egyptian cornice and jambs, but they are without paintings or sculpture. The interior is so clean that they seem not to have been used. The human remains found in them, have no traces of bitumen or of embalment.

At a short distance from Kamyseh, there is a temple of Greek or Roman construction, called *Deir Roum* or *Kasr Roum*. "The part still standing is divided into three apartments, the longest of which is 49 feet by 21½; the height, 18½ feet; but the traces of ruins extend to the length of 108 feet. The roof, composed of large stones, is still remaining in a great part of the building: ten stones are in their places, but the roofs of the sanctuary and the portico have fallen. Before the temple was a large space surrounded with walls, the remains of which are seen extending about 60 feet in front. What is remarkable is, that the architecture is of the Doric order: all the sculptures, cornices, friezes, and mouldings are executed with much care.* The perfection of this work may justly excite surprise, in a country lying 130 leagues from the Nile, and in the midst of the immense deserts of Libya. With the exception of the cornices, there is nothing which puts us in mind of the Egyptian style; neither sculptures nor hieroglyphics; nor are there any inscriptions. Above the lintel of the door of the

* "About six miles from Siwah, we passed a small building of the Doric order, apparently designed for a temple. The proportions are those of the best age of architecture, though the materials are ordinary."—BROWNE, p. 28.

sanctuary, there are two stones, slightly inclined so as to make a flat arch, the whole thickness of the wall to serve as a brace. At some distance from the ruins are rocks hollowed out into catacombs, running from N.W. to S.E. They are in the southern and *most* elevated part of the mountain, and do not differ from those already described. At the foot of the mountain are numerous tombs formed of sun-burned bricks: their form is that of a semi-circular arch. On the same spot are the ruins of columns and remains of stone tombs in a state of utter dilapidation. The place is called *Belled Roum*, which announces the former existence of a town peopled by the *Roumy;* that is to say, the Greeks or the Romans, for the Arabs give that name to both.

"From *Deir Roum*, we proceed to Lake Arachyeh (or Arashieh) in a north-westerly direction. The first village we meet with is Agarmeh, which is in ruins, and lying near the lake. Further on, a full day's journey from Siwah, there is another smaller lake in the plain of Chyatah.....The Lake of Arashieh is two days and a half journey from Siwah, in a valley enclosed by two mountains, which extend from E. to W On the road are several plains watered by springs of fresh water. The lake is from six to seven leagues in circumference." M. Calliaud had been unable to obtain permission to repair to this place. The Pasha's *firmaun* failed to shake the determination of the shiekhs on this point. They would sooner perish, they said, than suffer a stranger to approach that sacred islet, which, according to their belief, real or pretended, contained talismans and treasures of mysterious potency. It was said to contain a temple, in which are the signet and sword of the prophet, the

palladium of their independence; and wo to him who should dare to lay hands upon them.* M. Drovetti, however, we are informed, not only reached the lake, but, under the protection of Hassan Bey's little army, went all round it. They found neither monuments nor treasures, and *saw* nothing in the lake but naked rocks. Strange to say, however, though provided with a boat, it does not appear that M. Drovetti thought it worth while to visit those rocks, or even to take soundings, but contented himself with circumambulating the banks, as if really withheld by a spell from reaching the mysterious and inaccessible island.

Mr. Browne had more enterprise, and would have succeeded, had he but had M. Drovetti's boat. At the end of two days from Siwah, he arrived at the place which had been described to him, and which, he says, is not far from the plain of Gegabib. There can be little doubt that it is the lake in question, although he vaguely describes it as "a small lake of salt water," and there are other lakes in the neighbourhood. "I found in it," he says, "misshapen rocks in abundance, but nothing that I could positively decide to be ruins; nor, indeed, was it likely that any such should be found there, the spot being entirely destitute of trees and fresh-water. Yet, I had the curiosity to approach nearer to these imaginary ruins, and accordingly forced my horse into the lake. He, from fatigue, or weakness, or inability to swim, soon found himself entangled, and could not keep his head above water. I fell with him, and was unable immediately to detach myself. At length, when I found myself again on dry ground, the circumstances I was under prevented

* General Minutoli's account is, that they are supposed to be the ring, sword, and crown of the great magician of the East, King Solomon.

me from making further observation on this island and lake." *

The Arabs say, that they have repeatedly attempted to reach the island with a favourable wind, but, just as they have arrived, the wind has always become contrary, and, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they have been driven back to the opposite shore. The mis-adventure of the English Traveller, and the unintelligible conduct of the French ex-consul, might almost lead one to believe that there is some fatality attaching to the enterprise.

Still further to the west, a seven days' journey from Siwah, is another Oasis, called the Oasis of Augelah. The largest village in the district is called Jalot, near which is *Oud Alle* (*Oom Dalla?*) which contains a temple. Augelah is a day's journey further. There is another temple at a place called *Oom Messous.* From that point, it is seven days' journey to Barca (Cyrene) and Bengazy (Berenice). The road passes through a valley in which terminate all the roads coming from the west.†

Comparatively little is known as yet, as will be evident from the preceding narrative, of the Libyan provinces. The traces of ancient civilization are found to extend at intervals, in all directions, over a large proportion of the country which, in our maps, is a blank desert. D'Anville too hastily, for once, affirmed, that the Santariah of the Arabian geographers,

* Browne, p. 26. It must be remarked, however, that a lake seven leagues in circumference, could not easily be crossed on horseback.

† Cabinet of Voyages, p. 312. *Augelah*, the Augila of Herodotus, is perhaps the *Auscherim* of the German travellers, near *Djebei Gebir*, the Great Mountain, on the frontier of Tripoli; and the valley may be *Wady Dachan.*

wherever that place is, must represent the ancient Ammonia, because "the nature of the country admits no other object to embarrass the choice." * Siwah can, he thinks, be no other than the ancient Mareotis. Mr. Browne supposed it to be the Siropum of Ptolemy. What then is Kamyseh or Belled Roum? M. Malte Brun says, that Siwah is the country of Ammon, the Santariah of Abulfeda, and the Sant Ryah of Idrisi.† That Siwah is Ammon, Major Rennell has brought a great deal of learning to prove; and it may now be considered, perhaps, as ascertained.

OASIS OF EL KASSAR.

THE *Oasis Parva* of the ancients lies at the distance of between four and five days to the S.E. of Siwah, and consists, like the Great Oasis, of a series of inhabited spots. We have already traced the route from Fayoum, by which Mr. Belzoni arrived at this Oasis, as far as *Rejen-el-Kassar*, a small Oasis which he reached on the second day after entering the desert.‡ The next day, continuing his route toward the west, he arrived at an open plain of sand and stones, in which are found about thirty large *tumuli*, nearly in the form of a parallelogram, from twenty to thirty feet long: these, he conjectures, may have been erected over the troops which Cambyses sent to reduce the Ammonians, and who perished in the Libyan desert. The Bedoweens stated, that, at a short distance, there are a great many more mounds of the same description.§ The next two days were occupied

* D'Anville, ii. 168. † Vol. iv. p. 173.

‡ See pp. 22, 23, of this volume.

§ Sir A. Edmonstone expresses his conviction, that they are natural mounds or hillocks, as they are found all over the desert. In

in traversing a level plain covered with brown and black pebbles. In the evening of the third day from *Rejen*, he reached the *Bahr-bela-ma*, or Dry River, running N. and S., and saw high rocks to the west.* At noon on the fourth day, the rocks of Elloah (El Wah) were in sight, and two crows appeared; a sure sign that water was not far off. In the afternoon, they reached the brink of the Oasis, "a valley surrounded with high rocks, which form a spacious plain of twelve or fourteen miles in length, and about six in breadth. There is but a small portion of the valley cultivated, on the opposite side; and it can be distinguished only by the woods of palm-trees which cover it. The rest of the valley is sand, but has evidently been cultivated throughout, and many tracts might yet be rendered fertile. Several small hills are scattered about, some having at top a natural spring, and being covered with rushes and small plants. The first village at which our Traveller arrived, called Zaboo, is described as a beautiful place. Intermixed with the date-trees, were apricots, figs, almonds, plums, and some grapes; and the soil was verdant with grass and rice. Beyond this, is an open plain covered in some places with fine salt as white as snow; "and what is more singular, several rivulets run over that salt plain, and form a sediment of their own, which

going from Siout to the Great Oasis, he passed for some distance among similar heaps. It is difficult to account for their formation, if they are not sepulchral.

* "This place has all the appearance of water having been in it: the bank and bottom are quite full of stones and sand. There are several islands in the centre. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that, at a certain height upon the bank, there is a mark evidently as if the water had reached so high: the colour of the materials above that mark is also much lighter. The island has the same mark and on the same level."—BELZONI, vol. ii. p. 183. See p. 21 of this volume.

does not incorporate in any way with the salt, and keeps quite sweet." A little further are several tombs in the rock, not unlike the catacombs of Egypt, the shafts running down in various directions; and there are ruins of an old edifice of sun-burned brick, which Mr. Belzoni supposed, from its form, to have been a church. There has evidently been a town in this direction. Another chasm in the rock further on, called by the superstitious natives the Devil's Habitation, was found to lead into various small chambers, excavated in the Egyptian manner, but without hieroglyphics. In an inner apartment were several sarcophagi of burned clay, of the size and form of a man: "they are two inches thick, and baked very strong; the lids are quite flat, and have a head of a man, demon, or animal just above the head of the mummy." Near the village is a rivulet, the waters of which have the property of dying white woollen a deep black in twenty-four hours. "This is a great accommodation to the women and children, who are nearly all covered with gowns of that colour: the shiekhs are in white." To the south of Zaboo, at the distance of a mile and a half, several heaps of rubbish and some more tombs mark the site of an ancient town.

Proceeding over some sandy banks to the west of the village, and crossing a plain, our Traveller ascended some rocks which separate the district of Zaboo from El Kassar, the chief village in the Oasis, distant a three hours' journey. A forest of palm-trees surrounds this village, and stretches over a wide circuit, inclosing a great space of cultivated land. The houses of the village are of mud, roofed with a few beams of palm-tree, old mats, and straw. One whole lane of them has been built upon the ruins of some

great edifice, and blocks of stone project in several parts into the path. On the north side of the village are remains of a Greek temple (or perhaps church), consisting of a high wall with two lateral sides, and an arch in the centre. "It is so situated that it must have been built on the ruins of another of larger dimensions."* Near this village, as at Zaboo, are several sepulchral excavations, in each of which were found several sarcophagi of burned clay, inclosing mummies wrapped in coarse linen without asphaltum, and consequently not in good preservation, though comparatively modern. Near the ruins, in the centre of a beautiful grove of palm and other trees, is a fountain, which, like the Fountain of the Sun at Siwah, undergoes a singular variation of temperature. It springs from the bottom of a well, 8 feet square, and above 60 deep, and overflows in a rivulet, which irrigates some cultivated land. When Mr. Belzoni first put his hand into this water, which was after sunset, it felt warm; (he supposes about 60° of Fahr., for he had broken his thermometer;) at midnight, he found it apparently much warmer, so that it might be at 100°. In the morning, before sun-rise, he visited it again, on pretext of bathing, and found it of a medium temperature, not so warm as in the evening; but, when he returned at noon, it appeared quite cold.

* By means of a telescope, (for he was not suffered to approach the edifice nearer than 150 feet,) Mr. Belzoni discovered above the cornice on the lateral wall, the Roman letters E. P. H. S. The people were much alarmed at the first production of the magical instrument; but great was the astonishment of the old shiekh on looking through it, to find the stones brought so near him. He thought this not fair, as Mr. Belzoni had promised not to do any thing magical, and this mode of drawing the ruin to him was the same as if he had gone near the ruin. But at last, the telescope brought them into excellent humour.

These variations, he is disposed to ascribe altogether to the changes in the atmosphere; particularly as the water has been found, upon analysis, to be pure, and free from any saline admixture. It is not very easy, however, to understand, how water should, under any circumstances, have an apparent sensible temperature of 100° at midnight, and yet not be hot.

Mr. Belzoni's plan was, to pass on to the Oasis of Siwah, reckoned a four days' journey; but he could not obtain a guide. He then resolved to go to the Oasis of *El Haix*, three days to the S.W., whither his guide at length consented to accompany him. He found it to be a long tract in the form of a crescent, above twenty miles from point to point. At the further extremity, which is the best cultivated, is the site of a small ancient town. Here are baths, apparently of Roman construction, in good preservation; a Greek church, built in the form of a cross, of bricks burned and unburned, about 50 feet by 20; and a strong building, inclosing a deep well, which Mr. Belzoni concluded to have been a Coptic convent. The walls of the houses, and the high wall of another large edifice, are still to be seen. The water here is very sweet, and the land produces good rice and barley; but the only inhabitants were four men and two women. It seems that these remote settlements are liable to the ruthless incursions of the Bedouins, who, at the time that the crops are ripe, strip the poor inhabitants of the fruits of their labour, and leave them to subsist as they may.

On our Traveller's return to El Kassar, he offered to purchase any antiquities which should be brought him; but he obtained only "a broken Grecian vase, of bronze, about eight inches high, and a small cherub of Greek workmanship." He was very strongly pressed

by the kadi to turn moslem and settle among them, instead of "going after stones." He was offered lands and the choice of four wives, the full Mohammedan complement; and had no small difficulty in satisfactorily excusing himself from accepting so generous an offer. A severe fall confined him for some days at Zaboo. At length, on the 8th of June, he again set out, and reached Rejen on the 11th. Thence he turned S.E. by E., to a place called *El Moele*, which he reached on the afternoon of the 13th. In this place he found ruins of a small ancient village, and the remains of a very large Christian church and convent. "Some of the paintings on the wall are very finely preserved; particularly the figures of the twelve apostles on the top of a niche over an altar: the gold is still to be seen in several parts, and their faces are well preserved. This place is situated at the end of a long tract of land, which had been cultivated in former times, but it is now abandoned for want of water. It extends more than ten miles from W. to E." The party were much disappointed at finding no fresh water here. They again set off, and travelling by night, reached the *Bahr Yousef* before sun-rise on the 14th. On the evening of that day, Mr. Belzoni reached Sedmin, and on the next day, Beni Souef.*

GREAT OASIS.

THE Thebaic Oasis, the *Oasis Magna* of the ancients, is the first halting-place of the Dar-Four caravan, which assembles at Manfaloot and Siout.† El Karjeh, the principal town, is situated in lat. 26° 1′ N., long.

* Belzoni, vol. ii. pp. 178—235.
† See p. 40.

30° 10′ E.;* four days (about 44 hours) W. of Farshout, and about the same distance S.W. of Siout. It consists of a number of fertile spots, separated by desert intervals, in a line parallel with the course of the Nile, the whole extent being nearly 100 miles.

The descent from the great ridge which forms the western wall of Egypt, into the low desert in which the *oases* lie, is steep and rugged. Mr. Browne was a full hour in reaching the bottom of *Djebel Rumlie*, the name given to the high rocky mountain which occurs in the caravan route from Siout. It consists of a coarse tufa, and is entirely sterile. From the summit, the view extends over the boundless desert. In four hours and a half from the foot of the mountain, he reached *Ain é Dizeh*, at the northern extremity of the Oasis, the first place where water is found. From this place, it is a march of eight hours over desert to El Karjeh, of which he gives no account. Six hours further is Boulak, a wretchedly poor place, the houses being mere mud huts, generally without a roof; but it furnished good water, and the caravan halted there for a day. Fourteen hours of barren country intervene between Boulak and Beiris. Two hours beyond the latter, is Mughess, the last village of the Oasis toward the Southern Desert; situated, according to Mr. Browne, in lat. 25° 18′ N., long. 29° 34′ E., being 1° 7′ S. of El Karjeh. It is not a little remarkable, that neither this Traveller nor any of his predecessors, should have been aware of three very beautiful temples and a singular necropolis, near El Karjeh, and lying very little out of the route. These magnificent ruins were first discovered by M. Calliaud

* Edmonstone, p. 149. This is nearly the same parallel as that of Thebes. Mr. Browne made it to be in lat. 26° 25′, long. 29° 49′.

in 1818. We are indebted for the description of them to Sir Archibald Edmonstone, who visited the Oasis about eight months after, and had moreover the good fortune to discover another Oasis, 100 miles to the westward, the existence of which had not previously been suspected by Europeans. We shall avail ourselves of his narrative.

"After pitching our tents as usual outside the town (El Cargé), and receiving the visit of ceremony from the shiekh, we took a guide, and went to see some antiquities in the neighbourhood. At about a mile and a half to the N., we perceived a building on an eminence, which proved to be a small quadrangular temple, called *El Nadera*, 31 feet long by 20 feet 8 inches wide, of which three sides remain, but the fourth is quite destroyed. The walls on the inside are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, greatly defaced, but of unusual elegance. There was the usual inclosure of unburnt brick; a defence necessary in a country so much exposed to hostile incursion as this has always been. From this summit, we discovered with infinite satisfaction a large temple at a short distance to the N.W.; and, on a high ground still further to the northward, several buildings like the ruins of an Arab town. On approaching the temple, we were struck with the beauty of the situation, in the midst of a rich wood consisting of palm, particularly that species called the dhôm (or doum), acacia, and other trees, with a stream of water in front. In point of magnitude, it far exceeded any we had hitherto seen; but, as the evening was closing in, we thought it better to leave the examination of it to another time. Wishing, however, to satisfy our curiosity with respect to what we supposed to be the Arab town, we rode up to it, and, to our astonishment, found, not

what we had expected, but a regular necropolis or cemetery, consisting of a great variety of buildings, each the receptacle of mummies. We could take but a hasty view of it, as it was quite dark before we could return to our tent.

" Finding we were so well pleased with what they had shewn us, our guides told us of two other ancient buildings, which, as well as that of El Cargé, M. Drovetti had been to a few days before. We accordingly mounted our horses early the next morning, and proceeding in a south-westerly direction, in three hours reached a height surrounded with a wall. On entering this, we found a ruined Arab village, built within the enclosure of a large temple, called by our guide, *Cazar el Goetta.* The exterior is so choked up with these hovels, that we were unable to measure, or to take any sketch of it. The interior is divided into four parts. In the middle of the second and principal chamber have been four columns with varied capitals, only eight feet in circumference. The fourth compartment is subdivided into three small chambers, lower than the rest of the building, of which the centre was the *adytum.* Hieroglyphics and figures are carved only in this and the principal apartment. In front of the temple, which faces the east, there is an area extending considerably beyond it, having traces, barely visible, of two rows of pillars four deep. This colonnade communicates with the outer wall, and leads to a stone gateway opposite to its principal entrance.

" On leaving this, we bent our course towards the S.E., and in forty minutes reached our other point. It is an inclosed eminence like the last, with a few palms scattered about. Within are the ruins of several buildings of unburnt brick, apparently ancient. But the principal object is a small temple, of remarkably

elegant proportions and excellent masonry, known by the name of *El Cazar el Zian*, 45 feet long and 25 feet 1 inch broad. The first chamber, measuring 26 feet 10 inches, by 17 feet 8, is perfectly plain. Beyond, are two more opening from it: that on the right hand is extremely narrow, being only 2 feet 7 inches wide, and 10 feet 4 inches long, having another access through the main wall; the other is 15 feet 4, by 7 feet 9 inches wide, and at the end of it, opposite to the entrance of the temple, is a large niche, which has contained a statue, with a winged globe and other emblems carved round it. The doorway, on the outside, is richly ornamented with figures, and over it is a Greek inscription.*....The date enables us to fix the restoration of the temple at A.D. 140.

"The day was far advanced before we began to return. On our way, we crossed a remarkably strong chalybeate stream, and, at the village of Genau, were shewn another quite hot, deeply impregnated with iron and sulphur. The sheikh and inhabitants of this place shewed us, as usual, much attention; and some bread they gave us, was the best we had tasted in Egypt.

"The following morning, we paid a second visit to the (great) temple, and found enough to occupy us there till evening. We entered it through a *dromos*,

* "To Amenebis the Great God of Tchonemyris and the co-templar gods, for the perpetual preservation of Antoninus Cæsar our lord, and his whole house: the cell of the temple and the vestibule were repaired and renewed under Avidius Heliodorus, governor of Egypt, Septimius Macro being commander-in-chief, and Plinius Capito general of the forces, in the third year of the emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus, the Pious. Mesore the eighteenth (Aug. 11)." Tchonemyris would appear to be the name of the place; what deity is meant by the god Amenebis, it is hard to say.

of which the inclosures are so broken, that it is difficult to discern accurately the shape. We could distinguish, however, that it had been formed by a parapet wall surmounted with a cornice, connecting ten columns, with spaces for entrances on each side. The temple stands east and west, and a rich cornice runs all round the top. The front is completely covered with colossal figures and hieroglyphics, which, as they extend but half way on the north and south sides, give the whole exterior an unfinished appearance. The great doorway is much ornamented, and leads to a magnificent apartment, 60 feet 8 by 54 feet 3, with twelve columns, 13 feet 2 inches in circumference: it is nearly filled with sand. On the left hand of the entrance, are two small, dark chambers, one over the other, of which it would be difficult to assign the use. The second chamber (17 feet 10, by 54 feet 3) is divided from the first by a sort of screen, formed by a wall lower than that of the temple, intersected by four columns, which, together with four others in the centre of the apartment, now fallen, are of the same size as those above mentioned. The chamber is traced all over with figures and hieroglyphics on stucco, retaining marks of paint, particularly blue and red; whereas the first is quite plain, except on the west side. The third apartment (28 feet 8, by 30 feet 9) is ornamented likewise, and contains eight columns of much smaller dimensions than the others. Parallel, but not communicating with it, are two divisions, in one of which is a staircase. Last comes the *adytum*, 20 feet by 8, richly carved, and blackened with smoke. On each side are other compartments, detached, but so choked up, that it was impossible to make out their shape. The roof of the rest of the building is fallen in, excepting some stones occasionally supported by

the pillars; but that of the *adytum*, which is lower, is entire; it is composed of immense stones: we measured one, 35 feet by 19 feet 4 inches, and 2 feet 3 inches thick.

"To the east of the temple are three detached doorways at different intervals, and of different proportions. As they do not resemble the *propyla* that are usual in other parts of Egypt, I am induced to think that this edifice was surrounded with a triple wall, in the same way that Diodorus tells us the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon was. The first is a solid doorway, with figures all round it: among others on the inside, is a representation of Osiris at a banquet, of colossal proportions. This is again found on the west front. On the roof are five spread eagles (or vultures), painted red and blue. The second doorway, which is at some distance in the same direction, but not in the same line, is materially higher than even the temple itself. Half only is standing; it has a few figures carved in relief within, and there are remains of brick work strangely placed on the top. As it is too high for any purposes of defence, it may have been the residence of one of the Stelite hermits, of which many traces remain. The last of these propyla is low and imperfect. The east end is completely covered with a Greek inscription.*

"Having completed our measurements of the temple, we again went to the Necropolis, to examine it more leisurely. It contains, apparently, not fewer than two or three hundred buildings of unburnt brick, irre-

* This inscription, subsequently copied by Mr. Hyde, and restored and translated by Dr. Young, proves to be a long rescript, published in the second year of the Emperor Galba, relating to a reform in the judicial administration of this and other Egyptian territories.

gularly ranged, of various sizes and shapes. The greater number are square and surmounted with a dome, similar to the small mosques erected over sheikhs' tombs, having for the most part a corridor running round, which produces an ornamental effect very striking at a distance, and gives them a nearer resemblance to Roman, than to any existing specimen of Greek or Egyptian architecture. Some few are larger than the rest. One in particular is divided into aisles, like our churches; and that it has been used as such by the early Christians, is clearly evinced by the traces of saints painted on the walls. Many have Coptic, or perhaps Greek inscriptions, but written in a hand not legible, and a few in Arabic. In all we entered, there is the Greek cross and the celebrated Egyptian hieroglyphic, the *crux ansata*, * which originally signifying life, would appear to have been adopted as a Christian emblem, either from its similarity to the shape of the cross, or from its being considered as the symbol of a state of future existence. But the great peculiarity is a large square hole in the centre of each, evidently for the purpose of containing a mummy, and which, from the fragments and wrappings that lay scattered about, had probably been ransacked for the sake of plunder.

"It is obvious that these buildings formed a cemetery to the town which stood near the temple of *El Cargé*, and were subsequently used for sacred purposes by the Christian inhabitants, or, at a later period, as places of retreat to them when persecuted by the Mohammedans. I should imagine these sepulchres to be of Roman construction at an early period, since it

* See p. 62. By some, it has been supposed to be the figure of a key; it may be so, and yet denote *life*, as a hieroglyphic. A key is borne on the standard of Mohammed

is generally believed, that the practice of embalming was gradually discontinued in Egypt after the extension of Christianity; but, among the various receptacles for the remains of the dead, from the stupendous pyramid to the rudest cavern, I know of none existing or recorded, at all corresponding to them in shape and appearance." *

WESTERN OASIS.

At the distance of about a day and a half to the west of El Karjeh, the irregular sandy plain which encloses the Oasis, terminates at a low chain of mountains, forming a sort of semicircle. At the foot of the rocky and precipitous pass, close to a spring shaded by palm-trees, is a ruined temple, called by the Arabs *Enamour*. It is apparently of high antiquity, and much dilapidated. A few figures and hieroglyphics are roughly executed on the outside, and there are slight traces of painting over the entrance. A wall of unburned brick has surrounded it, and there are remains of a stone gateway facing that of the temple. A broad defile leads down into the plain which contains the Western Oasis, discovered by Sir A. Edmonstone; and along the whole route, heaps of broken pots and tiles, occurring at intervals, are supposed to mark the spots once occupied by the Roman stations. That gentleman, however, reached the further Oasis first, by the direct route from Siout, which he calculates to be a distance of about 178 miles. The first village at which he arrived, is called Bellata. About an hour from this place, are obscure traces of former habitations to a great extent, but they are of no interest. The acacia here attains an

* Edmonstone's Journey, pp. 62—110.

unusual size. One that Sir A. Edmonstone examined, in a beautiful wood, measured 17 feet 3 inches in girth. To the west of Bellata extends a wide and barren tract, bounded by a high and precipitous ridge to the north and east. In about five hours, the travellers saw the village of *Hismint* on their left; and, three hours after, another, called *Endough*, in the same direction, surrounded with a grove of palm-trees. They then crossed a low chain of hills, and at sunset, reached a village called *Aboudaklough*. Four hours and a half to the north of this place, is El Cazar, the chief town in this Oasis.

"The situation of this place," says the Author, "is perfectly lovely. It is seated on an eminence at the foot of the line of rock which rises abruptly behind it, and is encircled with extensive gardens, filled with palm, acacia, citron, and various other kinds of trees, some of which I had rarely seen in these regions. The only thing worthy of observation in the town, is a strong sulphuric and chalybeate spring, which the people consider as extremely sanative, and drink, when left to settle for twenty-four hours. Proceeding westward, we shortly reached an insulated rock, perforated with caverns, which had served as catacombs: fragments of mummies lay scattered about. The inhabitants of the adjacent hamlet had stripped them, in hopes of finding something valuable; and the jackals, which abound here, had completed the work of devastation."

About three miles further south, is a temple in tolerable preservation, though half filled with sand, called *Dair-el-Hadjar* (the stony convent). Its dimensions are 51 feet 4 inches, by 24 feet 8. In front is a portico of eight columns, three of which are standing, but in a mutilated state. The first chamber has

been supported by four pillars, and as much as is visible of the walls, is traced with figures and hieroglyphics. This opens into a second apartment entirely without ornament, except the winged globe and serpent over the door. Beyond this are three small chambers parallel with each other; the central one was the *adytum*, and the walls, which are covered with figures and hieroglyphics, are, as usual, blackened with the smoke of lamps. The roof still continues entire over these chambers, which are lower than the rest of the building. There are remains of a thick outer wall of unburnt brick, with a stone gateway. Between this place and Aboudaklough, are vestiges of a town of considerable extent, with a small remnant of a temple, apparently of Greek workmanship, and the fragment of a white marble statue.

From the shiekh of Aboudaklough, the travellers learned, that this Oasis includes twelve villages, of which ten are within five or six miles of each other. The other two, namely, Bellata, at which they had first halted, at its north-eastern extremity, and Tenida, the last village in the route to the Great Oasis, are considered as scarcely within the district; and the latter, owing to its being so much exposed to the incursions of hostile Arabs, is deserted. There are also several other inclosures containing springs, and well-wooded with palm-trees, but the cultivators reside in the neighbouring villages.

The climate in the Oasis is extremely variable in winter. Sometimes, the rains are very abundant, and fall in torrents, as appears from the furrows in the rocks: at other seasons, there will be no rain, nor any dew. Violent winds are very prevalent, and the dreaded south-western wind, the *kamsin*, frequently blows in the months of May and June. The plague is un-

known, but, during the intense heats, fevers and agues are general, which the shiekh attributed to the immoderate use of dates. The soil is a very light red earth, fertilized entirely by irrigation. The principal produce are barley and rice. Lemons and citrons are plentiful in the gardens, and dates are an article of commerce with Egypt. Indigo is also manufactured here, and is one of the very few articles which the Pasha had not monopolized, "probably from ignorance of its existence here." The springs, which fortunately never fail or vary at any season, are all strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, and are hot at their sources; nor can the water be used until it has been left to cool in an earthen jar. Lions and hyænas are not uncommon in this district, but there are no ostriches. The sheikh moreover stated, that this Oasis is a complete no-thoroughfare; that he was not aware of any other inhabited tract further westward; that some Arabs, who had attempted to explore in that direction, had, at the end of three days, been driven back by a terrible whirlwind; and that it is thirty days' march to Tripoli, reckoning ten hours to each.* These people have neighbours, however, and very formidable ones, in the Moggrebin Arabs, who occasionally commit great depredations. Thus, in the remotest Oasis of the desert, man has no escape from the violence and avarice of his fellows, but is liable to the visitations of both, in the shape of warlike inroads and oppressive imposts,—the scourge of uncivilized, and the drawback upon civilized society.

With regard to the origin of these fertile spots, Sir A. Edmonstone decidedly agrees with Major Rennell, that the foundations of these islands were first laid by

* Edmonstone, pp. 44—55.

vegetation occasioned by springs, the decay of which vegetation produced soil, until it increased to the state in which we behold them. They appear universally surrounded with high lands, which will account for these springs. Their fertility has always been proverbial. Strabo asserts the superiority of their wine, and Abulfeda and Idrissi mention the luxuriance of the palm-trees; but the former speaks of the wretchedness of the inhabitants, and the latter states, that this region was formerly well peopled, but had then become uninhabited and desolate. Under the empire, the whole region of the Oases* was attached to the Heptanomis; and after the establishment of Christianity, it was still a district of some importance, including the seats of two Coptic bishops.† Herodotus speaks of them as bearing the name of Μακαρων νῆσοι, the islands of the blessed; but almost the only records that history has preserved with regard to the Oases, relate to them as places of banishment. The Roman emperors found them convenient receptacles for state delinquents, and, as Ulpian informs us, constituted them places of exile by law, but chiefly in cases of temporary banishment.

* This region is denominated by the Arabian geographers, *Al Wahat*, *Al Vahat*, or *Alouhat*, transformed by Leo Africanus into *Alguechet*. The original word, *Wah*, *Vah*, or *Ouah*, from which the Greeks formed their word Oasis, is said to signify an inhabited place. The Arabic *Wady*, or *Oodden*, seems to have a similar meaning, though applied in general to fertile valleys. The orthographical variations are curious—*El Wah*, *Wahe*, *Elloah*, *Eloacath*, *El Ouah*, *Elouah*, *Al Vah*, *Alvach*, *Vacha*, *Oasis*. All these occur in extracts cited either by Sir A. Edmonstone, or by Dr. Murray in his Hist. of African Discovery, vol. ii. p. 186.

† In a list of 98 Coptic bishoprics into which Egypt was divided at the era of the great schism, as given by Vansleb, the last two are Vah and Vahipsai. Ipsai is said to have been the ancient name of Ptolemais; and Vah-Ipsai may have been so denominated to distinguish it. Was Ipsai Ibis?

The first celebrated person who underwent this exile, was the poet Juvenal. Trinasius, an eminent general, was banished there by the emperor Arcadius, A.D. 396. But it was more especially under the Constantinopolitan emperors, that both the Thebaic Oasis and the Ammonian were used for this purpose by the ascendant party towards their ecclesiastical rivals. Athanasius complains of the Arians having exceeded the emperor's orders, in exiling old men and bishops to "places unfrequented and inspiring horror; for some were sent from Libya to the Great Oasis, and others from the Thebaid to that of Jupiter Ammon." Nestorius was banished first to Petra in Arabia, and afterwards to the city Oasis, "called also Ibis," by the younger Theodosius, A.D. 435. In a letter still extant, he describes the devastation of the Oasis by the savage Blemmyes, by whom he was taken prisoner, but subsequently released.* Strange perverseness of the human mind, that men should be found voluntarily immuring themselves in the savage and frightful solitudes of the Thebaid, and the barren deserts of Nitria, under the impulse of fanaticism; and yet, these same Egyptians shuddered with horror at being exiled in old age to these green retreats, these Islands of the Blessed, the very name of which is a symbol of luxuriance, seclusion, and repose! But so it is, the paradise of a hermit would be a desert to a prisoner. Egypt itself, with all its wonders which enchant the traveller, would be Siberia to the exile.

* He died at Panopolis. See p. 54.

END OF EGYPT.

NUBIA

NUBIA.

A country subject to the Pasha of Egypt; bounded, on the N., by Egypt; on the E., by the Arabian Gulf; on the S., by Sennaar; on the W., by the Desert.]

THE region known to the ancients under the designation of *Æthiopia super Ægyptum*, comprises the vast tract of country which is now generally included in the three grand divisions of Nubia, Sennaar, and Abyssinia. The first of these is a country of very vague and uncertain boundaries, and the term has been used with considerable latitude, or rather, in a very different application. The ancients appear to have given this name to the country extending along the western bank of the Nile from Meroë to the bend of the river, and which was not subject to Ethiopia.* The country now known to the natives under the name of *Wady Nouba*, reaches from the frontier of Dongola, northward to *Wady Seboua* (Lion's Wady), a little above Derr; the tract between Seboua and Assouan being known as *Wady Kenous*.† The inhabitants of these two divisions, Burckhardt informs us, are divided by their language, although they appear to be the same in manners, and they are almost perpetually engaged in sanguinary quarrels. The Nubia of modern travellers, or "Turkish Nubia," is, on the contrary, considered as extending from Assouan to

* Eratosthenes and Ptolemy. See Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 120.

† Burckhardt, p. 123. This part of Nubia is said to have been anciently called *Merya*, "from which the Mersyan wind takes its name."—*Ib.*, p. 471.

Fort Ibrim; a tract which appears to have formed no part of the country originally known under that appellation.

The confusion arising from this various use of the word, has been not a little increased by the very distinct tribes which have been confounded under the name of *Nubæ* or Nubians; some travellers using it as simply denoting the inhabitants of modern Nubia, of whatever race, and others restricting it to the black race whose original seat appears to have been the Nubia of the ancients. Gibbon informs us, on the authority of Procopius,* that, with a view to oppose a suitable adversary to the savage Blemmyes, who inhabited the western desert now occupied by the Ababde and Bisharye Arabs, Diocletian persuaded a Libyan tribe, who are termed *Nobatæ*, to remove from their ancient territory, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable district above Syene. That description cannot, however, apply to the Nubian valley; nor could these Libyans be Nubians, properly so called: they bore, perhaps, some affinity to the tribe now known under the name of *Ababde* or *Ababideh* Arabs, who occupy the desert from the Valley of Kosseir far southward into Nubia, and who are described as differing entirely, in their customs, language, and dress, from the Egyptian Arabs.

The present Nubians, Burckhardt states, according to their own traditions, "derive their origin from the Arabian Bedouins who invaded the country after the promulgation of the Mohammedan creed;† the greater

* Ch. xlii. See vol. i. p. 101.

† "The greater part of the Egyptian peasants north of Beni Souef have the same origin: they are the descendants either of Mogrebin or of Arabian tribes. In Egypt, the descendants of Syrian Bedouins may also be met with....Branches of several Syrian tribes have settled on the banks of the Nile."

part of the Christian inhabitants, whose churches may be traced as far as Sukkot, having either fled before them or been killed: a few embraced the religion of the invaders, and their descendants may yet be distinguished at Tafa and at Serra, north of Wady Halfa. The two tribes of Djowabere and El Gharbye (the latter a branch of the great tribe of Zenatye) took possession of the country from Assouan to Wady Halfa, and subsequently extended their authority over a great number of smaller tribes who had settled on the banks of the river at the period of the general invasion, among whom were the Kenous, a tribe from Nedjed and Irak.* The larger tribe of Djaafere occupied the shores of the Nile from Esne to Assouan; a few families of shereefs settled in the *Bain el Hadjar*; and a branch of the Koreish possessed themselves of Mahass. For several centuries, Nubia was occupied by these Arabs, who were at continual war with each other, in the course of which the kings of Dongola had acquired so much influence over them as to be able at last to compel them to pay tribute. The Djowabere having nearly subdued the Gharbye, the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople in the reign of the great Sultan Selim, to seek aid against their enemies; and they succeeded in procuring from the Sultan a body of several hundred Bosnian soldiers. By their means, the Djowabere and people of Dongola were driven out of Nubia into the latter country; and to this day, the more wealthy inhabitants of Dongola derive their origin from the tribe of Djowabere.

* *Kenous* is the plural of Kensy. They are subdivided into many smaller tribes, who have given their names to the districts; as *Wady Nasrellah*, *Abou Hor*, &c *Wady Dehmyt* and *Wady el Embarakat* are inhabited by the descendants of Bedouins from Bagdad, still called *Bagdadli*.

Some families of that tribe, however, remained peacefully behind; and their descendants, who are found chiefly at Derr and Wady Halfa, are still known by the name of Djowabere.

"The Bosnian soldiers built the three castles, or rather repaired the existing fabrics at Assouan, Ibrim, and Say; and those who garrisoned the castles, obtained privileges for themselves and their descendants, one of which was an exemption from the land-tax imposed by Selim throughout his dominions: an annual pension was likewise assigned to them out of the Sultan's treasury at Cairo. The descendants of such of the Bosnian soldiers as intermarried with the Gharbye and Djowabere tribes, still occupy the territories assigned to their ancestors at Assouan, Ibrim, and Say. They call themselves *Kaladshy*, or the people of the castles, but are distinguished by the Nubians by the appellation of *Osmanli*, or Turks. They have long forgotten their native language; but their features still denote a northern origin, and their skin is of a light brown colour, while that of the Nubians is almost black. They are independent of the governors of Nubia, who are extremely jealous of them, and are often at open war with them."

The inhabitants of Nubia as far south as Dongola, are known in Egypt under the name of *Berabera*, or Berbers; but that appellation, we are told, is seldom made use of by the inhabitants themselves, when speaking of their own nation. It would seem, however, that although, for the most part, of Bedouin origin, they have adopted the Berber language; a proof that they must have blended with the conquered natives. This language, Burckhardt says, has no Arabic sounds whatever. It is spoken all the way south of Assouan as far as Seboua, and in every vil-

lage north of Assouan as far as Edfou, numbers of Kenous having settled in Upper Egypt in later times. "It is a fact worthy of notice," he adds, "that two foreign tongues" (alluding to the two dialects of the Kenous and Noubas) "should have subsisted so long, to the almost entire exclusion of the Arabic, in a country bordered on one side by Dongola, and on the other by Egypt, in both of which Arabic is exclusively spoken.* Nor is it less remarkable, that the *Aleykat* Arabs of Seboua and Wady el Arab, have retained their pure Arabic, placed as they are on the boundaries both of the Kenous and the Nouba." † "From Dongola and Sennaar, the inhabitants of the countries on the Nile and all the other true Arab tribes as far as Bornou, speak no other language than the Arabic; and they look with disdain upon their western and eastern neighbours, whom they designate by the same epithet, *adjem*, which the Koran bestows upon all nations who are strangers to the Arabic language. ‡ There exist, however, among them, as many dialects, and as much difference in pronunciation and phraseology, as are found among the Arabian Bedouins. The eastern nations on the Atbara, towards Taka and

* This is not quite correct. "Most of the Dongolawies," says Mr. Waddington, "seem to speak Arabic, which has probably been taught them at the point of the spear by the Shegy'a, who, like more civilised conquerors, will speak no other language than their own. Their mother-tongue is Nubian, and the Arabic they speak is generally very bad. I am therefore surprised to find in Burckhardt, that, in Wady Dongola, the Nubian language ceases to be spoken."—WADDINGTON'S *Ethiopia*, p. 72.

† Burckhardt, p. 24.

‡ "This word is applied by the Arabians to Persia on the one side, and, on the other, to the countries of the African coast opposite to Arabia, where many different languages are spoken. Under the appellation of *Berr el Adjem*, is comprised the whole coast from Sowakin to Barbara."

the Red Sea, speak the Bisharye language: to the west, the nearest foreign language is that of Kordofan, a dialect differing in pronunciation only from that of Dar Four. There are numerous tribes of Arabs in Dar Four and Kordofan, who still retain the language of their forefathers, although they speak also the idiom of the country."*

The name of *Nouba*, this same Traveller informs us, is likewise given to all the blacks coming from the slave countries to the south of Sennaar. "These Nouba slaves," he says, "among whom must also be reckoned those who are born in the neighbourhood of Sennaar, of male negroes and female Abyssinians, form a middle class between the true Blacks and the Abyssinians: their colour is less dark than that of the negro, and has a copper tinge, but it is darker than that of the free Arabs of Sennaar and Shendy. Their features, though they retain evident signs of Negro origin, have still somewhat of what is called regular: their noses, though smaller than those of the Europeans, are less flat than those of the Negroes; their lips are less thick, and the cheek-bones are not so prominent. The hair of some is woolly, but, among the greater part, it is similar to the hair of Europeans, only stronger and always curled. The palm of their hands is soft, a circumstance by which they particularly distinguish themselves from the true Negro, whose hands feel to the touch like wood. The male Noubas, in Egypt as well as in Arabia, are preferred to all others for labour: they bear a good character, and *sell*, at Shendy and in Egypt, 20 per cent. dearer than the negroes. The male Abyssinians, on the contrary, are known to be little fit for bodily work, but they

* Burckhardt, p. 316

are esteemed for their fidelity, and make excellent house servants, and often clerks, their intellects being certainly much superior to those of the Blacks. The Noubas are said to be of a healthier constitution, and to suffer less from disease than the Abyssinians." *

In this description, we seem to have the true features of the aboriginal Nubians, the genuine Berbers, who, after having embraced the Christian faith under their native kings, are stated to have returned to their old idolatry subsequently to the twelfth century. † They have evidently been displaced by the modern *Noubas* and other intrusive tribes from Arabia and Irak, who appear, however, to have received a very decided mixture of the Nubian blood, as well as to have adopted their language. Berber is the name now given to a small district on the eastern side of the Nile, a little to the north of the point at which it receives the Atbara, and which apparently forms part of the Nubia of the Greek Geographer; but there can be no doubt that it was originally applied to a much larger tract of country. It has already been stated, on the authority of Burckhardt, that the Nubians are generally designated in Egypt by the appellation of *Berábera* or Berbers, although the name is not in use among themselves. The explanation is easy. Berber was originally the distinctive name of the people—those shepherds whose name was an abomina-

* Burckhardt, p. 278.

† "During several ages, the bishops of Nubia were named and consecrated by the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria: as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola."—GIBBON, c. xlvii. § 6. According to Alvarez, (*Hist. Ethiop.*) the Christian religion was lost in Nubia for want of priests, which they could no longer procure from Egypt, and with which the Abyssinians refused to supply them.

tion to the Egyptians;* and it appears to have been as vaguely used formerly as it is still; whereas Nouba and Nubia have always been geographical terms of a specific import. The present inhabitants of Berber are chiefly Arabs of the tribe of Meyrefab, who, in common with all the tribes who inhabit the valley of the Nile from Upper Egypt to Sennaar, professedly derive their origin from the East (*el Shark* or *el Shargy*), meaning Arabia. With them are mixed some Ababde Arabs and natives of Dongola. There is some reason to doubt, however, whether the Meyrefab are genuine Arabs; or at least, whether they are of a pure breed.† They are described in terms very similar to those in which the Noubas of the south are characterised by the same Traveller.

"The people of Berber are a very handsome race. The native colour seems to be a dark red brown, which, if the mother is a slave from Abyssinia, becomes a light brown in the children, and if from the negro countries, extremely dark. The men are somewhat taller than the Egyptians, and are much stronger and larger limbed. Their features are not at all those of the Negro, the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, and the cheek-bones not prominent.

* The original of the Greek word Barbarian has been supposed to be derived from the name of the Berber race,—"those (Libyan) shepherds who overran Egypt, and whose name and occupation became alike an abomination to the Egyptians. The same term is found in the Sanscrit, and appears there as a stranger and an exotic; a circumstance which tends to throw some light upon the early communications of India."—DOUGLAS *on the Advancement of Society*, p. 61.

† The Meyrefab, however, like the other Arab tribes, are very careful in maintaining the purity of their breed; that is to say, a free-born Meyrefab never marries a slave, but always an Arab girl, and a slave can never marry an Arab girl of pure blood. With all this, they are extremely dissolute.

The upper lip, however, is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the Negro lip. Their legs and feet are well formed, which is seldom the case with the Negroes. They have a short beard below the chin, but seldom any hair upon the cheeks. Their mustachios are thin, and they keep them cut very short. Their hair is bushy and strong, but not woolly, it lies in close curls when short, and, when permitted to grow, forms itself into broad, high tufts. 'We are Arabs, not Negroes,' they often say; and indeed, they can be classed among the latter, only by persons who judge from colour alone."* A Mohammedan writer (El Ghazali), in a treatise on the characteristics of the different nations of Islam, thus describes the Nubians: "They are a people of frolic, folly, and levity; avaricious, treacherous, and malicious; ignorant and base; and full of wickedness and lasciviousness." "This picture," remarks Burckhardt, "is true in every part, applied to the people of Berber, for they are of a very merry, facetious temper, continually joking and singing. Even the elderly men are the same; and they have at least retained one good quality of their Arabian ancestors, they are not proud. The *Mek* (king, corrupted from *Melek*) of Berber is satisfied with common civility, and assumes no distinction of rank: the slaves of his family shew much more haughtiness than himself."† The Meyrefab are partly shepherds and partly cultivators. They rear large herds of excellent cattle, which, during the winter and spring, they pasture in the mountains of

* It is by the softness of their skin, not by its colour, that they distinguish themselves from the Negroes. *Black* is not, in these countries, a term of reproach.—BURCKHARDT, p. 200.

† Burckhardt, p. 207.

the Bisharein, the shepherds living like Bedouins in huts and tents. The *Mek*, or chief, was, till lately, tributary to the king of Sennaar.

By far the most interesting people in all the region between Egypt and Sennaar, and, prior to the conquest of the country by Ismael Pasha, the most powerful, are the Sheygya tribes,* inhabiting the country to the east of Dongola, of whom Burckhardt gives the following account.

"The Sheygya are a perfectly independent people, and possess great wealth in corn and cattle: like the Bedouins of Arabia, they pay no kind of tribute to their chiefs, whose power is by no means so great as that of the chiefs of Dongola. They are renowned for their hospitality; and the person of their guest or companion is sacred. If the traveller possesses a friend among them, and has been plundered on the road, his property will be recovered, even if it has been taken by the king. They all speak Arabic exclusively, and many of them write and read it. Their learned men are held in great respect by them: they have schools wherein are taught all the sciences which form the course of Mohammedan study, mathematics and astronomy excepted. I have seen books copied at Merawe, written in as fine a hand as that of the scribes at Cairo. Whenever young men are sent to them from the adjacent countries for instruction, the chief of the Olema distributes them among his acquaintances, in whose houses they are lodged and fed for as many years as they choose to remain. Such of the Sheygya as are soldiers and not learned men, indulge in the frequent use of wine and spirits made from dates. The manners of their women are said to

* Pronounced Shy-ghee-a. Mr. English writes it Shageia.

be very depraved. The merchants among them travel to Dar Four, Sennaar, and Suakin; and in years of dearth in Arabia, they export wheat and *dhourra* to the Djidda market by the way of Suakin, which is twelve days' journey distant from the borders of the country of the Sheygya."...These people are as excellent horsemen as the Mamlouks, training their horses to make violent springs with their hind legs when galloping. "They fight on horseback in coats of mail, which are furnished by the merchants of Suakin and Sennaar. Fire-arms are not common among them, their only weapons being a lance, a target, and a sabre.* They throw the lance to a great distance with much dexterity, and always carry four or five lances in the left hand when charging an enemy." †

This account, though given from hearsay information, Mr. Waddington states, is so faithful, that little remains to be added to it. He describes them as a very fine race; their hue, "a clear, glossy jet black, which appeared," he says, "to my then unprejudiced eyes," (whatever is meant by that phrase,) "to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from negroes, by the *brightness* of their colour, by their hair, and by the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes, and by the soft-

* "The long Solingen sword and an oblong shield of hippopotamus' or crocodile's skin, generally the former."—WADDINGTON. One that this Traveller saw, was about four feet long, and a foot and a half broad; it was completely hacked with sabre cuts, and a ball had passed through the middle. The possession of fire-arms was confined to the chiefs, owing to their tenacious attachment to the weapon of their fathers, which has proved their destruction.

† Burckhardt, pp. 64, 5.

ness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans." Of two young women whom he saw in a ruined village, one is described as "extremely pretty," and some of the children were beautiful. Like most equestrian tribes, they despised the arts of peace, devolving the cultivation of the soil on the Nubians settled in their country, whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. Their contempt for life, their fearless levity in battle,—as if "arms were a plaything and war a sport,"—their wild love of liberty, and their hereditary courage, are traits which well enough comport with their real character as a nation of brave banditti. The united force of the two *maleks* of Merawe and Hannech, is supposed to have been about 10,000 men, of whom more than 2000 were cavalry.*

It still remains to notice the inhabitants of the deserts. That mountainous or rocky tract which is properly called the Nubian desert, extending along the eastern side of the Nile from Syene to Gooz, is occupied by two principal tribes; the Ababde, who have already been mentioned, and the Bisharye Arabs. The former possess the country south of Kosseir, nearly as far as the latitude of Derr, having gradually encroached upon the territory of the latter, who now extend as far southward as Suakin. "Many of the Ababde," Burckhardt says, "have settled in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile, from Kenneh to Assouan;† but the greater part of them still live like Bedouins. They act as guides to the Sennaar caravans which depart from Daraou, and were formerly conductors likewise of the trade from Kosseir to Kenneh; but

* Waddington, pp. 94, 5; 98; 122. † See p. 76.

their enemies, the Arabs *Maazyu* and *Ataony*,* who live to the north of Kosseir, have succeeded in depriving them of the profits arising from this employment, which the latter now farm from the Pasha. The Ababde are possessed of considerable property, but have a bad character, being described by all those who deal with them, as a faithless people who betray their companions; thus rendering themselves unworthy of that origin from the Arabian Bedouins, of which they boast. No oath binds an Ababde; but I was informed that they dread breaking their word, if they give it with the expression—'By the hope I entertain of remaining in good health.' They are known in Upper Egypt for their excellent breed of camels, particularly dromedaries. They trade largely in *senna-mekke* and in charcoal of acacia-wood, both of which are produced from the trees growing abundantly in their mountains: the fuel is exported as far as Cairo. The Ababde have few horses: when at war with other Arab tribes, they fight upon camels, armed with a target, lance, and sword. Such of them as encamp near the Bisharye, speak the language of the latter.

"The Bisharye, who rarely descend from their mountains, are a very savage people; and their character is worse than even that of the Ababde. Their only cattle are camels and sheep;† and they live entirely upon flesh and milk, eating much of the former raw. According to the relation of several Nubians, they are very fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep; but

* The Ataony or Atouny Arabs, who possess the Isthmus of Suez and the desert northward of Kosseir, are supposed to derive their name from a corruption of that of St. Anthony. They are also called *Howadat*; and Bruce states, that they are of Moggrebin origin. See Bruce's Trav., vol. i. p. 121.

† Goats are afterwards mentioned; and at Atbara, their chiefs keep horses, together with asses of burden.

their greatest luxury is said to be the raw marrow of camels. A few of these Arabs occasionally visit Derr or Assouan, with senna, sheep, and ostrich-feathers, the ostrich being common in their mountains. In exchange for these commodities, they take linen shirts and dhourra, the grains of which they swallow raw as a dainty, and never make it into bread. The Bisharye are much addicted to theft, and will even rob the house of the person who receives them as guests. Their youth make plundering excursions as far as Dongola, and along the route to Sennaar, mounted upon camels of a breed superior to any other that exists between the shores of the Mediterranean and Abyssinia. Few of the Bisharye speak Arabic. They fear none but the Ababde, who know their pasturing places in the mountains, and often surprise their encampments. When the two tribes are at peace, the mountains inhabited by the Bisharye may be crossed in the company of an Ababde; but the latter is not to be trusted, unless one of his nearest relations is left behind as a hostage. The Bisharye are kind, hospitable, and honest towards each other. Their women, who are said to be as handsome as those of Abyssinia, mix in company with strangers, and are reported to be of very depraved habits."*...Some of those whom this Traveller afterwards saw at Atbara, appeared to him remarkably handsome. "They were of a dark-brown complexion, with beautiful eyes and fine teeth; their persons slender and elegant. They seemed to be under no fear of jealousy in their husbands or fathers, as they came laughing and joking close to our tents; and those who could not speak Arabic, endeavoured to make themselves understood

* Burckhardt, pp. 138, 9.

by signs. The beauties seemed to be fully conscious of their charms; but it was easy to perceive that they flirted with us for no other purpose than to make a better bargain for the dhourra and milk, than the less handsome ones could obtain, and they all betrayed bad faith in their dealings with us. I had already heard in Egypt, that the Bisharein are not jealous of their women: it is with them a law of honour, never to suspect their wives, till they have the most unequivocal proofs of their incontinency; but death would then inevitably ensue.

"The Bisharein of Atbara, like all their brethren, are a handsome and bold race; they go constantly armed, and are seldom free from quarrels. Drunkenness is as common among them as among the Arabs of Shendy. Their propensity to theft is not the worst part of their character: they appear to be treacherous, cruel, avaricious, and revengeful, and are restrained in these dispositions by no laws either human or divine. They are all Mussulmans, but they observe none of the rites prescribed by that religion; thus forming a remarkable contrast to the Negro *hadjis* who pass this way, and who never omit any of the exterior duties of the Mussulman faith. The inhospitable character of the Bisharein would alone prove them to be a true African race, were it not put beyond all doubt by their language.* Not a drop of milk could be had without purchasing it. This avaricious spirit is conspicuous in all their actions. It is not merely caravan passengers, from whom it is natural for them to extort some profit, who are thus treated; the poor Negro pilgrims who pass this place in their

* According to this mode of reasoning, however, the Ababde must also be an African tribe; but no stress can be laid on such a feature of their character.

way to Taka, complain bitterly of the pitiless inhabitants of the banks of the Atbara."*

It seems that several of the Bisharye tribes, although Bedouins, do not despise agriculture: and accordingly the account which we have above transcribed from this Traveller, representing them all as herdsmen living upon flesh and milk; must be qualified as applying only to some of the mountain tribes. Those who reside in the neighbourhood of the Atbara, descend to the woody banks of the river immediately after the inundation, to sow dhourra and a small quantity of kidney beans (*loubieh*), remaining there till the harvest is gathered in, when they return to their mountains. During the hottest part of the summer, when pasturage fails in the desert, they again descend to feed their cattle on the herbage on the borders of the stream. In like manner, the Turkmans in the vicinity of Aleppo, and indeed other Syrian tribes, are both Bedouins and cultivators.

The territory now occupied by the Bisharein, as well as part of that of the Ababde Arabs, including the emerald mountains near Berenice, formerly belonged to the Bojah or Bejah tribe; a Berber race, supposed to bear a close affinity to the Blemmyes of the ancients, who describe them as a wild, fierce, and hideous nation of barbarians;† they worshipped Isis, Osiris, and Priapus, and offered human sacrifices to the sun. The Bojahs, having been dislodged by the Bisharein, as the latter have been supplanted by the Ababdes, now appear to exist under the name of

* Burckhardt, pp. 333, 4.

† D'Anville remarks, that their figures must have been extraordinary, "as we read in some ancient authors, that men of this nation brought to Rome, under the Emperor Probus, appeared monstrous to the Roman people."

Takas (Takakee, Takue), mingled with other savage tribes of Upper Nubia. Encampments of the Bisharein are found as far southward as the frontier of Abyssinia; and the sea-coast from Suakin to Massuah is peopled by their tribes. Burckhardt conjectures, that the Bisharye dialect, like many others which prevail towards the northern frontier of that country, bears an original affinity to the Abyssinian.

The western desert, known under the name of *Bahiouda*, is less arid and less extensive than that on the eastern side of the Nile. Here are found a people of very peculiar physical character, to whom also travellers have given the name of *Barabras* or Berbers, which must be considered as nearly synonymous with the appellation of Nubians. "They are a very lean race of men, apparently destitute both of fat and flesh, their whole frame seeming to consist of nerves and tendons, with a few muscular fibres, more elastic than strong. Their shining skin is of a transparent black and brown. They bear no resemblance to the negroes of the west of Africa. Their hollow eyes sparkle under an uncommonly projecting eye-brow; they have a sharp nose, with dilated nostrils, wide mouth, thin lips, the beard and hair thin, and in small tufts, and a cheerful physiognomy Wrinkled at an early age, but always lively, nimble, and good-humoured, they betray their years, when old, only by the whiteness of their beards: they subsist on next to nothing, and are always attached and faithful in domestic servitude." *

* Costaz, Thevenot, and Denon in Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 118 Thevenot calls them *Barberins*. Numbers of Nubians repair to Cairo, to act as porters, where they are esteemed for their honesty; but they always return to their native village on realizing a little property.

In this account, the general character of the Nubian, as described by different travellers,* is plainly to be recognised, with no other modification, apparently, than results from diet and mode of life. Thus, to refer again to the indefatigable Burckhardt, "the men in Nubia," he tells us, "are generally well made, strong, and muscular, with fine features. In stature, they are somewhat below the Egyptians. They have no mustachios, and but little beard, wearing it under the chin only, *like the figures of the fugitives in the battle-pieces sculptured upon the walls of the Egyptian temples.* In passing along the wadys of Nubia, it often occurred to me to remark, that the size and figure of the inhabitants were generally proportioned to the breadth of their cultivable soil. Wherever the plain is broad, and the peasants, from being able to carry on agriculture, are in comparatively easy circumstances, they are taller and more muscular and healthy; but, in the rocky districts, where the plain is not more than twenty or thirty yards in breadth, they are poor meagre figures; in some places appearing almost like walking skeletons. The women are all well made, and, though not handsome, have generally sweet countenances and very pleasing manners: I have even seen beauties among them. Denon has certainly not done justice to them. But they are worn down, from their earliest years, by continual labour, the whole business of the house being left to them, while the men are occupied exclusively in the culture of the soil. Of all the women of the East,

* Sir F. Henniker says: "The Nubian is slender, but gracefully made; his beauty, like that of a statue, never changes, and he is entirely free from fat." He describes them as bolder than the Arabs, but uncourteous and sanguinary. Burckhardt found them generally to be "of a kind disposition."

those of Nubia are the most virtuous; and this is the more praiseworthy, as the vicinity to Upper Egypt, where licentiousness knows no bounds, might be expected to have some influence upon them. The Nubians purchase their wives from the parents: the price usually paid by the Kenous, is thirty-six piasters. They frequently intermarry with the Ababde Arabs, some of whom cultivate the soil, like themselves. An Ababde girl is worth six camels, which are paid to her father, who gives back three to his daughter, to be the common property of herself and her husband. The Nubian is extremely jealous of his wife's honour, and, on the slightest suspicion of infidelity towards him, would carry her in the night to the side of the river, lay open her breast by a cut with his knife, and throw her into the water, to be food for the crocodiles, as they term it. Public women, who are met with in thousands, in every part of Egypt, are not tolerated in Nubia, except at Derr, and they are not natives, but emancipated female slaves. The execrable propensities which the Mamlouks have rendered so common in Egypt, are held in abhorrence in Nubia." Pilfering, a vice so characteristic of the Egyptians, is, according to this Traveller, almost unknown among the Nubians. "Any person convicted of such a crime, would be expelled from his village by the unanimous voice of its inhabitants." * They are, in general, hospitable towards strangers, but the Kenous and the people of Sukkot less so than the other inhabitants. Curiosity seems to be the most prominent feature in

* As this favourable character is somewhat at variance with other accounts, it is necessary to state that, in his journey through the country, though he always slept in the open air, in front of the house where he took up his quarters, this Traveller did not lose the most trifling article.

their character. Generally, the Nubians have no inclination towards commercial speculations. Those who have resided in Egypt, and can speak Arabic, are for the most part good Mussulmans, and repeat their prayers daily; but, in general, the only prayer known to the others is the exclamation of *Allahu akbar*, God is great. A few make the pilgrimage to Mekka by the way of Suakin.

The habitations of the Nubians are low huts of mud or of loose stones, roofed with dhourra straw, "which last till they are eaten up by the cattle, when palm-leaves are laid across." The mud dwellings are generally so low that a person can hardly stand erect in them. The houses at Derr, and a few in the larger villages, are, however, better built. "The utensils of a Nubian's hut consist of about half a dozen coarse earthen jars, about five feet in height, and from one to two feet in diameter, in which all the provisions are kept;* a few earthenware plates; a hand-mill; a hatchet; and a few round sticks, over which the loom is laid. To the north of Derr, the dress consists usually of a linen shirt, (that of the wealthier class is dyed blue,) or the woollen cloak of the peasants of Upper Egypt: the head-dress is a small white linen cap, with sometimes a few rags twisted round it in the shape of a turban. Young boys and girls go

* The *dhourra* for the day's use is ground every morning by the women; for the Nubians never keep meal in store. The dhourra-bread is extremely coarse, made without salt, and imperfectly baked: the whole operation of grinding, kneading, and baking does not occupy more than ten minutes. The Nubians make from *dhourra*, or barley, a sort of beer called *bouza*, which is said to be very nutritious, and of which they are very fond. At Derr, great quantities both of the wine and the brandy obtained from the date are drunk; and in the larger villages, palm-wine is common. Animal food is rarely tasted by the Nubians: even the kasheefs do not eat it every day. Tobacco forms the chief luxury of all classes.

naked. The women wrap themselves up in linen rags or black woollen gowns; they wear ear-rings and glass bracelets; and those who cannot afford to buy the latter, form them of straw. Their hair falls upon the neck in ringlets, and, on the back part of the head, they wear short tassels of glass or stones, both as an ornament and an amulet. The richer class wear copper or silver rings round their ankles. South of Derr, and principally at Sukkot and in Mahass, the grown up people go quite naked, with the exception of the loins.

"Small looms are frequently seen in the houses of the Nubians: with these, the women weave very coarse woollen mantles, and cotten cloth, which they make into shirts. From the leaves of the date-tree, they also form mats, small drinking bowls, and large plates, on which the bread is served at table: though these articles are formed entirely by the hand, they are made in so very neat a manner as to have every appearance of being wrought by instruments. These are the only manufactures in Nubia; every thing else is imported from Egypt. The only musical instrument I saw in Nubia, was a kind of Egyptian tamboura with five strings, and covered with the skin of a gazelle. The girls are fond of singing, and the Nubian airs are very melodious."

"The Nubians seldom go unarmed. As soon as a boy grows up, his first endeavour is to purchase a short, crooked knife, which the men wear tied over the left elbow, under the shirt, and which they draw upon each other on the slightest quarrel. When a Nubian goes from one village to another, he either carries a long heavy stick headed with iron, or his lance and target. The targets, which are of various

shapes and sizes, are sold by the Sheygya Arabs.* Those who can afford it, possess also a sword, resembling in shape the swords worn by the knights of the middle ages; a long straight blade about two inches in breadth, with a handle in the form of a cross; they are of German manufacture. Fire-arms are not common: the richer classes possess matchlocks; but ammunition is scarce." †

The climate of Nubia, though in summer intensely hot, especially in the narrow, rocky parts of the country, is remarkably healthy, in consequence of the extreme drynesss of the atmosphere. The plague has never been known to reach the Second Cataract.‡ From January to April, the country is scorched up with insupportable heats. The rainy season lasts from June to September, with frequent irregularities. The thermometer sometimes reaches 119° of Fahrenheit, and the burning sands render travelling impracticable, except at night. But "nothing can exceed," Dr. Richardson says, "the beauty of the mornings and evenings in Nubia. The air is then clear, and light, and cool." || This remark applies more particularly to the Nubian valley, where the sky is in general cloudless; dew never falls, and rain is almost unknown. At some seasons, however, the mornings and evenings

* Some are round, with a boss in the centre; others resemble the Macedonian shield, being of an oblong form, four feet in length, and with curved edges, covering almost the whole body.

† Burckhardt, pp. 130—137.

‡ Occasionally, the small-pox makes dreadful ravages, the attempt to introduce vaccination having hitherto failed.

|| "All of us had seen the skies of Italy and Greece; but, for brightness, the nocturnal sky of Egypt and Nubia surpasses them as much as they do that of England."—RICHARDSON.

are so cold, that the natives are reluctant to leave their morning's fire.*

From Assouan to Say, an extent of about 400 miles, the valley of the Nile is extremely narrow, in no place exceeding four miles in width; and the average breadth, Dr. Richardson thinks, is not above half a mile.† Deprived of the advantages of regular inundations by the height of the surface above the river, it owes all its fertility to artificial irrigation, and the creaking of the Persian wheel never ceases.‡ Detached springs may exist, and a few huts have sprung up round them, but they are all inconsiderable. The cultivation is so limited, that, in some parts, not a morsel of bread is to be bought. Except date-trees,§ and a few vines near Derr, there are no fruit-trees in Nubia. The locusts often make sad destruction among the verdure, and the inhabitants eat them "in self-defence."‖

* Henniker, p. 167.

† Burckhardt estimates the whole population of Nubia, from Assouan to the southern limits of Mahass, "an extent of country about 500 miles long, with an average breadth of half a mile, at 100,000 souls." (p. 137.) This estimate of course does not include the tribes of the desert.

‡ The mode of estimating the revenue in Nubia, is not from a certain extent of ground, like the Egyptian *fedhan*, but from every *sakie* or water-wheel. The number of these between Assouan and Wady Halfa, Burcknardt states to be between six and seven hundred. One *sakie* requires the alternate labour of eight or ten cows, and waters from three to five *fedhans*.

§ The quantity of dates imported from Nubia by way of Assouan, varies from 1500 to 2000 *erdebs* per year, each *erdeb* weighing about 200lb.

‖ "Among the most remarkable animals of Nubia are the locusts, that eat up every thing, and the scarabee or beetle, that seems to live where there never was any thing to eat. I have seen the latter crawling over a plain of sand at a long distance from the river or vegetation. These extraordinary offspring of the sun might almost have been worshipped by the Egyptians on that account alone. In one place, we found that a quantity of locusts had

THE FIRST CATARACT.

We now resume our voyage up the Nile, which was suspended at the First Cataract. The village of Embap, about four miles S. of Assouan, is the port at which the traveller re-embarks. The direct road lies over a narrow sandy flat between the mountains; those on the right consist chiefly of large masses of granite piled one upon another; all is rock and sand. About a mile from the tombs of Assouan begins the brick wall mentioned by Denon,* called *Hayt el Adjour*, (Wadjoud ?) and attributed by the natives to a king of that name. It continues along the sandy plain between the granite rocks, as far as the vicinity of Philœ. "The natives say, that it was originally the embankment of a canal; and Norden is of opinion that, in ancient times, the bed of the Nile was on this side; but this," remarks Burckhardt, "seems impossible, as the ground evidently rises from Philœ towards Assouan." He imagines it to have been intended as a defence against the Bedouins of the eastern mountain, at the time that a brisk overland transport-trade existed between Philœ and Syene. In the granite

taken possession of every thing green: the husbandman was smoking them out of the trees, and eating them in self-defence—no more taste than an insipid waxy potatoe. The locust is about three inches in length, and having wings, is larger than the golden wren."—Henniker, p. 167.

* "This road has one peculiarity, which is, that there are evident remains of its having been tracked out and raised as a causeway, and that there was much traffic on it in former times...Near this road are the ruins of military lines, made of sun-burnt bricks, the base of which is from 15 to 20 feet in thickness. This entrenchment extended along the valley by the road side, and terminated at rocks and forts nearly three leagues from Syene."—Aikin's *Denon*, vol. ii. pp. 147—8.

rocks along the road, hieroglyphic inscriptions are met with, which increase in number as the traveller approaches the island. One of the most singular of these presents the form of a seat cut out of the solid rock, with a rude flight of steps leading up to it, the whole ornamented with hieroglyphics. At about four miles from Assouan, the road leads into an open plain, free from rocks, on the western side of which the river flows. There is another and longer road from Assouan along the side of the river, by the Cataract. In this route, there occur two or three small villages, and a few scattered patches of verdant and cultivated surface, but nothing that can be called a plain.*

Sir F. Henniker, having sent on his luggage by land, made the passage of the Cataracts, which is thus described. "On leaving Assouan, the granite islets become every moment more frequent and more boldly picturesque. The river assumes the appearance of a lake cradled in granite. The wild-duck and the heron are flying around, and the fisherman is diving or running about the rocks, or traversing the stream in every direction. His raft is the single trunk of a palm-tree, on which, though round, he contrives to sit, and even to rest his feet on it also. His bundle is on his head; his pipe is in his mouth; his dirk tied to his arm, and paddling with his hands, he manages not merely to retain his position, but even to ascend the stream. The river now forces its way between a small island and some blocks of granite, which cause a fall of two or three feet. This we have to pass. The crew put themselves in swimming order, not

* "Strabo describes correctly the appearance of the rocks on the left of the route from Philœ to Assouan; but where he found a plain of 100 *stadia* to cross, I am at a loss to conceive."—Richardson, vol. i. p. 345.

without their dirks; a rope is made fast to the boat, and the *reiss*, with the evolutions of a feugelman and the antics of a *maître de danse*, gives the word of command to fifty fellows, who immediately commence crying out, *Hay lay essah*. Owing to very bad management, we shipped a considerable quantity of water. The surface of the stream, which has hitherto been rippled to the extent of fifty yards, now becomes smooth. I ask, where are the Cataracts? and am informed that we have passed them,—the Cataracts of the Nile, the deafening roar of whose waters used to be heard to an incredible distance; but now, they will not do me the favour to drown the voices of my boatmen. The Cataracts of the Nile are not more formidable than the Thames at London bridge." *

The height of the fall of course depends upon the season. When the river is at its height, there is scarcely any fall at all, but merely a rapid; but, when the inundation has considerably subsided, and the river is lowest, the fall, according to Dr. Richardson,

* Henniker, p. 147. Diodorus Siculus describes the Cataracts with tolerable accuracy. "This is a place in length about ten *stadia*, steep and confined by precipices, the whole rough and craggy, having also many stones resembling great rocks. The stream dashing against these impediments with violence, and being driven back in a contrary direction, prodigious eddies arise. The whole intermediate space is filled with froth by the reflux of water, and gives great terror to all that approach it. The swiftness of the current in this part seems to equal that of an arrow. During the inundation, the rocks being covered with water, some people sail down the Cataract, when they have contrary winds to retard their fall; but no one can sail up the Cataract." Cited in Norden. Lucan (lib. x. 315) gives a more poetical, and of course a less faithful picture:

> "*Spuma tunc astra lacessit;*
> *Cuncta fremunt undis; ac multo murmure mersis*
> *Spumans invictis canescit fluctibus amnis.*"

CATARACTS OF THE NILE.

may be as much as eight or ten feet.* No part of the scenery can be called sublime, but the shattered mountains of granite and basalt, rising in black masses on either side, and choking up the river, give an awful grandeur to the scene. Some small villages, surrounded with palm-trees, are situated in the low cultivated spots among the rocks on the eastern bank; and there are two considerable islands, called *Djezeer Shellaal* (Cataract Island) and *Djezeer Sehale*. The western bank is low and covered with sand, and has no villages. At length, after weathering the "outposts of the Cataracts," the Island of Philœ, like a paradise in the flood, with its majestic ruins, bursts on the sight.

The Island of Philœ, situated in lat. 24° 1′ 28″ N., long. 32°,54′ 16″ E., is about 1000 feet in length, and 400 feet in breadth at its widest part, being barely 900 yards in circumference. It is of an oval form, with an indentation at the southern end, where a wall of stone has been built up from the rock to support the soil, and to protect it from the force of the current. A sunk wall has been, for this purpose, carried all round the island. The rock is all granite, and the covering of earth is so light throughout, that the rock in many places projects above the soil. Stairs in several parts lead down to the river. There are many small substructions and ruins of stone buildings, with a few circular brick huts, but none of any consequence; and the only inhabitants, when Dr. Richardson visited it, were a single family. It would now hardly ever be

A navigable passage is stated to have been cut through the rocks of this Cataract by order of Mohammed Ali.—ENGLISH'S *Narr.*, *Pref.*

* Norden describes this Cataract (in December) as four feet in its fall, and thirty feet in length.

visited, were it not for the large temple and the *Sereer Pharaon* (Pharaoh's bed).

The temple is a magnificent edifice; it stands at the south-west corner of the island, close upon the bank of the river, which is higher here than in any other part, and has been faced with stone. The ground plan is extremely irregular and ill-contrived, none of the walls being parallel, except those of the cella; but this defect is lost in the general effect of the architecture. The whole area which it occupies is about 435 feet in length and 105 feet wide at its broadest part, in the centre of the dromos. The approach is by a long, narrow court, at the entrance of which are substructions of a small temple, which had six columns on each side, and four on each extremity. Six columns on one side are still standing, and near them, on the edge of the river, is a small but handsome granite obelisk, covered with hieroglyphics, and bearing several Greek inscriptions, one of which mentions an offering of one of the Ptolemies to the goddess Isis and the co-templar divinities.* From this point, a colonnade, in continuation of the columns of the temple, extended for 240 feet along the edge of the river, to the grand propylon. Thirty-two of the columns are still standing. This colonnade has been walled towards the river, and roofed with large flat stones, forming a delightful piazza. In the wall are eight windows, and a well-formed stair leads down to the river. Dr. Richardson's Nubian guide called this piazza, *Gossaba* (*Kassaba*) *de Kakeen*, an arcade of shops; "a use for which," he adds, "it is well calculated, and was probably constructed. In many

* We are not aware whether the hieroglyphics have been examined. One might have hoped to find that the Greek inscriptions were translations of the sacred character.

places in the present day, the shops of the Christians, and the bazars of the Moslems, line the entrance to their places of worship; the same was the case in ancient times."* On the opposite side of the court is another piazza, of which fourteen columns still remain: it is neither so long nor so handsome, part of it being taken up with chambers. Near the front of the propylon are the pedestals of two granite obelisks which have been carried off, and the remains of two hiero-sphinxes, much mutilated. The propylon is about 90 feet long, and rises in two lofty towers, in the same pyramidal style as that of the grand propylon at Edfou. The front is highly decorated with sculpture and hieroglyphics: the figures are in intaglio, of a colossal size, but very ill proportioned. On each side of the principal entrance, a figure of Isis, 20 feet high, with the moon over her head, has been cut into the wall. This has been at one time plastered over, and there are fragments of a Greek inscription on each side of it, which was evidently continued on the plaster that concealed in Christian times the profane image. Remains of plaster are still observable on the wall. The import of the inscription appears to have been, that this temple, which had formerly been dedicated to pagan rites and the worship of Isis, was by Theodorus (who, we learn from another inscription, was bishop of the district) consecrated to the worship of the True God and his Son Jesus Christ. Next to the figure of Isis, is that of the hawk-headed deity, of the same size. According to Strabo, the hawk was the principal object of worship at Philœ. Then comes a colossal hero, crowned with the serpent and globe;

* This abuse had crept into the Jewish temple in the time of our Lord. See John ii. 14. Matt. xxi. 12.

his right hand grasps the hair of thirty miserable heads, and his left raises a hatchet, while the sacred hawk hovers above the weapon. Various other figures, devices, and tablets with a vast number of Greek and Latin inscriptions, in prose and verse, are sculptured along the front of the propylon. The general purport of them is to record, that the individuals named came there and worshipped the great goddess Isis.*

The *dromos* is very magnificent, about 72 feet by 64 in extent. The Nubians call it *Gassr* (*Kassar*) *el Wadjout*. On the western side is a structure resembling a peripteral Greek temple, containing three chambers: the Nubians call this *Bait-el-houssan*, the house for the horses. On the side next the *dromos* is a long inscription in the Syrian character. Opposite to this is what is called *Bait-el-Sultan*, the sultan's house, consisting of a wall fronted by twelve columns. The northern end of the *dromos* is bounded by a small propylon, through which a passage leads into the pronaos, which is remarkably handsome: ten columns, with varied capitals of palm-branch and lotus-leaf, are ranged round the three sides, and covered above, so as to form a piazza. The figures sculptured on the columns are painted in the most lively colours, and the ceiling of the piazza is painted azure, studded with stars, and ornamented with the usual devices.

The body of the temple contains eleven small chambers on the ground-floor, all of which are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. In the first to the right, the French have left a record of the advance of their army thus far, and of the astronomical observations made

* Written Isis and Eisis. The words θεα and κυρια are indiscriminately applied to her. Isis is said to signify in Coptic, "the ancient, or, according to another derivation, fertility.

by their academicians. These chambers are soiled by the smoke of torches and the dirt of bats. In the middle chamber, which is particularly black, are two monolithic granite niches, which have been wrought with great care, and adorned with winged globes, a cornice, and moulding. The workmanship is quite of a different style from that of the temple, and apparently of a much older date. There can be little doubt, that they are connected with an idolatry much more ancient than the temple itself. In the upper story, there is likewise a number of elegant chambers covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, as is likewise the outside of the cella. Among the representations on the exterior, Isis, in various forms and with different symbols, is pre-eminent: she is generally accompanied by the hawk-headed deity. In the *sekos*, or inmost chamber, which appears to be the oldest part of the temple, there is a magnificent representation of the Ethiopian hawk*; and Dr. Richardson supposes, that the pronaos, the propylon, and other parts of the temple, which are decidedly more modern, were constructed after the worship of the hawk had been superseded by that of Isis, Osiris, and Horus. In one of the columns, a stone appears with hieroglyphics inverted, shewing that the materials were taken from a former building. The later parts have not been completely finished. Some of the columns are neither sculptured nor adorned with hieroglyphics; others are but partially so; and the side of one of the passages is covered with sculpture only half way up, terminating abruptly. These additions, the learned Traveller supposes to have been made in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, who

* Strabo states, that numbers of hawks were regularly imported from Ethiopia, which were kept to be deified whenever the others died off.

appears to have repaired the temple at Kalabshe, and many others.

At a distance of a few paces from the temple, towards the east, there is another handsome edifice, 60 feet by 45, with five columns on each side, and two on the sides of the portal at each end. The intercolumniary space is built up about two-thirds of the height of the building. The capitals are various, as in the large temple, and above them are four courses of stone and a handsome cornice. The Nubians call it *Sereer Pharaon*, the Sovereign's Bed; and Dr. Richardson supposes, that it was anciently exhibited as the tomb of Osiris, who was held to have been buried here. The most sacred oath among the Thebans was, "By Osiris in Philœ."

The island of Philœ is not mentioned under that name by Herodotus, but he is thought to refer to it under the name of Elephantina, as the common habitation of Ethiopians and Egyptians. Pliny intimates, that there were four islands called Philœ, and that this appellation was a general name for the whole. The word *phil* in Arabic signifies elephant, and Elephantina would seem, therefore, to be merely a translation of the original name, but apparently a mistaken one.* The old Egyptian name is stated, on other

* See Richardson's Travels, i. 502. That the ancients did not understand the derivation of the word, is clear. Seneca uses the word *Phile* in the singular, in reference to a place near Syene,—"*locum quem Philas, hoc est amicas, vocant, ideo quod illic est placata ab Ægyptiis Isis, quibus irascebatur quod membra mariti Osiridis non inveniebat.*" (Servius cited in notes to Norden.) He elsewhere speaks of it as rugged and precipitous; terms by no means applicable to the island now called Philœ. Norden mentions this island as bearing the name of *El Heiff*. According to Capt. Light, it is called by the natives *Selwajoud*. Burckhardt says, Philœ is called *Anas-el-Wodjoud, i.e.*, the social pleasures of Wodjoud, the mighty king to whom the erection of the temples is ascribed.

authorities, to be *Phi lakh*, the end or extremity (*i.e.* of Egypt); which the Arabians converted into *Bilac*, under which form it occurs in Idrisi's Geography. But, if this be the origin of the word, it is very questionable whether it is correctly applied to the island now called Philœ. Elephantina is more properly the extremity of Egypt, being the last projection of the granite rock which forms the natural division between Egypt and Nubia. In the time of Psammetichus, it was also the last fortified place in his dominions;* and Syene has always been represented as the frontier town towards Ethiopia. We cannot, therefore, but conclude, that *Djeziret-el-Zahir*, or Elephantina, is the true Philœ, although that which now bears the name appears to have shared in the appellation, or at an early period to have succeeded to the honour. Perhaps, as a place of greater security, it may have been preferred by the priests of Isis in troublous times; and its temples, which are of a bright white sandstone, were probably built at a time when the granite quarries of Elephantina were not accessible. The builders may have had their reasons for removing Philœ beyond the frontier.† Burckhardt states, that the different hamlets between Philœ and Assouan,

Dr. Richardson gives as one of its Nubian names, *Djezeera Mouchdelap*, but does not explain the words. Another name which it is said to bear, is *Djeziret-el-birbeh*, *i.e.*, the temple-island; and Burckhardt says, the small village opposite Philœ is called Birbe.

* Herod. ii. 30.—*Ency. Metrop.*

† In confirmation of this view, it may be mentioned, that a Greek inscription on the base of the obelisk at Philœ, as explained by M. Letronne, proves to be a petition from the priests of Isis to Ptolemy Euergetes, in 125 or 126 B.C., praying to be relieved from the exactions of the magistrates and military officers stationed in the Thebais, (probably at Syene and in Elephantina,) and to allow them to erect a *stelé*, or *cippus*, on which they might commemorate the equity and beneficence of their sovereign. See *Ency. Metrop.*

forming part of the territory of Birbe, enjoy, in consequence of old *firmauns* from the Porte, an entire exemption from all kinds of land-tax. It is probable, that this privilege is of still longer standing, and that the Sultans only continued an immunity which the sacred territory had immemorially claimed. Philœ, however, is distinctly stated to belong to Nubia.

The bed of the river is now free from rocks and islands, but its banks on both sides soon become so narrow, that there is hardly a hundred yards of cultivable ground. On the eastern side, the camel-road leaves the river, and for two hours traverses the deep valleys of the mountain, which presents an endless variety of granite, among which a rose-coloured species is particularly beautiful. Syenite, red felspath, and granite compose this chain. Towards the river, a succession of small villages of round huts are built along the edge of the mountain: they are nearly concealed by the high growth of the dhourra, which covers the narrow strip of land. The natives speak the Berber language. At Deboudy,* the country on the eastern bank widens a little; and here, at a short distance from the village, is a small temple, handsome, but unfinished, and with few decorations. Over the door of the propylon is the usual ornament of the globe with serpent and wings. In the innermost apartment are two small monolithic shrines: the mass

* Written by Burckhardt, *Wady Debot*. "All the villages, as far as Dongola, are called *wady*, or valley. There are always three or four of them comprised under one general name. Thus, *Wady Dehmyt* extends about four miles along the bank of the river, and includes upwards of half a dozen hamlets, each of which has its particular name. There are few large villages, but groupes of five or six houses are met with wherever a few palm-trees grow on the banks of the stream, or the breadth of the soil is sufficient to admit of cultivation."

of granite of which the one is formed, is about 8 feet high, and 4 feet wide; the other is about 7 feet high, and 3½ feet in width. There are no hieroglyphics on either, but the niche in each is surrounded with a double moulding, and surmounted with the winged globe, while at the base, two figures are tying the stem of a lotus to a table. Representations of Isis, Osiris, Horus, the ram-headed and lion-headed deities, occur on the walls. Within the temple, Dr. Richardson found a calf carefully shut up; but it may be presumed that the rites of Isis are no longer practised here.

About five hours above Deboudy is *Wady Kardassy*, (written by Capt. Light and Dr. Richardson, *Gartaas*,) where are seen a small but elegant temple, a pillar belonging to another, and the foundation of a third, by the walls of which the whole of the modern village is circumscribed. "The first and most southern (ruin) is a square enclosure of masonry of 153 paces each side; its greatest height, 16 feet; its thickness, about 10 feet: the east side is almost destroyed. In the interior are smaller enclosures of stone, and foundations for others. In the south and north sides are gateways: that on the north is strong, and has a cornice in which is a winged globe, and the outline of a symbolic figure" (of Isis)....."At a short distance north (of the quarries) are the remains of a small temple, consisting of six beautifully finished columns with capitals. Two of them, facing the north, are engaged in a wall two thirds of their height, forming a gateway. Their capitals are heads of Isis, supporting a plinth, on which monolithic temples are sculptured. The other four, two on the west and two on the east, are also engaged in a wall half their height. The capitals vary, but are of the lotus form: two of

them have the grape and wheat-ear in relief under their volutes. The columns stand on circular bases, and the foundation of the whole is partly seen. The architraves, entablature, and part of the cornice remain. The shafts are about 3 feet in diameter, and about 10 feet apart. The north front is 30 feet; the east and west, 36. On a column of the north front are characters, much defaced, of a Greek inscription."* A little to the north of these ruins are quarries of sandy freestone, containing not fewer than a hundred Greek inscriptions, with busts placed in niches cut in the face of the rock. The purport of the inscriptions is, that the individuals named had come hither to worship, and had presented offerings for themselves, their wives and children, and friends. †

* Light's Travels, p. 57—60, and plate. See also Irby and Mangles, p. 104. By the latter Travellers, as well as by Norden, the site of these ruins is called Hindaw, the name of a spot further south, which appears to be included in the district called Wady Kardassy. Burckhardt speaks of a small ruined temple on the east side of the river; and "at a long day's journey hence, in the eastern mountain, are the ruins of a city called *Kamle*."—BURCKHARDT, pp. 8, 112.

† Light's Travels, p. 58. Five of these were copied by this Traveller, and are given, with translations by Dr. Young, in an appendix. They are of the era of the Antonines. Capt. Mangles speaks of "forty-two very perfect Greek inscriptions" in this quarry, all of which are stated to have been copied by Mr. Bankes; but other travellers represent them as much more numerous. Capt. Light has given a plate representing "a part of the rock scarped perpendicularly, in which is a shallow recess, shaped like a monolithic temple, about 10 feet high, with a cornice and winged globe, and half-length figures in full relief, about three feet high, under rudely arched recesses." At the bottom of the whole are rudely sculptured hieroglyphics. Burckhardt says: "Several heads of Greek saints are sculptured in the rock on both sides of the niche," which "seems to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, and subsequently both by the Pagan and the Christian Greeks."—p. 113.

The whole ground about Kardassy is extremely interesting, and the ruins occur at intervals for the space of nearly two miles.* The western bank of the river is here almost desert: the opposite shore has a little cultivation. At Hindau (or Hindaou), a short distance further southward, are ruins of "six buildings comparatively modern in their appearance, and two that are of more ancient date. One of these, which stands among the houses of the village, is of the old Egyptian style, but very small, and contains nothing worthy of notice. The other, which seems a more modern building, though more ruined, has once been used as a Greek church, and the walls are covered with Greek paintings and Greek inscriptions, all of which are greatly defaced. On each side of the door within the cella, there is a Greek almanack, consisting of six columns, each of which is divided into four smaller columns with Greek numerals in each, and an inscription over the top of it. The other six are ruins much more modern, and do not appear to have been finished. Two of them are built in a very unusual style: the courses do not pass horizontally along the wall, but run in a crescent form, each course being shaped in the form of an inverted arch. Some large fragments of the cornice shewed it to have been remarkably well cut and of Roman workmanship." †

About six hours from Kardassy, is the district of Tafa (Taeeffa, Teffa), extending along both banks of

* "The name Kardassy is applied to about six miles extent of country, throughout which are visible the foundations of many buildings, that would, if completed, have rendered it a city of temples."—HENNIKER, p. 153. It includes a tract on both banks of the river. According to Burckhardt, however, the shore from Dehmyt to Tafa, bears the name of *Wady-el-Mebarakat*.

† Richardson, vol. i. pp. 476, 7.

the river, where the plain on each side is generally about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Some ancient remains here, are supposed to mark the sites of *Taphis* and *Contra Taphis*. The principal village, which gives name to the district, is on the western bank, standing in an open, cultivated spot, more than a mile in length, and about half a mile in depth, in which the doum and the palm-tree flourish. It contained, in 1814, between two and three hundred inhabitants.* The antiquities consist of several spacious oblong enclosures of masonry, between three and four feet in height, some of which are filled with blocks of stone, unfinished cornices, and parts of doorways. These enclosures are at both ends of the plain. In the centre are two buildings, one having the form of a portico: the other, which is in ruin, seems to be the remains of a Christian church. The former is almost blocked up in front by a mass of mud, and is surrounded with the hovels of the natives. It is a pyramidal portico facing the south, having two columns engaged in a wall almost to the bottom of their capitals, which represent the full-blown lotus, and support an entablature and cornice. Between the columns and the sides are small doorways with cornice and frieze; and above these, a second and third cornice, in each of which is the winged globe. The frieze has a bead and leaf worked on it. The front is about 27 feet in length. The inside is perfect, having a roof supported by four clumsy columns standing on a plain circular

* "The peasants of Tafa relate, that they are the descendants of the few Christian inhabitants of the city (Taphis), who embraced the Mohammedan faith, when the country was conquered by the followers of the Prophet, the greater part having either fled or been put to death. They are still called *Oulad el Nusara*, or the Christian progeny."—BURCKHARDT, p. 192.

base; their capitals, the full-blown lotus. The depth of the building is not more than 20 feet. There are no hieroglyphics, but on one of the walls inside is a cross of Maltese form. Nothing remains to shew that this portico was connected with any other building. The other remain is open to the east; the north and south walls are in ruin; the west is complete. In this is a doorway, and within, in front, are two columns, with lotus capitals, supporting a small portion of roof. Scriptural paintings in distemper, as large as life, remain on the walls; and over the cornice of the doorway is the winged globe. In front of the open side lay several capitals, broken shafts, and other fragments." *

On the eastern side of the river are foundations of two buildings near each other, about 40 feet square, rudely constructed of sandstone; there are no fragments of columns, nor of sculptured stones of any kind. †

Immediately to the south of these ruins, the mountains on both sides of the river prevent all passage by land along its banks, and the road lies for an hour over the granite rocks which form the *shellaal* (cataract) of Kalabshe. The mountain is here called *Djebel Baheely*. The granite chain extends uninterruptedly from Assouan to Dehmyt: ‡ it then gives place to sandstone, which continues to border the river as far as Tafa. Here, the river suddenly assumes a new and picturesque character, being studded with dark rocks

* Light's Travels, pp. 61, 2. † Burckhardt, p. 9.

‡ "The vein of red granite which begins below Assouan, and extends half a day's sail beyond Philœ, is supposed to continue in an easterly direction till it joins the shores of the Red Sea, keeping nearly throughout the same breadth. The observations which we made on our trips into the desert from Assouan, tended to confirm this opinion."—IRBY and MANGLES, p. 5.

and numerous islets, till, at *Wady Kalabshe*, (distant nearly eight hours from Tafa by land,) the horizontal sandstone recommences, and reaches as far as the Second Cataract at *Wady Halfa*. The passage of boats is not impeded by the *shellaal* of Kalabshe;* but, at high Nile, rapids are caused by the contraction of the stream. On the eastern bank, the remains of an Arab mud-built castle occupy an elevated spot; and on one of the islands are the ruins of a village and castle, which, though of wretched construction, prove that this place has formerly been the seat of a higher civilization. By some writers, this part has been termed the Gates of Nubia, having been improperly considered as the boundary between Nubia and Egypt.

KALABSHE

THE village of Kalabshe is close to the opening of the plain on the western bank, and consists of a number of huts built round a spacious ruined temple. The village is the largest that occurs on the western bank between Assouan and Derr, and is supposed to represent the ancient *Talmis*. The temple is considered by Burckhardt as ranking among the most precious remains of Egyptian antiquity. "In its site, it may be compared with the temples of Tentyra and Edfou, and it belongs to the best period of Egyptian architecture; though it bears traces, in several parts, of a less careful and more hurried execution, than that of those

* "At Galabshee, the Nile flowing wide and beautiful, divides itself among several rocks and uninhabited islands; then widens, on passing them, into a grand amphitheatre of bold and craggy precipices, interspersed with cultivated spots, extending for about a mile; then, closing to a narrow entrance at Tafa, resumes its ordinary breadth."—LIGHT, p. 63.

two temples. The walls are uncommonly well built." * Capt. Light gives the following description of this noble ruin.

"The remains of the temple are, a butment of masonry, which rises above the bank of the river at about 170 or 180 feet from the front of the temple, to which, from the butment, there is a paved approach. On each side of this pavement, there appears to have been a row of sphinxes, one of which lay headless near the pavement. At the end, there seems to have been steps leading to a terrace 36 feet in breadth, from which rise two pyramidal moles with a gateway between them, forming a front of about 110 feet.† The moles are 18 or 20 feet thick, of solid masonry: the upper part of them is in ruins. Inside this gateway is a court about 40 feet in extent, now filled with broken shafts, capitals, and other fragments. It appears to have had a colonnade on the sides, joining the mole with the portico.‡ Of this colonnade, only one column remains, with a capital much disfigured, supporting a fragment of ceiling. The portico consists of four columns, engaged to half their height in a wall, raised in the centre to form an entrance. A lateral wall divides the portico from a suite of four inner apartments, separated by lateral walls, in each of which are doorways, and over them are winged

* Burckhardt, p. 106. Dr. Richardson thought it appeared more modern than any in Egypt; and it has evidently never been finished. Belzoni, too, says, that it must certainly have been of later date than any other in Nubia.

† Dr. Richardson gives the dimensions of this magnificent propylon more accurately,—120 feet long, 24 feet broad, and about 50 feet high. Over the door is the winged globe.

‡ There have been six columns on each side. The one remaining entire is 3 feet 3 inches in diameter. The pronaos is 66 feet by 36.—Legh, p. 89.

globes in the cornice. Within the first apartment, there appears to have been a colonnade, of which two columns remain on the left hand, their capitals defaced, with two or three fragments of an architrave. The space within is filled with broken shafts, capitals, and blocks of an immense size. This apartment and the interior of the portico are ornamented only round the sides of the doorways. The other three apartments are covered with the usual hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. Remains of colouring exist fresh and bright. All the apartments are encumbered with ruins, and have scarcely any ceiling left. Inside the portico are Scriptural paintings, similar to those in modern Greek churches." *

The cella, which is 15 paces by 9, projects several feet into the pronaos, forming an insulated chamber in the midst of the temple, as at Philœ and Dakke. In the adytum are remains of columns lying on the ground; "the only instance of the kind," says Burckhardt, "I have seen in any Egyptian temple." He adds the following curious particulars: "In the walls (of the adytum) are some low, dark recesses and windows or loop-holes, like those in the temple at Tentyra: † its roof is formed of single blocks of stone

* Light, pp. 64—6. Mr. Legh, who has also described this temple, noticed at the further extremity of the innermost apartment, some rude characters placed over the representation of a head sculptured in the centre of the wall. The word has been supposed to be a proper name written in the enchorial character; but Dr. Young suggests, that it may perhaps be K. ΕΛΕΗC, a contraction of Lord have mercy, in reference to the head of Christ. LIGHT, p. 273.

† Mr. Legh, after describing the three principal chambers, (the dimensions of which he gives, 36 feet by 20, 30 feet by 18, and 36 by 18,) adds: "Many smaller apartments lead out of the three great chambers; and there are also several situated above them. In the interior or body of the propylon we counted at least twelve

reaching the whole breadth, and upwards of three feet in thickness. There is a chamber behind the adytum, as at Dakke, and communicating with it by two doors: the roof has fallen in, but it may be seen that this chamber was lower than the adytum, and had a chamber over it. In the walls of this chamber are several cells or recesses, each of which forms two small apartments, one behind the other, divided by a narrow entrance, and just sufficiently large to hold one person: they are closed in front by a stone, which may be removed at pleasure, and were, perhaps, prisons for refractory priests, or places of probation for those who aspired to the priesthood.* The persons who were placed there, may be literally said to have been shut up in the wall, as there is not the slightest appearance of any recess being there, when the stones which close the outer entrance are in their places. I observed a hollow stone in the interior of one of them, but I am not certain whether it was a sarcophagus or not.

"The walls of the cella and adytum are covered with painted figures, the colours of which still remain tolerably perfect, more so than those at Philœ, owing to a coat of plaster having been laid upon the walls by the Greeks, to receive the paintings of their saints, but which has for the most part fallen off. The colours generally used are red, blue, green, and black.†

rooms, into which the light is admitted by oblong niches cut in the outside wall."—p. 90.

* Belzoni suggests, that these cells may have been either prisons for men, or places for the sacred animals.

† "Some remain of the natural colour of the stone. The figures in red are of the least consideration, and are presenting offerings to the figures in blue, the sacred colour. In the innermost apartment, the figures are greatly effaced; but there is one of singularly good execution,—a female seated, adorned with a rich necklace and a

The hawk-headed Osiris, with a staff in one hand, is painted of a light green; some females, holding in their hands the lotus, are quite black. The variously coloured striped robes of the Osiris with a tiara on his head, have a most gaudy appearance. The hair of the figures is in general black, though in some it is blue. The spaces between the figures are covered with hieroglyphics painted red. On the lower part of the side walls of the adytum are single human figures, each with an animal by its side, generally an ox, a gazelle, or a goose. The exterior walls of the temple are covered with sculptures of colossal figures, like those of Tentyra and Edfou, though not so large: they are rudely executed, and by no means correspond to the beauty of the sculpture on the interior of the chambers. Heads of sphinxes project from the walls, as at Tentyra, through which, perhaps, the priests delivered their oracles.

"The walls of the portico are prolonged the whole length of the building, and, by means of a transverse wall in the rear of the chamber behind the adytum, form a high enclosure all round; at about twenty feet beyond which is the general enclosure to the whole building. This is carried to the foot of the hill, which has been cut down perpendicularly, so as to serve as the end wall. In the S.W. corner of the area is a small quadrangle, formed, on one side, by three columns, and, on the adjacent interior side, by a short wall built across the area. Here, a grotto, or sepul-

profusion of ornaments, and holding in her left hand the sacred *tau*. There are frequent exhibitions of Osiris receiving offerings, and of Isis, with her lotus-headed sceptre, enjoying similar marks of deification. The form of worship portrayed in the different chambers, is the same as that which we have seen on the temples in Egypt, but the countenances both of the gods and of their worshippers is different."—RICHARDSON, vol. i. p. 376.

chre, has been hewn in the perpendicular rock, similar to that behind the temple at Dandour: it consists of a single chamber, with the winged globe over the entrance, but without any other sculpture. A flight of steps leads from the propylon down to a paved terrace, which extends to the foundations of an oblong building standing just over the river, where are some fragments of columns. Visiters by water, during the inundations, might have stepped from their vessel into this building."

"The Greeks had formed this temple into a church; and several of the paintings of their saints are still remaining upon the walls.* About a quarter of an hour distant from the temple, on its north-west side, is a small temple cut out of the rock. The road to it lies through the remains of the ancient town, a heap of stones and rubbish covering a space along the shore of about a mile and a quarter. In front of the temple is an open area, also hewn out of the rock, in which is the entrance to the cella. The cella is 13 paces by 6; its roof is supported by two polygonal pillars; in the walls are two small recesses, with three statues in each. Adjoining it is the adytum, a small room eight feet square, with sculptures and hieroglyphics on the walls, rudely executed. The groupe of Briareus is repeated on both sides of the entrance. The walls of the open area in front of the temple are covered with sculptures, representing very interesting historical subjects. On one side is a battle. The victor, in a chariot drawn by two fiery steeds, like those at Karnak, is driving his vanquished enemies before him, who are

* From the portico, Burckhardt copied a Greek inscription, which is also given by Mr. Legh and by Captain Light. It purports to be the votive offering of a Roman knight to "the lor Amenduli."

fleeing towards a country thickly covered with fruit-trees of various shapes, some of which have large round leaves and clusters of fruit, with apes sporting among the branches. Behind the victor's car are two smaller ones of the same form, each drawn by two horses at full speed, and bearing a female standing upright, with a charioteer in front. In another compartment on the same wall, is a triumphal procession passing before Osiris seated. Naked men come first, bearing upon their shoulders large blocks of wood, probably ebony; one of them leads a wild mountain goat, a second carries an ostrich, a third holds in one hand a large shield, and in the other a gazelle, and a fourth is bringing an ape into the royal presence. Next comes a man bearing a block of precious wood like the former, and driving two large buffaloes before him. The train is closed by a tall cameleopard with its leader, followed by two prisoners, who are naked, with the exception of the skin of a wild beast tied round their waists. In another compartment just above, are a large lion, with his keeper; an animal of the size of a large goat with long straight horns; and a pair of buffaloes. In front of these two compartments, and before the king, lie heaps of quivers and arrows, elephants' teeth, skins and furs of wild beasts, and a row of calabashes, supposed, perhaps, to contain precious ointments or perfumes. On the wall opposite to this, is a compartment in which the king is represented seated, while bearded prisoners with their hands bound are brought before him. Among them, a train of female slaves is distinguished, dressed in long robes, with a high head-dress, over which the cloak is thrown. In another compartment close to this, a prisoner is immolated; and further on, is a small battle-piece, in which the assault and capture of a tower are repre-

sented. All these subjects are in bas-relief, and extremely well executed: they are the best specimens of historical sculpture that I have seen in the valley of the Nile, even more spirited than those at Thebes; the figures of the animals, in particular, are correctly delineated. They are important, because they record an historical fact no where else alluded to in any Egyptian structure. The hero of Egypt has here carried his arms into a country inhabited by lions, cameleopards, apes, and elephants, none of which animals are found in Nubia or Dongola: the elephant and the cameleopard inhabit the banks of the Nile towards Sennaar, the forests on the frontiers of Abyssinia, and the banks of the Astaboras and Astapus, whence also the most beautiful and highest esteemed female slaves are now imported into Egypt. All the above-described trophies of victory, therefore, indicate that the battles must have been fought in the countries to the south of the civilized country of the ancient Meroe; for the skin-clad prisoners denote a savage people. The battle-pieces at Luxor and Karnak seem to allude to less distant scenes of warfare. May not the castles surrounded with water, which are there represented, relate to the fortified islands in the Batn el Hadjar, where we still meet with so many brick ruins? The close-cut hair of the fugitives, and the short, narrow beard under the chin, are perfectly characteristic of the southern Noubas, whose colour is not quite black, but of that deep copper tinge which a painter unskilled in mixing colours would represent by dark red. It may readily be imagined, that the inhabitants of the sterile districts of Nubia and the Batn el Hadjar, would look with an envious eye upon the riches of Egypt, and would frequently excite the resentment of the monarchs of Thebes, by making

inroads from their strongholds, upon the adjacent provinces of Egypt." *

This small temple is called by the natives *Dar el Waly*. In the hill close by, are the quarries of fine sand-stone which have furnished the stone for the building of the town and the temples. On the rock above the village, Lord Belmore "found, to his astonishment and delight, a small Grecian temple, with fluted columns of the Ionic order, from which he brought away a small sphinx considerably injured. The temple itself is in good preservation, and has several Greek inscriptions." † The tombs of the ancient inhabitants are excavated in the adjoining rock. The quantity of pottery found in the ruins, Belzoni says, is all of Greek manufacture, scarcely any thing Egyptian being found among them; and there is no room to doubt that Kalabshe is the site of a Greek town. On the eastern side of the river, some mounds of rubbish indicate the site of Contra Talmis; and the two hundred houses which compose the village on that bank, occupy a space of about half an hour in length. The temple of Kalabshe stands in lat. 23° 33′ 16″ N., long. 32° 45′ 47″ E.‡

The cultivated soil continues very narrow as far as *Abou Hor*, where the hills recede a little, leaving a larger space for culture by means of water-wheels, and the inhabitants appear more industrious, their huts being chiefly scattered among numerous palm-trees. At this place, which is nearly under the tropic,

* Burckhardt, pp. 107—110.

† Richardson, vol. i. p. 176. It was probably among the ruins of this temple, that, a few months before Belzoni's arrival, a golden lamp of Grecian form was found by a native: it was claimed by the Pasha.

‡ Richardson, vol. i. p. 378.

there is a small *shellaal*, which leaves only a narrow passage to the west; and opposite to Abou Hor is a ruined Arab castle of sun-burnt brick, apparently designed to command the passage. On the eastern shore, Captain Light noticed remains of Roman bricks. The granite here again shews itself on that side, and from the top of the barren ridge, the whole country eastward presents a most frightful and desolate appearance, broken into masses of rock, intersected by beds of torrents, which occasionally rush down into the Nile.* About two hours from Abou Hor, is *Wady Gharby Dandour* (the western Dandour); and a little beyond the village of that name, is that of Gassr (or Garsery), where are the ruins of another ancient temple. The shore is here only 30 paces in breadth from the river to the foot of the rocky hills. Before the temple stands a small propylon with a high projecting cornice, resembling that at Dendera.† Behind this is the pronaos, seven paces in length, with two columns in front, which have been engaged in a wall half their height. The entablature is perfect, but part of the centre of the cornice is defaced. The columns have the lotus capital. The portico is covered with hiero-

* "When the rains are copious in the mountain, torrents occasionally rush down into the river, but they never continue longer than two days. These torrents account for the momentary increase of the Nile in Egypt, during the winter, when the river is at its lowest. Throughout Nubia, rain never falls in the valley, some light showers excepted; but there is a regular rainy season in the eastern mountains, as far as Suez, which produces abundant crops of wild herbs, and pasturage for the cattle of the Bedouins. In the valley of the Jordan, rain seldom falls, while the mountains on either side have their regular rainy season."—BURCKHARDT, p. 10.

† This gateway formerly connected two pyramidal moles, of which scarcely any traces are left.

glyphics and symbolic figures,* and is separated by a lateral wall from two inner apartments. The first of these, the cella, is a mere passage: the ceiling is perfect, but it is without ornament, except over the doorway leading into the adytum, where is portrayed the vulture with outspread wings. The adytum is without ceiling; on the hinder wall is the outline of a doorway, over which are three winged globes and two symbolic figures, one on each side. Behind the temple is an unconnected chamber, excavated from the rock, with which the unfinished doorway was probably intended to communicate. It is built up with masonry on the inside, and is very small, without sculpture. In front of the propylon, towards the river, is a stone enclosure, 35 paces by 15, the floor of which is considerably below the level on which the temple is built: it is now covered with stones and ruins, and Burckhardt supposes that it had originally a roof. The wall towards the river is 15 feet in height, and describes a slight curve. The temple is in general extremely well-built, and the sculptures are in a good style; but it has evidently been left unfinished.†

A still more interesting monument of ancient art is found about three hours further, at *Wady Gyrshe* (*Garshee*, *Kirshi*), about nine hours below Dakke. It is an excavated temple, executed apparently in the infancy of architectural art, "when the artist produced an imposing effect, not by the gracefulness, but by the magnitude of his figures," and presents several points of striking resemblance to the Cave of Elephanta in

* Burckhardt particularly remarked a fine figure of Horus, his finger on his lip.

† Burckhardt, p. 102. Light, p. 68. Richardson, vol. i. p. 382. The latter Traveller copied a Greek inscription, recording that the temple had been repaired and dedicated to the Roman Hermes.

India. The spot on which the temple stands, is called by the natives *Djorn Hossein:** it is thus described by Burckhardt.

"This temple stands upon the top of a hill, the broad declivity of which is covered with rubbish and some fragments of colossal statues. In front is a portico consisting of five square columns on each side, cut out of the rock, with a row of circular columns in front, constructed of several blocks, and which originally supported an entablature. Of these columns, only two remain. Before each of the square-sided columns stands a colossal statue of sand-stone, about eighteen feet high, holding a flail in one hand, the other hanging down: they all represent male figures, with the narrow beard under the chin and the high sphinx cap, their shoulders covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions.† On both sides of the portico is an open alley hewn in the rock, whence, perhaps, the materials of the front colonnade were taken. The pronaos, which is entered from the portico by a large gate, is 18 paces square, and contains two rows, three in each, of immense columns without capitals, measuring 5 feet by 7 in the plan. In front of each of these columns is a colossal figure more than 20 feet in height, representing the usual juvenile figure with the corn-measure or bonnet on the head, the hands crossed upon the breast, and holding the flail and crosier.‡ Although

* Mr. Legh writes it *Guerfeh Hassan;* Sir F. Henniker, *Gwersh Hassan;* and Dr. Richardson, *Dianfissen.*

† "The area or dromos is formed of *six* columns on each side, attached to which are six statues of priests, rudely sculptured, as at Sibhoi. This area is 64 feet by 36."—LEGH, p. 86.

‡ "The passage is formed by three immense columns on each side, to which are attached colossal statues of priests. They stand on pedestals 3 feet 3 inches high, and are themselves 18 feet 6 inches high. They are scarcely injured, are ornamented with girdles,

these statues are rudely executed, the outlines of their bodies being incorrect, and their legs mere round blocks, yet they have a striking effect in this comparatively small apartment. Accustomed as I had been to the grandeur of Egyptian temples, I was nevertheless struck with admiration on entering this gloomy pronaos, and beholding these immense figures standing in silence before me. They immediately recalled to my memory the drawings I had seen of the caves near Surat, and other Indian excavated temples, which, in many respects, bear a strong resemblance to those of Nubia. On the side walls of the pronaos are four recesses or niches, in each of which are three statues of the natural size, representing the different symbolical male and female figures which are seen on the walls of the temples of Egypt. The centre figures are generally clothed in a long dress, while the others are naked.

"All these figures, as well as the colossi, are covered with a thick coat of stucco, and had once been painted: they must then have had a splendid appearance. A door leads from the pronaos into the cella, in the centre of which are two massy pillars, and on each side is a small apartment, which was probably a place of sepulture, with high stone benches, that may have served for supporting mummies, or as tables for embalming the bodies deposited in the temple. The floors have been broken up in search of treasure, and are now covered with rubbish. Behind the cella, and communicating with it by a door, is the adytum, on each side of which is a door also opening into the cella, exactly like those in the

carry each a crosier in his hand; and their rich dress, formerly covered with paint and gold, and gigantic proportions, have a most imposing appearance."—LEGH, p. 86.

temple at Derr. In the posterior wall of the adytum are four statues, above the human size, seated; and in the centre of the wall is a large cubical stone, without any sculpture, the use of which I cannot determine. Of the sculpture and hieroglyphics with which the walls of this temple were covered, very little is now discernible, the sandstone being of a very friable nature, and soon falling to decay: added to this, the walls are quite black with smoke from the fires kindled by the neighbouring shepherds, who often pass the night in the temple with their cattle. Enough, however, still remains to shew that the sculptures are rudely executed." *

Gyrshe stands in lat. 23° 17'. The ancient *Tutzis* is supposed to be represented either by this place or by the more northern Dandour. Between Wady Gyrshe and Wady Merye (Merieh), the adjacent district on the north, are ruins of a Saracenic town, built partly of brick and partly of small stones, where, the natives say, a king once reigned, of the name of Dabagora. The plain at Gyrshe is about a mile in breadth. Like all the villages in Nubia, it is thinly inhabited, two-thirds of the houses being abandoned when Burckhardt travelled. The country had been ruined by the Mamlouks on their retreat before the troops of Mohammed Ali, and by the Turkish troops under Ibrahim Bey.† A terrible famine broke out after

* Burckhardt, pp. 99—101. Mr. Legh states the dimensions of the first chamber to be, 46 feet 6 inches by 35 feet 3, and 22 feet 3 inches high; the second, 34 feet and a half by 15 feet 6: from this lead four smaller apartments. At the end of the two largest of these, he observed blocks of stone standing in recesses, which gave a hollow sound on being struck; he supposed them to be sepulchres. The third chamber, or *sekos*, is 11 feet by 15.—Legh, p. 87.

† A decisive battle was fought between the Mamlouks and the

their retreat, in which "one-third of the population of Nubia" is said to have perished through absolute want: "the remainder retired into Egypt, and settled in the villages between Assouan and Esneh, where numbers were carried off by the small-pox. The present inhabitants," adds Burckhardt, "had returned only a few months before my visit to these parts, and had begun to sow the fields after the inundation had subsided; but many of their brethren still continued in Egypt. The great number of newly dug graves which I observed near every village, were too convincing proofs of the truth of the melancholy accounts which the natives gave me." In this and other parts of the river, the ancient inhabitants have erected numerous piers or jetties of stone, extending for twenty or thirty yards into the river, which, by breaking the force of the stream, preserve the soil from being washed away. Many of these remain, but in a decayed state. Canals are also met with in various parts, but they are no longer taken care of, and are gradually choking up." To *Wady Gyrshe* succeeds *Wady Kostamne*, situated on both sides of the river; but the cultivation is confined almost entirely to the eastern bank. On the west, the mountains recede, and leave an extensive field of yellow sand,* bordered,

troops of Ibrahim Bey, at Kostamne, in 1812, in which the former were routed, and fled to the eastern mountains.

* This has no doubt been formerly a cultivated plain; and Belzoni states, that a stratum of vegetable mould is visible three feet under the sand on the banks of the Nile. A little above Gyrshe, this Traveller says, the passage of the Nile becomes dangerous, when the waters are low, in consequence of a chain of rocks which run across the river. (Vol. i. p. 112.) This is probably the ford near Kostamne, referred to by Burckhardt, which is passable in May: it is the only spot where the Nile is known to be fordable.

towards the river, with rows of acacia, over which is descried the lofty and picturesque propylon of the ancient temple of Dakke (Dekka, Dukkey), "the most perfect and highly-finished," Dr. Richardson says, in all Nubia.

DAKKE.

DAKKE is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient *Pselcis* of the Itinerary of Antoninus. The temple and propylon are quite perfect, and derive particular interest from the high preservation of the details. The propylon has a front of 90 feet, is about 50 feet in height, and about 18 feet in depth at the base:* in the centre is a gate similar to that of the propylon at Edfou, a cornice and torus surrounding the whole. Before it lies a fragment of a sphinx. In both the wings are numerous small chambers, one above another, with staircases leading to the top, and there is a communication between the wings by a terrace over the gate. On the outer wall, there are no hieroglyphics or figures of any kind; but the wall which fronts the gate of the temple, and the sides of the gateway, are ornamented with sculpture, and contain numerous Egyptian and Greek inscriptions. The area between the propylon and the pronaos is 48 feet in length. The entrance is between two columns engaged in a wall half their height, with capitals similar to those that occur in the open temple at Philœ, and which are seen no where else in Egypt. The pronaos is 10 paces by 7; its roof is formed of enormous blocks of stone at least 15 feet in length. A door leads from it into a narrow apartment only 4 paces in breadth, which

* Legh, p. 84. Capt. Light gives the dimensions, 75 feet in length, 40 feet in height, and 15 feet in depth.

communicates, by another door richly ornamented, with the adytum, a chamber about six paces square. On one side of the latter is a small dark chamber, in which is a deep sepulchre with a large lion sculptured in the wall immediately over it; and on the other side, behind the wall, is a passage communicating with the pronaos, and containing a staircase leading to the summit. Behind the adytum is another apartment, somewhat larger, communicating, by a small gate, with a narrow passage enclosed between the walls of the temple and a thick stone wall which surrounded the building on three sides, but of which the foundations only are remaining. In this last apartment, the hieroglyphics are most beautifully executed, equal to the best specimens at Philœ or Hermonthis; and on the floor lies a large block of red granite, probably a pedestal, one of the few instances in which any granite is found in any of the temples of Nubia. Along the bottom of the walls are represented lotus-plants in flower, to which offerings are presented. "In no temple of Egypt," says Burckhardt, "have I seen such correctness of design or gracefulness of outline: some of the figures might have adorned a Grecian building." Two of the four apartments of which the temple consists, seem, Mr. Legh says, to have been restored, or to be of more recent date than the others: at their external junction, on the western wall, is an inscription relating to Hadrian. A variety of inscriptions cut about the propylon, prove that this temple was dedicated to Hermes:* one of these bears date the

* Two of these are given by Mr. Legh, but more correctly, with four others and translations, in Light's Travels, p. 273. One is to this effect: "Apollonius, the son of Apollonius, commander of the Ombite nome and of the country about Elephantine and Philœ, came and worshipped Hermes." On the architrave over one of the

tenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, and another, the twentieth of the emperor Hadrian. In later times, the Greek Christians have appropriated this temple to their worship; and paintings of saints and Scriptural subjects are strangely blended with hieroglyphics and heathen symbols. Between the central columns of the portico are winged *scarabæi:* the rest, Captain Light says, "is covered with Scriptural paintings. The upper part of the side walls have the remains of some designs representing men on horseback approaching towards angels, whose hands seem lifted up in supplication." The temple is built of a remarkably fine sand-stone of a blueish tinge.

To the north of the temple are the remains of an Arab town, where are seen some tombstones with Kufic inscriptions similar to those at Assouan. The plain is covered with large heaps of rubbish. Opposite to Dakke, on the eastern side of the river, the ancient *Contra Pselcis*, is the village of Kobban, near which are remains of an ancient town, enclosed within a wall of sun-burnt brick, much resembling that at Eleithyias: it is upwards of 20 feet thick, and in several places above 30 feet in height. The enclosed area is an oblong of about 150 paces by 100: within it are ruins of private habitations, partly constructed of stone and partly of brick, with some scattered capitals of small columns. On the S.E. corner of the wall, beyond its precincts, is the ruin of a very small temple of rude construction; a few sculptured

doors in the north side of the temple, there is an inscription in well-cut hieroglyphics, and immediately below it another, of about the same length, in the enchorial character, which is probably a translation of it. To the right of this, is a Greek inscription in red, bearing that the personage named had come to worship μεγιστον Ταυτ Νυφις.—RICHARDSON vol. i. p. 472. BURCKHARDT, p. 98.

stones only remain above the foundations. Large mounds of rubbish continue for about five minutes further. At the distance of an hour is the village of *Oellaky* (or *Allâghi*), which gives its name to a chain of mountains beginning to the east of it, and running across the high hills of the eastern desert to the Red Sea. According to the unanimous testimony of the Arabian geographers, *Djebel Oellaky* contains gold mines; but Burckhardt supposes, that the Bedouins who occupy this district, have mistaken yellow mica for gold, as the river carries down with it, throughout Nubia, a great deal of micaceous sand.

The Nile is now divided by the island of Derar (or Zrar),* which is well cultivated, and about three quarters of an hour in length. On the western bank, opposite this island, is the village of Korty, where is a ruined temple of remarkably small dimensions. "It may truly be called," says Burckhardt, "an Egyptian temple in miniature, being only 10 paces in length. The cella and adytum are yet standing: the pronaos seems to be buried under the sand. Of the sculptures, a few figures and the winged globe over the gates remain; but the whole is in a very mutilated state." A little above this village, where the plain widens considerably, begins the district of *Wady Meharraka*, extending along both banks of the Nile. Here is found the ruin of a temple, consisting of a portico of fourteen massive columns with varied capitals, encompassed with a wall, which being joined to the entabla-

* Near Derar, Dr. Richardson says, the rocks look particularly black, and small, insulated mountains rise abruptly from the flat surface of the surrounding sand to about the height of 100 feet, their black and sturdy form being in striking contrast with the yellow sand at their base: the origin of this sand would "puzzle us," did not the golden-coloured interior of the rock account for it.

ture of the colonnade, forms a covered piazza all round. There is one large entrance and two smaller ones, and a winding staircase leads up to the summit. Several paintings of Greek saints are upon the walls, but no hieroglyphics or sculptures of any kind are visible, not even the winged globe; nor are there any sculptures on the columns.* On the walls of the ruin, which are very neatly constructed, are several Greek inscriptions in red ink, and some in the enchorial character. The whole portico stands upon a terrace of massy stones, 8 feet high towards the river. The portico itself is 15 paces by 9. Nothing about it denotes it to be of Egyptian origin, except the palm-leaf capitals.† Close to it are the ruins of another building, of which only a wall and some foundations remain. On the wall are several sculptures, one of which represents Isis, with a crescent on her head, seated under a tree, and receiving offerings: it is in high relief. In a niche further to the east, is the figure of the Egyptian Isis; and in another small niche above, are a Greek priest and priestess, and the Egyptian Priapus. A clearer instance than this, Belzoni says, I never saw, of the union of the religions of the Egyptian and Greek nations. To the south of this temple is a large pedestal of granite, formed by three steps; and large mounds of rubbish and of pottery walls indicate the former existence of a town in this place.‡

* On close examination, however, Belzoni clearly observed Egyptian figures under the saints. The main entrance, he says, is closed by an altar built by the Copts or Greek Christians.

† Dr. Richardson says, the temple at Maharaga is very poor and hardly worth visiting. Burckhardt was led, by "the imposing and Grecian-like simplicity of the portico," to refer it to the era of the Ptolemies.

‡ Capt. Light has given a view of a ruined temple or church at a

About an hour and a half further south, upon a rocky hill over the river, stands a small ruined town: the houses, built partly of small stones and partly of mud, are of Arab construction. At the distance of another hour and a half, Burckhardt saw upon the hills, the ruins of several Greek churches, the melancholy vestiges of an extinct population. The shore is now very narrow, and the western hills are low and sandy. In some parts, the sand is blown close into the river on each side, only a small strip of about ten feet broad being cultivated on the west bank, and that very irregularly. The acacia still abounds; and further on, where the sand-stone on both sides assumes a redder colour, the doum and palm-tree are in great abundance. Stone piers occur at intervals, built for preserving the soil from being washed away. Between *Wady Nasrellah* and *Wady Medyk* (or *Madyeeg*), the mountains close upon the river so as to leave no passage. One hour from *Wady Medyk* is *Wady Seboua* * (Lion's wady), so called, from the figures of lion-

place called *Ouffeddounee*, near a considerable village, a day's sail below Seboua. He describes it as an oblong building, about 54 feet by 30, with *sixteen* columns, all perfect, about 2 feet 3 inches in diameter. In the east end, a sort of chancel projects at right angles with the south columns, in which are painted Scriptural figures like those in modern Greek churches. Many Greek inscriptions are painted on the entablatures of the interior in small characters. "A bare wall, near the S.E. end of the ruin, contains symbolic figures of bad sculpture, evidently Scriptural: one had reference to the Virgin, sitting under a tree." We suspect that this is the Isis of the Travellers cited in the text, and Ouffeddoonee is the Offelina of Belzoni, which name, he says, is given to the ruins at Meharraka. The discrepancy in the various accounts as to the number of columns and other details, is not greater than frequently occurs. Burckhardt supposes the temple to stand upon the site of *Hierosycaminon*.

* Written by Norden, Sebua; by Capt. Light, Seboo; by Mr. Legh, Sibhoi.

sphinxes which stand before the ruined temple on the western bank.

These ruins stand on the side of some low hills, which are separated from the river by a narrow plain, and are half covered by the sands of the desert. There is a propylon similar to that of the temple at Gornou, 28 paces (about 90 feet) in length, and consisting of a gateway 6 feet wide, 12 feet in depth, and about 20 feet high, between two pyramidal moles or wings, which now rise about 30 feet above the sand. A cornice and torus surround the whole. The gateway leads to the pronaos, on each side of which are five columns without capitals, with a colossal figure attached to each, about 16 feet in height, having the arms crossed on the breast, holding the flail in one hand, and the crosier in the other: all these are much defaced. The pillars support an entablature, formed of single stones 12 feet by 4, and 3 feet thick; and on the outer side, the colonnade is walled. On both the pillars and the walls are hieroglyphics and symbolic figures; but the sand-stone of which the temple is built is so very friable, that little can now be made out of the sculptures. In front of the entrance, a colossal statue lies prostrate, the head and breast buried in the sand. It probably stood on the side of the gate, like the colossi at Luxor. About 30 yards in front of the propylon are two statues of beardless male figures, 10 feet in height and 7 paces apart, attached to stone pilasters of equal height, their faces towards the river: they are rudely executed. They wear the high bonnet or pyramidal casque, with a cincture and breast-plate, and have the left leg advanced: the ears are half the length of the head.* On the pilasters are hieroglyphics. An avenue of sphinxes 30 feet wide, led from the

* Dr. Richardson supposes them to represent Osiris.

river to the temple; the greater part are now buried, but three remain uncovered by the sand, besides the heads of two others. They are about 11 feet in length, and stand 18 feet apart. The first two are much decayed, or were never finished. The second in the left row is highly finished, but its head has been struck off, and lies near it. They are of various size and shape, but have all the body of a lion and the head of a young man, with the usual narrow beard under the chin. On the top of their flattened heads is a hole, intended evidently to receive a small pedestal. The sand has not only covered the court two thirds of its depth, but has closed the entrance to the cella and adytum. Near the temple are mounds of rubbish and broken pottery. "The whole fabric," Burckhardt says, "appears to be of the most remote antiquity, and to have been imitated by the more modern architects of Egypt; for the propylon and the pronaos, with its colossal statues, are found at Gornou on a larger scale; the two statues in advance of the propylon are the miniatures of those in front of the Memnonium; and the sphinxes are seen at Karnak." The absence of Greek inscriptions confirms the idea that this temple was deserted at a very remote period. The hieroglyphics appear to have been defaced by time, and the joinings of the stones, Dr. Richardson says, are all loosened, as if they had been shaken by an earthquake; but scarcely any part has fallen.

The country here is very barren, and few habitations are to be seen in the immediate vicinity. The eastern Seboua, however, is described by Burckhardt as the best cultivated part of the country between Assouan and Derr.* The inhabitants, as well as those

* At Seboua, is the last ferry-boat between Philæ and Dehr. There are only six, Burckhardt says, in all that distance; *viz.* at

of *Wady el Arab*, the adjoining district to the south, are Aleykat Arabs, originally from the Hedjaz, who speak Arabic only, and are active merchants. They travel across the mountain to Berber, distant eight days to the south, and import all the different articles of the Sennaar trade; namely, slaves, ivory, gum-arabic, ostrich-feathers, and camels, which they dispose of in Upper Egypt. A caravan of from thirty to forty laden camels proceeds every winter from Seboua to Cairo.

From Assouan to *Wady Korosko*, which lies to the S. of *Wady el Arab*, the general direction of the river is from S. to N. At Korosko, which is the southernmost point on that side of the Second Cataract, the ascent of its course winds round to due N., continuing in that direction between ten and fifteen miles; after which it becomes S.W., and then W. to Wady Halfa.* The eastern bank, Burckhardt says, is, throughout, better adapted for cultivation than the western; and wherever the former is of any breadth, it is covered with the rich alluvial deposite of the Nile. On the western side, on the contrary, the sands of the desert are impetuously driven by the north-west winds which prevail during the winter and spring, to the very brink of the river; and it is only in those places where the narrow plain is protected by the mountain, that the soil is capable of cultivation. The eastern shore is consequently much the more populous, but all the chief remains of antiquity are upon the western

Debot, Kalabshe, Dehmyt, Gyrshe, Dakke, and Seboua. There is none south of Dehr, as far as the frontiers of Dongola. "The owners of boats take from every peasant a handful of whatever provision he happens to carry with him: women pass free."

side.* The bed of the river is in general much narrower than in any part of Egypt, and its course is less impeded by sand-banks.

At Korosko, the eastern shore widens into a fine and well-cultivated tract, and a grove of date-trees begins, which lines the banks of the river as far as Ibrim. Groupes of houses are now met with at every hundred yards, which renders it difficult to determine the exact limits of each village; and Burckhardt states, that he does not remember to have seen, in any part of Egypt, fields more carefully cultivated than are those between Korosko and Derr. The peasants' huts are also larger and more cleanly than those of the Egyptian fellahs. Palm-trees and acacias abound, especially near the village of Arrega, situated in lat. 23° 37′ 30″ (about 60 miles directly S. of Kalabshe), where the sands, on the western shore, cover a stratum of rich alluvial soil, the surface of which is now above the level of the highest inundations.† An hour above this village is a place near the river, called Hassaya, where are the ruins of a small temple, subsequently converted into a Christian church. "The pronaos is 16 paces in length, and consists of three rows of square

* "On the sandy shore of the western side are numberless beetles (*scarabæi*) of great variety of size and shape. I often found the sandy road on that side completely covered with the traces of their feet. The Nubians, who call them *kafers* (infidels), dread them from a belief that they are venomous, and that they poison whatever food they touch. Their colour is generally black: the largest I have seen, were of the size of a half-crown piece. The worship paid to this insect by the ancient Egyptians, may probably have had its origin in Nubia."—BURCKHARDT, p. 23.

† This fact seems to prove, Burckhardt remarks, that either the bed of the Nile, or the inundations, have formerly been much higher in Nubia, than they are at present, as the earth is evidently a deposite of its waters.

columns, four in each row, and two feet square, with a row of four round ones next the cella; the whole without capitals. The hieroglyphics are badly sculptured. The cella is entered from the pronaos through a narrow chamber, and on each side of the cella, there is also a narrow apartment; there is no adytum. The walls of the cella have a thick coat of plaster, on which are paintings of Greek saints. The temple is interesting on account of its preservation being almost entire, but the sands have accumulated considerably round its walls and columns. There is a well-paved terrace on the top of the cella, and the Greeks have built a cupola over the pronaos. About twenty yards distant from it, towards the river, are the remains of another stone edifice." *

DEHR.

A LONG, straggling village of mud cottages, in the midst of a thickly-planted grove of palm-trees, with one house of brick, (the kashef's palace,) a mud caravanserai, and a mosque,—the only one seen after

* Burckhardt, p. 80. Burckhardt supposes this to be the temple mentioned by Norden as situated near Amada. Dr. Richardson mentions a temple answering to this description at a place which one *reiss* called Amăda, and another, Abyssa. Mr. Legh describes some ruins in the desert an hour to the north of Derr, which, he says, "are called Amada, and are the remains of what was once a fine temple, since converted into a church by the early Christians. The hieroglyphics have been in consequence covered with stucco, but, where that has fallen off, the painted figures are in a state of wonderful preservation. The style of the building is rude, and not unlike that of the temple at Derr, differing only in being built of stone, instead of excavated in the rock. It is nearly buried in the sand, not more than the height of six feet remaining visible, and is much disfigured by a number of mud houses built upon and around it."—LEGH, pp. 81, 2. Amada is possibly a corruption of *amoudein*, the columns.

leaving Philœ,—such is Dehr, the modern capital of Nubia. The town, if such it must be called, is well situated on a gentle eminence on the east bank of the river, and is about a mile in length. "A beautiful plain, well watered and well wooded, stretches down to the S.E. along the river's edge, which seems still to be gaining by the kind partiality of the current, which bears upon the opposite side." There is a sandy island in the middle of the river near the town. A short distance to the east of the town, is a temple partly built, but chiefly excavated in the rock, like that of Maharraka, though neither so large nor so handsome. The pronaos* consists of three rows of square pillars, four in each row. The row nearest the cella, which were originally joined by the roof to the main temple, are of larger dimensions than the rest, being nearly 4 feet square, and about 14 feet high, and are still entire, while fragments of the shafts only remain of the outer two rows. In front of each of the four pillars are the legs of a colossal figure, similar to those of the temple at Gornou. A portion of the excavated rock, which had formed one of the walls of the pronaos, has fallen down. On the fragments of it, a battle is represented: the hero, in his chariot, is pursuing his vanquished foe, who retires to a marshy and woody country, carrying the wounded along with him; and in a lower compartment, the prisoners are brought before the executioner. All the figures are much defaced. On the opposite wall is another battle-scene, in which the prisoners are brought before the hawk-headed Osiris: this is still more muti-

* The dimensions of the pronaos, according to Dr. Richardson, are about 44 feet by 32. Capt. Light states them at 69 feet by 40; those of the pillars, 5 feet by 5, and the intercolumniation. 6 feet: the adytum, 21 feet by 15.

lated. On the front wall of the cella, on each side of the principal entrance, a Briareus with two heads and four arms is in the act of being slain, and Osiris is arresting the intended blow. On the four pillars in front are sculptured various figures, and the Egyptian Priapus is repeatedly seen. The cella is 13 paces square. Two rows of square pillars, three deep, with a coarse entablature, extend from the gate of the cella to the adytum: they are mere blocks hewn out of the rock, without base or capital, but rather larger at bottom than at top. The interior walls of the six pillars are covered with mystic figures of very rude workmanship, which, from some remains of colour, appear to have been painted. A door, with the winged globe over it, leads into the small adytum, where the seats of four figures remain, cut out of the back wall.* On each side of the adytum is a small chamber, having a private communication with the cella: in one of these, a deep excavation renders it probable that it was used as a sepulchre. On the side of the mountain near the temple, some sepulchral pits are excavated out of the rocky ground: over two of them are Greek inscriptions of Christian times. They are choked up with sand and rubbish; but near them, Capt. Light noticed some bones and pieces of cloth like those found in the mummy-pits of Egypt. The temple, there can be no doubt, is of remote antiquity; and the workmanship, which is much inferior to that of the other temples in Egypt and Nubia, would seem to indicate the infancy of the art. "The gods of Egypt," remarks Burckhardt, "appear to have been worshipped here,

* Statues are met with in the *adyta* of all the ancient temples in Nubia that are cut out of the rock; and the distribution of the apartments is generally the same.

long before they were lodged in the gigantic temples of Karnak and Gornou." *

Dehr (Derr, Deir, Dair) was once, as the name denotes, a Christian settlement. Now, there is not a Christian to be found in all Nubia. The inhabitants are chiefly descendants of the Bosnian garrison introduced by the Emperor Selim. Dr. Richardson estimates the population, in 1817, at 3000 souls. Their chief subsistence is dhourra and dates, with pigeons, partridges, and poultry. The dates of Dehr and Ibrim are much esteemed in Egypt, and the merchants of Esneh and Assouan export many ship-loads hence in autumn. Young date-trees are also sent to Egypt, as the trees propagated there from seed soon degenerate.† Dehr is situated in lat. 22° 44′ 31″ N.; long. 31° 51 15″ E.

Half an hour to the S. of Dehr, commences the once rich and populous territory of *Wady Ibrim*, which extends as far as Tosko, two hours and a half to the southward of the castle. The route from Dehr to Ibrim, at half an hour from the former place, leaves the valley, and for two hours crosses the mountains; it then again descends to the Nile. Near the village of *Galter* (or *Ketteh*), about two miles from the river, is an insulated sandstone rock, in which is a small

* Burckhardt, pp. 25—27. Dr. Richardson thought the temple at Dehr more ancient than even that of Maharraka. Burckhardt says: "If I were to class the Nubian temples according to the probable order of their erection, it would be as follows: 1. Ebsambal; 2. Gyrshe; 3. Derr; 4. Ṣamne; 5. Ballyane; 6. Hassaya; 7. Seboua; 8. Aamara and Kalapshe; 9. Dakke and Maharraka; 10. Kardassy; 11. Merowau; 12. Debot; 13. Korty; 14. Tafa."—BURCKHARDT, p. 119.

† The hundred weight of dates is worth, at Dehr, about 8s.; when sold at Cairo, they afford a clear profit of four hundred per cent. They are generally paid for in dhourra and coarse linens from Esneh and Siout.—BURCKHARDT, p. 27.

sepulchral excavation. The principal chamber is 7 paces by 3, and 5 and a half in height; its sides are covered with paintings rudely executed, but the colours of which are as well preserved as those in the tombs of the kings at Thebes: the principal subjects are Osiris and Apis receiving offerings. In one part, a cynocephalus is embalming a body; in another, the same figure is holding a balance, before which stands a sphinx. Adjoining to this, is a smaller chamber, in which agricultural subjects are depicted. At the further end, Mr. Legh observed three statues much mutilated and entirely defaced. At the end of about five hours from Dehr, the traveller arrives at Ibrim, situated on the east side of the Nile, at the southern extremity of a ridge of mountains which for nearly two miles rise perpendicularly from the Nile, scarcely leaving space for the road along the river.

Ibrim has been mistaken for the ancient *Primis Parva*, the Premna of Strabo, who represents it to be fortified by nature.* The high rock on which the castle stands, is insulated by a ravine on each side, and presents towards the river, a high cliff scarped perpendicularly, and about 200 feet in height. It must have been a strong position against an army unprovided with artillery, but the mountains are near enough to enable guns to bear upon it from commanding heights. The works consist of square towers, connected by walls of rude

* Mr. Waddington adduces strong reason for concluding, that Ptolemy's *Primis* was at Old Dongola, "a place as well adapted for defence as Ibrim, and which is proved, by the remains found there, to be a city of high antiquity." The other Primis was at Meroé. Strabo states, that the Roman army under Petronius, in marching from *Pselcha* to Primis, passed over the mounds of sand under which the army of Cambyses was buried; but here he is at variance with Herodotus, who represents them to have been destroyed in an expedition against the Ammonians.—See Waddington, p. 318.

stones piled on each other, and strengthened by trunks of palm-trees and shafts of columns laid transversely. It is now completely in ruins, and without an inhabitant.* The interior presents the remains of an Arab town, consisting of a mosque of stone, with dwellings of mud and stone. Shafts, capitals, and columns lie scattered about, on some of which are distinguished the Maltese cross. The castle was either built or repaired by the Sultan Selim. The town, which lies among palm-trees, is irregularly built on the eastern slope of the mountain. The houses, often pyramidal, are built in squares, of mud, one story high, roofed with palm branches. Within the area of the town, Burckhardt observed two edifices which appeared to him to have been Greek churches. On the tops of the surrounding mountains, which are quite barren, are many ancient tombs of Moslem saints. In one of the rocks is an excavation 20 feet by 10, with a ceiling inclining to an arch, and half way down the walls are hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. A few lines are rudely traced as a sort of cornice to the entrance, over which is the winged globe. Opposite the entrance is a recess forming a seat, and above, in a niche, are three figures in alto relievo, much defaced. There are several other grottoes in the neighbourhood.†

* In 1812, the Mamlouks sustained a siege in it, and in their turn, besieged the troops of Ibrahim Bey, in the course of which operations the walls were battered, and part of the town levelled with the ground. In their retreat, after putting the Aga to death, they took from the *Wady Ibrim* about 1200 cows, with all the sheep and goats, and levied, as ransom for the persons they imprisoned, upwards of 100,000 Spanish dollars; thus destroying, in a few weeks, the accumulated wealth of a century. A dreadful famine ensued, and the remnant of the inhabitants of the town removed to Dehr.

† Light, p. 81—5. Burckhardt, pp. 30, 31. Legh, p. 70

The people of Ibrim still shew by their complexion and costume, their Bosnian descent. They bear a high character for honesty; and Burckhardt says, that in no part of the eastern world did he find exposed and unguarded property in such perfect security, theft being a crime unknown in this territory. From Ibrim, this Traveller crossed the mountain to *Wady Shubak*, distant one hour, where some mounds of hewn stones indicate the remains of an ancient edifice. He found many of the houses abandoned, and "at every step were graves." The Nubians "place an earthen vessel by the side of every grave, which they fill with water at the moment the deceased is interred, and leave it there: the grave itself is covered with small pebbles of various colours, and two large palm-leaves are stuck into the ground at each extremity, the symbol of victory thus becoming, in Nubia, that of death."* The shape of the insulated mountains which compose this part of the eastern chain, is very remarkable. "A considerable number of pyramidal hills rise up from the sand, having the appearance of a gigantic camp: some of the hills are oblong, in the form of marquees;" others resemble flattened cones or perfect pyramids, and, when viewed from a distance, appear so regular, that it is difficult to divest one's self of the idea that they are the work of man.† In the rocky plain east of Tosko, is an insulated shattered rock, with several sepulchral excavations, of rude workmanship, with low square pillars, but no inscriptions or sculptures; near the rock are considerable mounds of rubbish. The river now winds considerably, and the course changes from S.W. to W.S.W. Its banks, between Ibrim and Ebsambul, are bordered

* Burckhardt, p. 32. † Ib. p. 33. Mangles, p. 15.

with beautiful rows or hedges of the yellow and purple acacia, and a species of the tamarisk,* the verdure of which, in contrast with the dark yellow sand of the barren shores, has a pleasing appearance. This part of the river is reputed to be a favourite haunt of the crocodile. "All the Nubians," Burckhardt says, "as well as the people of Upper Egypt, eat the flesh of this animal whenever they can catch it, which is, however, very seldom." The largest he saw, was about twenty-five feet in length. Crocodiles as large as that in the British Museum, are met with on the Nile, only in the latitude of Shendy and Sennaar. Captain Mangles noticed also, in this part of the river, a large water-lizard, a small black water-snake, and a torpedo, which the sailors caught;† one of the crew brought also on board a cameleon,‡ which is particularly fond of the acacia.

Between Ibrim and Wady Halfa, the land route continually crosses projections of the eastern mountains which separate the different wadys: these are called

* The *tarfa*, the same tree that lines the borders of the Euphrates in the Mesopotamian deserts.

† "We got the fish on board, and, though nearly dead, it sensibly affected my arm in laying hold of it: I felt a double shock up the arm near the elbow. It was about two feet long; had very small eyes; the belly and top of the back were white, with one dorsal fin; the sides were coloured dark brown, with black spots; it had no scales. Our sailors in Egypt ate the one they caught, but the present crew would not touch this, even when dead."—MANGLES, p. 17.

‡ "On coming on board, it hissed and shewed symptoms of anger: it was then of a dirty green colour with dark spots, and whenever it was approached, it turned to a dusky brown, inflating itself at the same time. We had subsequently eight of these animals on board; some of them became so tame, that when the flies annoyed us much, we had only to take one of the cameleons in our hand, and place it near the flies, and it would catch them with its long tongue in great numbers."—MANGLES, p. 18.

akabe. In the valley, small cotton-plantations are sometimes met with. To the south of Tosko is *Wady Ermenné*;* to this succeeds *Wady Formundy* (or *Fourgoundi*), where, at seven hours and a half from Ibrim, Burckhardt passed the ruins of a Greek church, which has been used in later times as a mosque. The walls are constructed, to half their height, of small stones, and the upper part of sun-burnt brick. There are many names of visiters on the white plaster: the writing is of the latest time of the Lower Empire. Beyond the next *akabe* is *Wady Fereyg* (or *Farrek*). At an hour's distance from this village, following a narrow and dangerous footpath along the almost perpendicular shore, Burckhardt arrived at an ancient temple hewn out of the rocky side of the mountain. "I entered," he says, "through a high, narrow gateway, into a small Egyptian temple, cut entirely out of the rock, and in as perfect a state of preservation as when first finished. It consists of a cella, 10 paces by 7, and about 12 feet high. Within are four columns with Egyptian capitals. From each side of the cella runs out a narrow, dark apartment. An ascent of three low steps leads from the cella into the adytum, in which is a deep sepulchral excavation; there is also a similar one, but smaller, in the cella; and the walls of both the cella and the adytum are covered with mystic sculptures. The Greeks have at one time converted this temple into a church, and the sculptured walls have been plastered white, to receive their paintings, many of which still remain: a St.

* Between "Ermyné" and Formundy, Belzoni mentions, the river is divided by "the island of Hogos, on which are ruins of an ancient tower, which must have commanded the whole Nile, as the river is not very wide here:" it is constructed of hewn

George killing the dragon is particularly conspicuous, and on the ceiling are representations of the Trinity. Many Greek travellers have inscribed their names on the walls. The whole fabric is of coarse execution, and the hieroglyphics are much in the same style as those at Dehr. On the opposite side of the river, a little to the north, are found the magnificent temples of

EBSAMBAL.*

The first or northernmost temple at Ebsambal stands just over the bank of the river, about twenty feet above the surface of the water.† It is entirely cut out of the sandstone rock. In front of the entrance are six colossal figures, placed in narrow recesses, three on each side the door, and facing the river: they are all of the same size, measuring six feet and a half from the ground to the knee, and are accompanied with smaller figures. Burckhardt describes them in the following order. "1. A juvenile Osiris, with a narrow beard and a tiara on his head, accompanied by two small erect figures about four feet in height, one on each side the legs. 2. Isis with Horus in her arms, and a small figure also on each side: though coarsely executed, the countenance of the Isis is truly grand and benevolent. 3. A youth with the usual high

* Written by different travellers Ebsambal, Ebsambool, Ybsambul, Absambul, &c. The final syllable is probably a corruption of the Greek word *polis;* and as some geographers place the city of Abacis in this quarter, Dr. Richardson suggests, that the word may be formed from *Abacimpolis*—Abasambul.

† There is at present no road to the temple; but it is probable, Burckhardt says, that some change may have taken place in the course of the stream, and that there may formerly have been a foot-path to the temple along the shore. When Dr. Richardson was at Ebsambal, the narrow spot between the temple and the river, about five paces in breadth, bore a luxuriant crop of barley.

bonnet upon his head, his arms hanging down, attended by two small figures like the preceding. On the other side the door, 4. The same youth. 5. Isis, having upon her head the globe encompassed with two serpents. 6. The youth a third time: each with the two small attendant figures as before."* The spaces between the niches or recesses are covered with hieroglyphics; and over the door, Osiris and the hawk-headed deity are seated back to back, receiving offerings. The whole of the front, which has been wrought out of the rock, is 111 feet in length. On each side of the entrance, offerings are presented to Isis, to whom the temple is supposed to have been dedicated. The pronaos into which the door leads, is 13 paces by 7, and is supported by six square columns, three feet square, with Isis-headed capitals, like those at Dendera, only in much lower relief, and the hair falls down in two thick ringlets; on the head is an ornament in the form of a temple. The columns, as well as the walls, and, what is very unusual, the ceiling also, are adorned with numerous hieroglyphics and symbolic figures. Offerings to Osiris, of the lotus and doum leaves, are frequently represented, and, as in all the Nubian temples, Briareus beneath the hand of the victor is repeated in several places. The ram-headed, hawk-headed, and ibis-headed deities, the lion-headed

* Burckhardt, p. 82. He describes them from S. to N. Dr. Richardson takes them from N. to S., in which direction the devices begin with a figure extending in his right hand a sickle-shaped instrument towards Osiris, who is seated, while, in his left, he holds down a similar instrument reversed. The first colossus (No. 6 as above) is about 30 feet high; the attendant figures about 5 feet high: that on the left holds "a Janus-faced sistrum" resting on the back of the left hand. All the colossi have one foot advanced. The attendant figures of No. 5 are stated to be seven feet high.

Isis, Horus, and Anubis, also occur. The figures seem all to have been painted yellow, excepting the hair, which is black: that of Isis is in black and white stripes. The narrow cella is entered from the pronaos by one large and two smaller doors: it is only three paces in depth, with a dark chamber on each side. The adytum is seven feet square: in a niche at the upper end, are remains of a small sitting statue cut out of the rock, and much disintegrated;* and in the floor is a deep sepulchral excavation. Much interesting sculpture has been lavished both upon this apartment and the cella: some of the hieroglyphics are remarkably well executed; and the style of the sculptures indicates a high antiquity.†

This temple had served, of late years, as a place of refuge to the inhabitants of Ballyane and the neighbouring Arabs, against the annual incursions of a band of Bedouin marauders, belonging to the Moggrebin tribes who inhabit the desert between the Great Oasis and Siout. The year before Burckhardt visited it, they had attempted to force this strong hold, in which the natives had taken shelter with their cattle, but failed, after losing several men. The systematic incursions of this tribe form one of the principal reasons that the greater part of the western bank between Dakke and Argo (beyond Mahass), is deserted and uncultivated.

But the *ne plus ultra* of Egyptian labour, with

* Dr. Richardson supposed it to be a statue of Nephthe, the wife of Typhon; but this is hardly probable.

† Burckhardt, pp. 61---3. Richardson, vol. i. pp. 421---8. "I was afterwards informed at Derr," says the former Traveller, "that there is near this temple, on the bank of the river, the statue of a man somewhat above the human size, with the Egyptian cornmeasure under his arm; and that it is completely overflowed during the inundation."

which no temple of either Egypt or Nubia can be put in competition, remains to be described. This is the second or more southern temple of Ebsambal, the first notice of which was communicated by Burckhardt, but the interior of which was first laid open by the enterprising Belzoni, assisted by the able and spirited co-operation of the Hon. Captain Irby and Captain Mangles, of the Royal Navy, in 1817. The appearance of this magnificent excavation at the time of Burckhardt's visit, is thus described:—"Having, as I supposed, seen all the antiquities of Ebsambal, I was about to ascend the sandy side of the mountain by the same way I had descended, when, having luckily turned more to the southward, I fell in with what is yet visible of four immense colossal statues cut out of the rock, at a distance of about 200 yards from the temple: they stand in a deep recess, excavated in the mountain, but are now almost entirely buried beneath the sands, which are here blown down in torrents. The entire head, and part of the breast and arms, of one of the statues, are yet above the surface; of the one next to it, scarcely any part is visible, the head being broken off, and the body covered with sand to above the shoulders; of the other two, the bonnets only appear. They do not front the river, like those of the temple just described, but are turned with their faces due north, toward the more fertile climes of Egypt;* so that the line on which they stand, forms an angle with the course of the stream. The head, which is above the surface, has a most expressive youthful countenance, approaching nearer to the Grecian model of beauty than that of any ancient

* Belzoni states, that the rock faces S.E. by E. The direction of the river here, is W.S.W. and E.N.E.

Egyptian figure I have seen: indeed, were it not for a thin oblong beard, it might well pass for a head of Pallas. This statue wears the high bonnet usually called the corn-measure, in the front of which is a projection bearing the figure of a nilometer: the same is upon the bonnets of the other two. The arms are covered with hieroglyphics deeply cut in the sandstone, and well executed. The statue measures seven yards across the shoulders, and cannot therefore, if in an upright posture, be less than from 65 to 70 feet in height." (On being uncovered, they proved to be in a sitting posture, and their height to be 51 feet, not including the head-dress, which is 14 feet more.*) "On the wall of the rock, in the centre of the four statues, is the figure of the hawk-headed Osiris, surmounted with a globe, beneath which, I suspect, could the sand be cleared away, a vast temple would be discovered, to the entrance of which the above colossal figures probably serve as ornaments, in the same manner as the six belonging to the neighbouring temple of Isis. I am also led to conjecture, from the presence of the hawk-headed figure, that this was a temple dedicated to Osiris."

This information and sagacious conjecture were sufficient to determine Mr. Salt to engage the services of Mr. Belzoni in attempting to clear and open the temple. When that enterprising Traveller arrived at Ebsambal, he was, however, discouraged by the arduous nature of the task. "The amazing accumulation of sand," he says, "was such, that it appeared an impossibility ever to reach the door. We ascended a

* Richardson, vol. i. p. 429. According to the measurements of this Traveller, they are 25 feet 4 inches across the shoulders; 15 feet 6 inches from the elbow to the shoulder; the ear is 3 feet 6 inches long; the beard 5 feet 6 inches.

hill of sand at the upper part of the temple, and there found the head of a hawk projecting out of the sand only to its neck. From the situation of this figure, I concluded it to be over the door, and, from the size of the head, that it must be more than 20 feet high; so that, with the cornice and frieze, I calculated that the doorway could not be less than 35 feet below the surface of the sand." Having, however, obtained leave from the kashefs, he set about forty lazy Arabs to work; but his finances were exhausted by the time that he had uncovered twenty feet in front of the temple. This was the latter end of September, 1816. In the following June, being joined at Philœ by Captains Irby and Mangles, and Mr. William Beechey, Belzoni again ascended to Ebsambal, to renew his operations. On the 11th of July, they began to work; but the Arabs soon grew tired; and in a few days, they were left to prosecute the work themselves, with only the assistance of their interpreter and janizary, and the crew, fourteen persons in all. At length, on the 31st, after encountering numberless vexations, arising from the conduct of the natives, they had the high satisfaction of discovering the upper part of the door; and on the 1st of August, having sufficiently widened the passage, they entered the temple.

The exterior front of this immense excavation was found to be 117 feet in length; and, from the upper cornice to the base, the height is 86 feet 6 inches. The entrance is nearly in the centre: it is surmounted with a frieze, torus, and cornice.* Over this stands the figure of the hawk-headed deity, which is 20 feet

* Of the cornice, not more than a foot in breadth is now remaining.

high: it is receiving offerings from two female figures on each side, which are represented, not in the niche, but on the level surface of the rock, surrounded with hieroglyphics. Below, on the left hand, stands a small statue of Isis, and on the right, that of a terminal wolf. There is a moulding round the top of the temple and down the sides; and above it are four tablets of hieroglyphics answering to the four colossi. Over these is a row of monkeys, twenty-two in number, and about eight feet high; there are not above twelve of them perfect. The four colossal figures are cut out of the solid rock, "chairs and all;" they are brought out so fully, that the backs are full eight feet from the front of the temple, and, but for a narrow niche by which they are connected with the rock from the back part of the neck downwards, they would be wholly detached. One of the statues has been broken off, by a fracture of the mountain, from above the waist. Under the arm of one of the statues, may be seen the remains of the stucco with which they appear to have been covered, and traces of red paint are discernible in many places.

The interior fully corresponds to the imposing grandeur of the front. It consists of no fewer than fourteen chambers, extending altogether 154 feet in length. On entering, the visiter finds himself in a spacious hall, 57 feet by 52, the roof of which appears to be supported by a double row of colossal statues, 30 feet in height, the tops of their turbans reaching to the ceiling; and their size, magnified by the dimness that surrounds them, has an almost overwhelming effect. They appear to represent Osiris, having the arms crossed, and holding in one hand the scourge, and in the other the crosier, or *tau*: they are finely executed, and very little injured by time. The square

pillars to which they are attached, are 5 feet and a half square. Both these and the walls are covered with beautiful hieroglyphics and sculptured representations in a very bold style. The sculpture is not, indeed, so well finished, nor the colouring so perfect, as in the tombs of Beban-el-Melook, but the composition and spirited execution are equal to any thing in Egypt.* The extreme heat and closeness of the apartments, occasioned by the want of a free circulation of air,† have contributed materially to injure the colouring; but enough remains to attest the original beauty of the work. Behind the columns, on each side of the door, is depicted a battle scene, in which the gigantic hero, in his war chariot, is destroying his enemies with his arrows. The designs are very similar to those of the sculptures at Medinat Habou, comprising the storming of castles, processions of prisoners, sacrifices, &c.; and the hero appears to be the same personage, but the vanquished seem to be of different nations: some of the captives are perfectly black, and have all the characteristics of the negro tribes of the interior, while others resemble the modern Nubians. They are evidently meant for savage tribes, the most common dress being the skin of the leopard or tiger: some wear a cap, which appears to be made of palm-leaves cut in slips and

* The softness of the sandstone will not admit of that firm, fine outline which is observable on the granite; but it admits of a greater freedom in the execution.

† The heat, Sir F. Henniker says, equals at least that of a Turkish vapour bath, or the *solfa terra* at Puzzuoli. Belzoni supposes it to be as high as 130° of Fahrenheit. Dr. Richardson describes it as a perfect stove; and there is a damp, unpleasant smell, which he attributes to the great quantity of black, flocculent powder, from the decomposed wood, that is found in almost all the chambers.

plaited; others are bare-headed, with bushy hair and beards.

The second hall is a sort of antechamber, 37 feet by 25: it contains four pillars about 4 feet square, and the walls of this also are covered with hieroglyphics in tolerable preservation. Beyond this is a long, narrow chamber, 37 feet by 10, in which is the entrance to the adytum. At each end of this chamber, a door leads into a small side room, 8 feet by 7, running in the same direction as the sanctuary. This last is an apartment 23 feet and a half by 12: in the centre is an altar, and at the upper end are four colossal sitting figures, in good preservation, about 8 feet high. The first, beginning from the right hand, is that of the hawk-headed deity; the second is a beardless figure, with a casque somewhat resembling that of Minerva; the third is bearded, and has a tall head-dress resembling the *tutulus;* the fourth is bare-headed and bearded. Several detached statues were also found; one of them, rather larger than life, and executed in a better style than is generally to be met with in Egyptian sculpture, but the head was wanting. The others, which Belzoni brought away, were, two sphinxes, with a hawk's head and lion's body; a monkey similar to those over the cornice, but smaller; and a kneeling female figure, with an altar, having a ram's head on it, in her lap.

The remaining eight chambers are side apartments, two running out on each side of the second hall, from an intermediate antechamber or vestibule, and two from the right hand side of the entrance chamber: the first of these (the last probably in order of execution) has never been finished, and there are none on the corresponding side. Round these side chambers are benches, apparently designed as seats, but

possibly intended for some other purpose. A light black substance, supposed to be decayed wood, was found in every apartment, in some places to the depth of two feet: it cracked under the foot, leaving the impression. Many small pieces of wood were strewed about, which, on being touched, crumbled to dust. The wooden pivots on which the doors traversed, still remained in the upper corner of all the entrances to the several apartments, and one broken brass socket was found, designed to receive the pivot of a hinge. Such were the only contents found within this stupendous temple! At what period it was excavated, when it was deserted, and how long it had been concealed beneath the sand of the desert, are questions which can be met only by vague conjectures. There are no marks of violence about the interior, the disintegration being the work of time alone, aided by the action of damp, for which it is not easy to account. From the apparent identity of the hero represented in the sculpture, it would seem probable, that this temple is, at all events, of a date not posterior to that of the Theban monuments which are referred to the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty; * and the probability is, that the excavation is the older work, and the edifice the imitative one. If so, Ethiopia would seem to have been the original seat of the Diospolitan monarchy; and Absambul was, perhaps, deserted as the capital of its kings, on the removal of the seat of government to Egyptian Thebes. However this may be, this part of the ancient Ethiopia must have been, at a remote period, a rich, populous, and powerful territory. The great temple of Ebsambal has justly been styled by Sir F. Henniker, "the noblest monument of

* See p. 166.

antiquity that is to be found on the banks of the Nile." *

Ebsambal stands in lat. 22° 20′ 11″ N., long. 31° 40′ 57″.† In pursuing the route to the Second Cataract, at one hour and three quarters from Fereyg, on the eastern bank, the traveller passes a castle seated on an insulated hill, resembling in size and form that at Ibrim: it bears the name of *Kalat Adde*. "It has been abandoned," Burckhardt says, "for many years, being entirely surrounded with barren rocks. Part of its ancient wall still remains. The habitations are built partly of stone, and partly of bricks. On the most elevated spot in the small town, eight or ten grey granite columns of small dimensions lie on the ground, with a few capitals of red sandstone near them, of clumsy Greek architecture. The rock of this hill is a fine pudding-stone of flint, quartz, and red sandstone;" the only specimen this Traveller met with in Nubia. The surrounding hills are of a very rugged and grotesque shape, as if shattered by some violent commotion of nature. Opposite the castle, the river forms a large island called *Ballyane*, from a village of that name near it on the western bank. Between three and four hours further up the stream, (now flowing from the W.S.W.) is another fine and fertile island, called *Farras*.‡ A village of the same name stands on the western shore, to the north of the island; and on the eastern bank, at the southern end

† See Belzoni, vol. i. pp. 127; 318—33. Mangles, pp. 39—87. Burckhardt, pp. 83, 4. Richardson, vol. i. pp. 428—39. Hemmeker, 158—61. Capt. Mangles supposes the smaller temple to be the more ancient one.

† Richardson, vol. i. p. 439.

‡ So called, Dr. Richardson says, from the hippopotamus (*faras el-bahr*, river-horse). "We did not," he adds, "see any of the hippopotami, but were informed by the natives, that they still a

of *Wady Endhana* (*Adhendan*), is an ancient ruined mosque upon a hill. Here, Captains Irby and Mangles found the site of a considerable town. "Among the modern stone buildings of the Arabs, were several remnants of temples with hieroglyphics: in one was a beautiful cornice with a frieze and the winged globe, highly finished." The natives shewed them "some Greek and Roman ornaments, such as the spread eagle, ornamental cross, &c.; and near the village were several pieces of red granite pillars, and some smaller ones of a beautiful white marble."

Close to the rubbish, is an insulated rock, in which is a door leading to a very small chamber: on the wall are two Egyptian figures, male and female, in intaglio, with a hieroglyphic inscription; and at the further end is a niche about four feet square. From the appearance of these ruins, the fineness of the situation, and the rich plain of cultivated land near it, Captain Mangles inferred, that this must have been the site of a populous and flourishing city in the time of the Greeks and Romans, as well as at a still more remote æra.*

About two hours further, on the east bank, Burkhardt passed the ruins of a small Arab town close to the water, enclosed within a thick brick wall; in an-

ist, though few in number. "They remain in the river during the day, and go out during the night, and feed in the corn-fields."—RICHARDSON, vol. i. p. 442.

* Irby and Mangles, p. 16. It is not clearly stated, on which side of the river this city was found. Burckhardt mentions, at an hour and a half below Farras, on the *western* bank, "a ruined Greek church, the walls partly constructed of stone and partly of brick;" and half an hour to the E.N.E., he passed "three sepulchres excavated in the sandstone of a low range of hills extending from Serra to Adhendan: they were coarsely worked; and in the interior were several inscriptions of the time of the Lower Empire."—p. 80.

other half hour, *Serra* (*Sharke*), a large village in a well-cultivated tract, where the cotton-plant flourishes; and half an hour beyond this, *Debeyra* (or *Dibair*), another large village. The river continues very broad. A fertile plain, covered with date-trees and habitations, extends from Debeyra to *Eshke*, or *Ishkid*, a large scattered village in a grove of palm-trees, the residence of a *kashef*. This is "certainly the best spot of land," Belzoni says, "above Ibrim and Assouan, producing a great deal of dhourra and cotton." Here, travellers who wish to go above the Second Cataract, bargain for camels.* The land route lies S.W. by S., over the sandy plain on the eastern side, through the villages of Dabrous and Sukoy, to Halfa, distant five hours, to the east of which the mountain on that side terminates in slight undulations; but these increase in size, and collect again into mountains, about thirty miles further up.

The western side S. of Farras, is for the most part low and sandy, occasionally bordered with acacias, but presenting few traces of habitations. At half an hour S.W. of Farras, are the ruins of a small temple, not far from the river, in the midst of low sand hills. "The main building is about 24 feet square; the roof has fallen in, and the lower parts only of the original walls remain: upon these the Greeks had raised mud walls, and converted the ruin into a church, which, in its turn, had become a mosque." There are no remains of columns, and the hieroglyphics and other sculptures which cover the walls, are very rudely executed. The fragments of a battle-piece may still be discerned, and there is a rude but spirited sketch of

* "It is ten days' journey hence to Saie by a camel, and five by a dromedary: the hire for either is 50 shillings, to go and return." —RICHARDSON, vol. I. p. 447.

Briareus, under the victor's knife, protected by Osiris. Half an hour beyond this temple is the western Serra, nearly opposite the eastern village of that name. The ridge of mountain now takes a long, winding sweep towards the S.W., and after encircling a wide sandy plain, shoots on to the river.* At the village of *Angosh* (opposite Sukoy), where the river bends more to the west, the sandy plain begins to rise gradually towards a rocky eminence, out of which spring up, here and there, several table-shaped or pyramidal masses of rock. Here are remains of another temple, buried under mounds of sand and rubbish, except the fragments of shafts of columns still standing: no hieroglyphics are visible, and the stones are in a very disintegrated state. It has been surrounded with a brick wall. At length, all cultivation ceases, and the rock and sand on both sides close in upon the river.

Wady Halfa (sometimes written Elpha) is the last habitable place to which the Nubian boats ascend: there is some trade carried on here with Assouan, in dates and in nitre, which is collected by the Arabs three days' journey hence in the western desert. The river is navigable, however, above an hour further. Towards the southern extremity of Wady Halfa, four cultivated islands occur in succession: upon one of these, called *Djenezap*, are remains of an ancient walled town, built of brick. Beyond these, innumerable rocky islets, all of which are barren, form the Cataract. The river is here, "at most, twenty yards in breadth."† There are three principal falls, or

* This part of the mountain is called *Djebel Psheer*, *Apsir*, or *Busir*; for thus variously is it written by different travellers.

† Burckhardt, p. 78. Capt. Mangles describes the river at the Second Cataract, as "about two miles wide:" this is; perhaps,

sloping rocks, one above the other, over which the water descends with great velocity. The fall is more rapid, and the noise and foam much greater, than at the First Cataract, and may be heard at night, at about half an hour's distance.* Still, these rapids ill correspond to the general notion of a cataract, and the scenery is wild and picturesque, rather than sublime. From the summit of a rocky eminence on the western side, crowned with a shiekh's tomb, a fine *coup d'œil* is obtained of the surrounding scenery. The river, broken into a number of separate streams by the rocks and islets, appears, Dr. Richardson says, "as if issuing from a marshy source." Some of the rocks are covered with shrubs and verdure, a few sycamore and acacia trees growing in the crevices, while others present beds of yellow sand, or lift up their black, rocky heads in beautiful contrast with the sunny waters. These rocks extend as far as the eye can reach, "making about ten miles of rapids." † On each side of the river, the whole prospect is one vast desert of sandstone rock and yellow sand.‡ The rock is, in some places, table-shaped; in others, pyramidal. To the

higher up; or rather, Burckhardt must be understood as speaking only of the main stream, since, at p. 39, he says: "When the inundation subsides, many small lakes are left among the rocks, and the banks of these, overgrown with large tamarisks, have a picturesque appearance amid the black and green rocks. The lakes and pools thus formed cover a space of upwards of two miles in breadth."

* Burckhardt, p. 39. † Mangles, p. 21.

‡ "The rock here is still sandstone; granite may exist, but we saw none of it. The proportion of quartz in the sandstone is in some places very great: it is frequently pervaded by veins of pure quartz in small masses about an inch square. The pebbles, of which a great profusion are scattered about, are chiefly flint, Egyptian jasper, agate, and bloodstone: the latter is very rare."—RICHARDSON, vol. i. p. 455.

southward, the view is bounded by two lofty mountains, rearing their heads above the hills, and apparently seventy or eighty miles distant, cutting in upon the river nearly at right angles. These are portions of the same mountain range, through which the river finds its passage. No human habitation is visible, except a fisherman's hut on one of the islands, and the village of Halfa in the distance. The western bank is richly covered with trees and shrubs, but, immediately beyond the green margin, all is bare desert, the colour of the gazelles, which are seen in herds, bounding over the rocks. On a bluff point of rock which projects into the river, are inscribed some names of the few travellers who have reached this point, the *ne plus ultra* of the voyagers whom we have been hitherto attending. The latitude, as ascertained by Lord Belmore, is 21° 52′ 50″ N.; the longitude 31° 27′ 19″ E. *

We have now to pursue the steps of two other adventurous travellers, Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury, who, in 1820, prosecuted their journey southward from Wady Halfa as far as the extremity of Dongola.

BATN-EN-HADJAR.

BELOW Wady Halfa begins the rocky wilderness called *Batn-el-Hadjar*, or *Dar-el-Hadjar*, which

* Mr. Bankes is believed to be the first *Englishman* who succeeded in reaching the Second Cataract: he travelled in 1815. Burckhardt, however, had preceded him in 1813; MM. Drovetti and Calliaud followed in 1816. In 1817, Capt. Irby and Mangles, Belzoni, and Earl Belmore, in whose suite Dr. Richardson travelled, reached the same point. Sir F. Henniker stopped short at Ebsambai; Capt. Light and Mr. Legh, at Ibrim; Norden could only reach Derr; Pococke and Denon went no higher than Philœ.

extends to Sukkot; a few narrow spots only occurring at intervals by the side of the river which admit of cultivation. For about a hundred miles, the navigation is interrupted by rocks and rapids;* and there are places where the stream is so narrow, that a stone may be thrown across. The *wadys* are separated from each other by rocky projections which come close to the river. As they are not covered by the inundation, they require to be irrigated by water-wheels, and were formerly well cultivated by a tribe of Arabs, originally from the Hedjaz; but the continual incursions of the Sheygya Arabs had driven most of them into other districts, and in 1813, the male inhabitants in the whole district hardly amounted to 200, principally *Shereefs*. Burckhardt describes them as of the darkest brown colour, with fine features, and remarkably well made. Both men and women go naked; but the latter wear leather amulets round the neck, copper armlets and bracelets, and silver earrings. Most of them speak a little Arabic. In some parts, fertile islands occur, with ruins of ancient brick dwellings and towers. "The shores," remarks Burck-

* "What is called the Second Cataract, is properly a succession of partial falls and swift rapids for more than a hundred miles before we arrived at Succoot. I counted nine; some of them, particularly the second (the *shellal* of Semné), the fifth (the *shellal* of Ambigool), the seventh (the *shellal* of Tongaroo), and the ninth (the *shellal* of Dal), very dangerous to pass, though at this time the Nile had fallen but a few feet····To pass the fifth and ninth rapids, it was necessary to employ about a hundred men to drag the boats one after another against the current."—ENGLISH'S *Narrative*, p. 4. Mr. Waddington says: "I think it certain, that, from the beginning of August to the middle of October, the largest *cangees* may go up *all* the Cataracts, as that of Wady Halfa becomes impassable some weeks before any of those above it." Several large and heavy boats of at least 60 feet by 12 or 14, had been got up the latter, generally with perfect safety.—p. 6.

hardt, "seem to have offered little security even in ancient times; for I met with no ruined buildings on the eastern bank of the *Batn-el-Hadjar*; the ancient inhabitants seem to have exclusively chosen the islands for their abode." The hills on the eastern side increase in height, until, at *Wady Seras*, eight hours and a-half from Wady Halfa, they again form a regular chain of mountains of primitive formation, which continue throughout the *Batn-el-Hadjar*.* Three or four hours to the east of the route, a high chain of uninhabited mountains extends in a line parallel with the course of the river, bearing the name of *Djebel Bilingo:* it is regularly visited by winter rains, and the waters remain in the clefts and hollows the whole summer. The dominions of the governor of Sukkot begin at *Wady Okame*, a ruined village upon the eastern bank, to the north of the Cataract of Kolbe; and the residence of the governor, when Burckhardt travelled, was in the island of Kolbe. This island is about an hour in length: the shore on both sides is hemmed in by huge masses of grey granite. The *Batn-el-Hadjar* is considered, however, as extending to *Wady Dal*, two hours and a-half S. of Kolbe, where the river is again interrupted by immense blocks of granite lying confusedly across it, occasioning several

* "The rock, which had been everywhere sandstone as far as Wady Halfa, changes its nature at the Second Cataract, where grunstein and grauwacke predominate: these primitive rocks continue throughout the Batn-el-Hadjar. In the mountain beyond Seras are granite and immense rocks of quartz: the grunstein rocks are also everywhere crossed by strata of quartz....On the southern descent of *Akabet-el-bengt*, the principal rock is micaceous schist and chlorite; and further down, towards the *Wady Attyre*, fine porphyry rocks are met with. I saw only a few specimens of green porphyry with red slabs of feldspath, the greatest part being porphyry and porphyry schist." BURCKHARDT, pp. 43, 44.

foaming cataracts and rapids, and forming many rocky islands, several of which have been fortified. One is large, and the castle of brick very perfect. This is the last cataract in this part, although the river continues to be full of low islands and rocks. The country now opens a little, the plain being about two miles in breadth, but for the most part uncultivated, and the western shore is barren sand. Eight hours and a-half further, the Nile bends with many windings to the westward; the mountains on that side terminate, and the eastern chain, making a wide circuit, leaves an extensive plain. The cultivable soil on this side is nearly a mile and a-half in breadth; and between it and the mountains is a barren tract, covered with small flints and pebbles, similar to that at Suez. The beginning of this plain, at Aamara, is, according to Burckhardt, the extremity of the district of Sukkot, to the south of which begins the territory of Say.*

Throughout this long and narrow tract, the traces of ancient civilization occur at intervals, but there are few ruins of particular interest. They are almost all on the western side. At *Wady Mershed*, opposite an island, are found two detached brick buildings, a small Greek convent and a church, in which some paintings of saints are still visible on the walls. In *Wady Samne*, on the same side of the river, nearly opposite *Akabet-el-Benat* (the Girls' Pass), the hill overhanging the cataract is crowned with an ancient temple, somewhat resembling in its plan the small temple of Elephantina. It consists of a long, narrow building 12 paces by 3, the entrance facing the south, not the river. On each side originally stood four pillars, joined to the

* Mr. Waddington includes the district of Say in that of Sukkot, making the latter extend to the frontiers of Dar Mahass.

main building by blocks of stone, which serve as a roof to the vestibule: two remain on one side, and three on the other. One of the former has a polygonal shaft, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter; the other four are cut square, measuring 2 feet 4 by 1 foot 8. They are all covered with sculptures very rudely executed; and some of the hieroglyphics have evidently been left unfinished. On the exterior wall, the figure of Mendes is repeated. The inner walls of the apartment are also covered with hieroglyphics and mystic representations; on both sides is sculptured a long ship with Osiris in it. The roof is painted blue, and there are remains of colours upon several of the figures. Near the posterior wall, opposite the main entrance, a headless statue 5 feet high, lies prostrate: it has the arms crossed, holding the flail and crosier. A part of the wall appears to be of a different date from the rest, being constructed of larger stones and better hewn; and in front is a large hieroglyphic tablet, evidently of a later date than the temple, more deeply cut than the figures, and at the expense of the legs and feet of some of them. There are also numerous modern inscriptions. All around are heaps of rubbish, and ruined brick buildings, "certainly of high antiquity," cover the top of the hill, enclosed within a double wall. The inner one is of brick, from 8 to 12 inches thick, and, wherever entire, upwards of 30 feet in height: the outer wall is a parapet of stone 20 feet in breadth, with sides sloping down towards the declivity, so as to render it impossible for the assailants to climb over. The Nile is here extremely narrow. There are two passages between the rocks projecting from either shore, of which the broadest seems hardly 20 yards. On the point on the opposite side is a small ruined stone edifice, with a double row of pillars,

near some large buildings of mud and brick. One or two broken boats were lying on the adjacent rocks.*

This ancient site derives an additional interest from the conjecture elsewhere thrown out by this intelligent Traveller, that the castles surrounded with water, which are represented in the battle-scenes at Luxor and Karnak, may possibly be intended for the fortified islands in the Batn-el-Hadjar.† These works of defence obviously indicate, that the station was deemed important, and that the natives had to contend with powerful enemies. Mr. Waddington supposes Samne to be the ancient *Tasitia*.‡

The island of Kolbe, which has already been mentioned, appeared to Burckhardt artificial. "A deep canal, too regular to be the work of nature, runs along the western side, and is dry in the spring season. On the western side of this canal is a recess in the mountain, where is a plain that bears traces of former cultivation." Among the ruined brick buildings on the island is a Greek chapel, upon the walls of which figures of saints have been painted in gaudy colours, still in good preservation, and many visiters or pilgrims have left their names inscribed. Above the cataract of Dal, opposite the island of Ferket, there are some old granite quarries, with some half-finished pillars lying there; and a little above the northern end of the island of Arnietti, a solitary Coptic church stands at the distance of about a mile from the western bank, containing many brick arches, and covered with Arabic inscriptions of a recent date. Thus, in varied succession, monuments of heathen, of Christian, and of Mohammedan worship bear witness

* Burckhardt, pp. 74—6. Waddington, p. 305.
† See p. 283. ‡ Waddington, p. 320.

that this part of Ethiopia was once a flourishing and important territory. Of the old towers and castles, those that are chiefly of brick are supposed to have been the work of the Christians; and if so, they must have been erected between the beginning of the sixth century, when Christianity is believed to have been first introduced, and the middle of the fourteenth. The saints' tombs and other Mohammedan structures are of later date. At no period, probably, it has been remarked, has the country above the Second Cataract been in so depopulated a state as it is at present.*

In the plain of Aamara occurs the first considerable ruin on the eastern side,—a fine Egyptian temple, situated five or six hundred yards from the river, which, at first sight, has more the aspect of Grecian architecture, and is probably of a comparatively modern era. The shafts of six large columns of the pronaos remain, constructed of calcareous stone; and they are the only specimen of that kind, Burckhardt says, that he had seen, all the Egyptian temples being built of sandstone. The sculptures upon the columns are about three feet high, "quite Egyptian," although of indifferent execution, but much better than those at Derr: the figure of the ibis and the ram-headed Ammon most frequently occur. Over each compartment or groupe of figures is a square blank tablet, as if to receive an inscription that has never been supplied: the same thing is seen at Dakke, Kalabshe, and Philœ. All the capitals of the columns are wanting. Of the cella, nothing remains but mounds of rubbish, except the lower part of the walls and the foundations,

* Waddington. Appendix 3.

† There have been four rows, apparently, or a square of sixteen pillars. Holes have been cut in the top of all, as if for the reception of wood, "perhaps with the intention of turning it into a church.

which are of stone, resting upon a superstructure of sunburnt brick. A thick enclosure of brick surrounds the site of the temple at about 50 yards distance.* Mr. Waddington supposes that the walls were of brick or mud, and the pillars only of stone, as is the case, he says, with the small temple at Angosh. The ruin is interesting chiefly from its situation. If, as Burckhardt supposes, it has been constructed in imitation of the temple at Philœ, we may be allowed to consider it as one of the last efforts of an expiring superstition, to perpetuate in this remote district a worship that had been already banished from its ancient seats in Thebes and Philœ. But the hierarchy had no longer the wealth or means requisite to erect such splendid monuments as still excite the traveller's awe and admiration in the Egyptian valley.

At eight hours from Aamara is a high insulated hill, called *Djebel Oellaky*, and here the island of Say begins, extending about eight miles in length, with a breadth varying from one to three. Say, with its territories, like Ibrim and Assouan, had formerly its own independent aga; and the descendants of the Bosnian garrison stationed here by Sultan Selim, still remain. Much wheat is grown in the island, chiefly on the eastern side: on the western side, it appeared barren. In the middle of it rises a high hill. The castle, which stands close to the water, is built of alternate layers of stone and brick, with high walls, and there are said to be three or four pillars, marking the site of an ancient temple; but neither Mr. Waddington nor Burckhardt had the means of crossing the river. The fertile district of Say (or Syéé) extends southward five hours, as far as *Wady Irau*, where

* Burckhardt, p. 50. Waddington, p. 17.

the traveller passes the frontier of Dar Mahass. The stony plain on the eastern side continues very extensive, with partial cultivation.* *Wady Hamyde*, opposite the southern extremity of the island of Say, is more populous than any part of the country S. of Ibrim, and its dates are highly valued.

About nine hours above Irau, the river takes a circuitous bend to the westward, and the eastern mountains, which are of grunstein, again approach the river, forming several narrow passes. Following the narrow shore in an easterly direction, Burckhardt passed several of the villages of Mahass, consisting of huts constructed of high poles and palm-leaf mats; and in between seven and eight hours after passing the frontier, arrived opposite *Wady Tinareh*, a cluster of hamlets situated round the brick castle of that name, and the chief place in Mahass. This was the termination of his journey southwards, the state of the country at that time rendering it in the highest degree perilous to venture further.

On the western side of the Nile, there are two or three ancient sites of some interest, which claim a brief description before we leave Sukkot.

About an hour and a half above Irau, on the western bank, is the village of Soleb, where stands what was formerly supposed to be the most southern Egyptian temple. For the description of this beautiful remain, we are indebted to Mr. Waddington, the first traveller who appears to have visited it.

"The temple of Soleb faces the Nile, and is about 400 yards distant from it. The attention is first attracted by an elevated stone foundation, 30 feet

* This stony plain is overspread with cornelians, quartz, and agate.—BURCKHARDT, p. 69.

7 inches in thickness, extending in front of the temple: it is much ruined, and, in some places, cannot be traced without difficulty. There is an entrance exactly opposite the gate of the temple, on each side of which two walls leads up to the remains of two sphinxes: one, which is grey granite, has the ram's head, and is six feet in length; the other is so much broken as to be nearly shapeless. Further on is the beginning of a flight of steps leading to the temple; two other sphinxes have been posted in front of it, of which there remains a part only. The front of the *portail*, which is far from perfect, is about 175 feet long; the width of the stair-case before it, 57 feet. The first chamber is 102 feet 6 inches in breadth, by 88 feet 8 inches in depth: round three sides of it, runs a single row of pillars, and at the furthest end has been a double row, making in all thirty columns, of which seven are still standing and perfect: the diameter of their base is 5 feet 7 inches, and their height about 40 feet. They are inscribed with hieroglyphics only. The space between them and the wall of the temple has been covered with a roof, which is now fallen in. The front wall of the second chamber is only 68 feet 3 inches. In the chamber itself, there is no considerable portion of any pillar standing, and it was not without some difficulty that we were able to trace a single row of 24 columns which has surrounded it. Their fragments are scattered in every direction, and the very bases of some are rooted up, and the mud foundation on which they stood is exposed. So entire, yet so partial a ruin can be attributed only to the sudden yielding of that foundation: an earthquake would not have spared the columns which still remain. The middle of the chamber is

low and hollow. On the posterior wall lies a sculptured stone; a hawk, an owl, and an ox, with other hieroglyphics, are represented on it, of unusual size, but in low relief. It is difficult to ascertain the dimensions of the adytum, as no part of the side walls can be traced, and only a few feet of the posterior one. It has, however, clearly contained twelve pillars, of which three are still entire, except the capital of one. The lower parts of all the columns bear representations of figures about three feet high, of which the lower half is concealed by a tablet inscribed with hieroglyphics in low relief, but in the very best style, as are all the sculptures, though in some places they have never been finished. Jupiter Ammon appears twice among the few remaining figures; and to him I suppose the temple to have been dedicated.

"This temple affords the lightest specimen I have seen of Ethiopian or Egyptian architecture. The sandstone, of which most of the pillars are composed, is beautifully streaked with red, which gives them, from a little distance, a rich and glowing tint. The side and posterior walls have almost entirely disappeared, and the roof has everywhere fallen in; so that there remains no ponderous heaps of masonry to destroy the effect of eleven beautiful and lofty columns. We seemed to be at Segesta, at Phigalea, or at Sunium." *

To the north of this temple, on the western bank, this Traveller noticed on his return, two other ancient monuments. At *Doshe*, a mean village two miles below Soleb, opposite an island called Ushby, a diminutive temple has been excavated on the rock, which here contains much iron ore. Its extreme dimensions

* Waddington, pp 286—90.

are 23 feet 10 by 25 feet 10. At the upper end, which is only 8 feet 8 inches wide, and 6 feet 4 inches high, are the broken remains of three sitting statues of the rudest sculpture. Some remains of ill-shaped figures are distinguishable on the walls, and there are also some sculptures on the exterior of the rock, and a hieroglyphic tablet near the entrance, which is quite defaced. A few yards higher up the mountain, above the temple, is another tablet, about five feet in height: on the upper part, Apis is receiving offerings, and the rest is occupied with fifteen rows of hieroglyphics. At a little distance on the same rock, is another small representation of an offering.

About six miles further north, and a mile from the river, near the southern extremity of the island Aboudeia, is an ancient site called *Sedenza*. Two entire pillars and one broken one, of large dimensions, but unornamented, stand in the midst of the foundations of a church: at the foot of them lies a fragment of an altar-piece, of black granite. No other stone remains are seen, but much brick, and huge masses of quartz are piled up like a wall behind it. The Nile is here lined with palms; and at least twenty mud castles are visible. A quarter of a mile further north, in the midst of a heap of large stones, is a pillar with an Isis-face capital, about 26 feet in height. The fragments of other similar columns are lying about, as well as of some smaller ones, and a pedestal covered with hieroglyphics, all of sandstone; also, a broken sitting statue of black granite, and another sculptured fragment of the same material. The whole ruin is 120 yards in circumference.

Waddington, pp. 291—4. The situations of Boön (Βοων) and Antoba, or Atteva, as laid down by Ptolemy, were not, this Traveller remarks, very distant from the small temples of Sedenza

The next ancient site that occurs, is considerably to the S. of Tinareh, opposite a large village on the eastern bank, called Delligo: the ruins are near a ruined village called *Sasef*, and Mr. Waddington conjectures that they may represent the ancient *Aboccis* or *Abouncis*. At about 600 yards from the western bank, four fine pillars in the Egyptian style, covered with hieroglyphics and figures much defaced, still stand erect amid other ruins of a temple: they are 18 feet in height and 5 feet in diameter, of a very hard sand-stone. There are traces of a raised area about 40 yards square; and in a ravine to the N.E., Mr. Waddington found one other pillar; but there do not appear to be any other ancient remains. The ruined village occupies the summit of a detached rock.

Above Tinareh, the Nile pursues a very winding course, and is divided by a succession of large and beautiful islands, which are the most populous and best cultivated portion of the territory, though, in some parts, both banks of the river are fertile, and present some very fine scenery.* Two days' journey from Tinareh, at a place called Hannek, the mountains which extend along the river through the Wady Mahass, terminate; and a little further S., the immense plains of Dongola begin.

The inhabitants of Mahass claim to be descendants of the Arab tribe of Kôreysh, to which the family of Mohammed belonged. It is certain, however, Mr.

and Doshe; and Phthur (Φθουρι), another important city of Ethiopia, he thinks, may be safely placed at Soleb. Aamara, on more doubtful grounds, he would identify with Pnoups or Nupsis.

* Mr. Waddington speaks in terms of particular admiration of the grand *akabet* of *Kasma el Elma* (the Pass of the Water's Mouth), to which "there is nothing at Assouan, Wady Halfa, or in the Batn el Hadjar at all comparable, either in grandeur or in variety of scenery"—p. 36.

Waddington says, "that at present, the features of the people are Nubian, as well as the language they speak, and that the women are generally entirely ignorant of any other. The Koreysh Arabs come down to pass some months every year in the country with their flocks, but are not the residents." * The people of Mahass have very thick hair, but not woolly. All the young men wear in the right ear, an ear-ring either of silver or copper. The houses in this country are of two kinds, mud fortresses, and huts of palm-branches and straw. In the old towns, the houses are often of mud and stones mixed. "All the *respectable* inhabitants," Burckhardt says, "are merchants: they buy slaves in Dongola, Berber, and Dar Sheygya, and despatch a caravan to Cairo twice a year. Mahass is the nearest place in the Black country, whence slave-traders arrive at Cairo: the distance is about a thousand miles." †

Djebel Arambo (Mount Cameleon), a large solitary hill about four miles from the Nile, has, from time immemorial, marked the frontiers of Mahass and Dongola. At this point, the rugged island of Tumbos forms a considerable cataract; and about a mile further, is a large granite rock, called *Hadjar-el-Dahab* (the Golden Stone), bearing two hieroglyphic inscriptions, which, Mr. Waddington conjectures, may possibly be one of the memorials of Sesostris. ‡ "The natives suppose the inscriptions to import, that the

* Waddington, p. 270. At p. 35, this Traveller states, that the women are chiefly Nubians, interspersed with some Ababdee: their only dress is a cloth round the waist. The men "wear the round Nubian hair."

† Burckhardt, p. 59. The grand emporium of the Egyptian slave-trade is Shendy.

‡ One of the inscriptions, which faces the N.W., represents a figure with the Nubian hair, making an offering: beneath, on the

empire of Egypt under the Sublime Porte, formerly extended thus far." Mohamed Ali, it would seem, has pushed his conquests further in this direction, than the Emperor Selim, or than Sesostris himself!

Dongola extends southward on both sides of the river, for five days, to a little above a large town, named Amboocote or Ambougo, where it is divided from that of the Sheygya Arabs by a mountainous rocky tract, two hours' journey in breadth, reaching to the river, which flows there from E. to W.

New Dongola, or Maragga, the seat of the Mamlouk government, is "a very neat mud town," or large village, beautifully situated on the western bank. Old Dongola, once the capital of a powerful Christian kingdom, is now "a miserable ruin." It stands on the eastern bank, on a barren rocky eminence, but is half buried by the sands of the desert, which surrounds it on three sides: "there is not so strong or a more barren spot in the whole country."* Nothing occurs throughout this district to detain the traveller, except in the large island of Argo, which lies near the northern extremity of Dongola, and is upwards of thirty miles in length. Here, Mr. Waddington was shewn, at a place called *Sanna Behát* (the White Art), two colossal statues of grey

left corner, are two prisoners chained back to back; and there are hieroglyphics round it. The other, which faces the S.W., is a hieroglyphic inscription of 18 lines, with the globe and serpent over it. It appears from Herodotus, that the στῆλαι of Sesostris were nothing more than sculptures on the solid rock.—WADDINGTON, p. 40.

* Waddington, pp. 54, 64; 212—14. "It contains a large stone castle, and every house is a fortification. Nothing can be more gloomy and desolate. In a place capable of containing several thousand people, there are not 200. The church of Yesous, which has evidently been a monastery, is now a mosque."

granite, one 22 feet 6, and the other 23 feet 5 inches in height, with a smaller statue, 5 feet high, before the latter; at a short distance from these, lay a headless female statue of black granite, and a fine block of grey granite, cut into four hippopotami, standing side by side. Both colossi are well executed; "though the faces are not so fine as the Memnon, and, of course, not comparable in expression to those at Ebsambal," owing to the superior difficulty of working the material. The larger one is broken in the middle, but all the monstrous fragments are there. There is much pottery and broken sand-stone lying about; and the foundations of a thick wall were discovered by excavating the soft soil. Hieroglyphics were observed upon the seat of the black granite statue.*

We have already given a general description of the inhabitants of Dar Sheygya, which extends northward along the banks of the Nile from *Djebel Dager*, where the river bends towards the N. E., to the fortified island of Doulga or Dolloga, where are said to be ancient buildings and excavations.† In the name of the chief town, Merawe, there seems a trace of the ancient Meroë; and not far from this place are found very magnificent ruins of an ancient Ethiopian city, consisting of temples, excavations, and pyramids. Mr. Waddington, however, the first European who had visited them in modern times, is satisfied that they are the ruins of Napata, the capital of Ethiopia in the time of Augustus, and which, as such, was besieged

* Waddington, pp. 49; 240.

† Waddington, p. 134. Burckhardt, p. 63. The latter estimates the length of this territory at less than forty hours' march. The valley is throughout not more than three miles in breadth, and in several parts are cataracts.

and destroyed by Petronius. These ruins "bear marks of every age of sculpture, from the outlines of the rudest figures to the arched vaults of the pyramids, proving the great antiquity and long duration of the city." They are found at the foot of a lofty, bold, and insulated mountain called *Djebel-el-Berkel.* The temples are towards the river, on the S. E. side of the mountain, where, for several acres, the ground is scattered over with broken pottery. The pyramids are on the W. and. N. W. sides, among the sands and rocks of the desert. There are remains of one temple of the vast dimensions of 450 feet by 159, as well as of several smaller structures, but they are little more than heaps of scarcely intelligible ruins. There are, however, two temples, partly built and partly excavated, which in that respect, as well as in their general character, closely resemble the temples of Gyrshe, Seboua, and Dehr. The larger of the two is about 100 feet in length. From the simplicity of the masonry, the rudeness and decay of the remaining sculptures, and the disintegration of the walls, Mr. Waddington was led to believe that they are older (at least the smaller one) than any of the temples of Egypt or even Nubia.

The pyramids at Djebel el Berkel are seventeen in number. All of them are much inferior in size to those of Egypt, and some are reduced to shapeless ruins. The base of the largest is a square of 88 feet. Some of them have porticoes or small chapels attached to them; within these are sculptured deities and symbolic figures, which have been painted. Six or seven miles higher up the river, on the left bank, at a place called *El Bellal,* there are remains of nearly forty more pyramids, of different sizes, and apparently of still

higher antiquity. The greater part are reduced to mere mounds of decomposed quartzy stone, gravel, and sand; and all have lost more or less of their exterior coating. The largest and most interesting has a base of 152 feet square, with a height of 103 feet 7 inches. "It has been built in stories, but is most curious from its containing within itself *another pyramid*, of a different age, stone, and architecture: the interior building, which seems to form two-thirds of the whole structure, is of neat workmanship, and composed of a hard, light-coloured sandstone, more durable than that which, after sheltering it for ages, has at last fallen off, and left it once more exposed to the eyes of men." The four pyramids next in size are between 80 and 90 feet square, and between 70 and 80 feet high.* Of their high antiquity, there can be entertained no doubt. Mr. Waddington even contends for the probable priority of these Ethiopian pyramids and temples to the caverns and columns of Thebes and the pyramids of Memphis.

Here we must take our final leave of the Nile with all its wonders, to which there seems no termination. Burckhardt subsequently crossed the Nubian desert from Daraou to Berber, and proceeded to Taka on the Abyssinian frontier, where he reached the banks of the Atbara (the ancient Astaboras), known in Abyssinia under the name of the Tacazze.† But we have already far exceeded our prescribed limits; and,

* See for further details, Waddington, pp. 158–178.

† The annexed plate represents the scenery of the river higher up, where it divides the two districts of Avergale and Samen in the kingdom of Tigré. This part of the river, which abounds with deep holes, is a favourable haunt of the hippopotamus.

as it forms no part of our present object, to enter minutely into the state of the black nations, we shall hasten to conclude the present volume with a brief account of the Upper Ethiopia.

END OF NUBIA.

ABYSSINIA

ABYSSINIA.

[An extensive kingdom of Africa, lying between lat. 7° and 15° N., and long. 32° and 42° E.: bounded, on the N. by Sennaar; E by the Red Sea; S. by the Galla country; and W. by Sennaar and Kordofan.]

ABYSSINIA has a peculiar interest attaching to it, derived in part from accidental and factitious circumstances, and in part from the real history and nature of the country. As containing the supposed sources of the mysterious Nile, as the scene of Bruce's romantic adventures, as a region remote, and still, in a great measure, unknown, the very name excites a strange curiosity. But when it is considered, that here alone, in this quarter of the world, Christianity has maintained its ground, for nearly 1200 years, against the Mohammedan imposture, and that the mountains of Abyssinia have afforded an asylum to a church founded in the fourth century of the Christian era,* it is impossible not to feel it a reproach upon us, that this country should have been almost the last to which the spirit of enterprise and the efforts of Christian zeal have been attracted.

Under existing circumstances, however, Abyssinia scarcely comes within the province of the Modern

* "It was about A.D. 330, that this country received the Gospel through the teaching of Frumentius, who was ordained the first bishop of Abyssinia by Athanasius, then patriarch of Alexandria. From Frumentius to Simeon, A. D. 1613, they count ninety *abunas*."—LUDOLF, cited by *Jowett*.

Traveller, so vague, uncertain, and incomplete is all the information which we possess with regard to its physical and political geography, and the actual state of the country. The ancients never acquired any accurate knowledge of this extensive region; the Arabian geographers afford us as little aid; and the modern geography of the country is derived exclusively from the narratives of the Portuguese missionaries, the celebrated Travels of Bruce, and the more recent and accurate, but partial information supplied by Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt. On this account, we shall hardly be expected to attempt any thing like a formal or complete description of the country. Indeed, the only link which connects it with the regions comprised in the great longitudinal valley of the Nile, is its containing the supposed sources of that wonderful stream, the true situation of which is still problematical.

Abyssinia (or Upper Ethiopia)* may be generally described as a table-land having a gentle inclination towards the N.W., and presenting two great steeps, on the E. and S., towards the Arabian Gulf and the interior of Africa. Nearly in the centre rises a very lofty mountain called Lamalmon, a part of the chain of Samen, which, from below, has the appearance of terminating in a point, but the summit is formed in reality by a large plain full of springs, which are the sources of most of the rivers in this part. The two loftiest summits of the Samen chain are, however,

* The Abyssinians still call themselves *Itiopiawan* and their country *Itiopia*, scornfully disdaining the names of *Abassi* and Abyssinian, which have been coined from the Arabic word *Habesh*, signifying a mixed people. They prefer, however, the appellation of *Agazian*, as taken from that of the kingdom of *Agazi* or *Ghez*. By the Romans they were called Axomites.

Beyeda and Amba Hai, which rise into the region of snow.* The mountains of Gojam, which give rise to the *Bahr-el-Azrek*, Mr. Bruce erroneously supposed to be the chain to which the ancients gave the appellation of the Mountains of the Moon. He represents them as not exceeding half a mile in height, and as covered with cultivation to their summit. The lofty range which is said to run along the whole of the southern frontier, may possibly be a branch of the *Djebel-el-Kamar*.

The country is now formed into the three grand divisions of, 1. TIGRE, comprehending the tract between the Red Sea and the Tacazze; 2. AMHARA, comprising the provinces west of the Tacazze; 3. The southern provinces of Shoa and Efat, which now form an independent state. The province of Tigre was the ancient seat of the Abyssinian monarchy; and its capital, Axum, is still the ecclesiastical metropolis. The dialect which prevails here, has been ascertained to approximate very closely to the Ethiopic.† Amhara is the region which gives language, customs, and manners to the modern Abyssinians. Its capital, Gondar, is the seat of government; and the Amharic dialect, which, as the language of the court, has obtained the name of the royal language, is spoken through at least half of Abyssinia: in this, the Ethiopic appears to be considerably mixed with the African dialects, and to have undergone the modifications incident to an unwritten language.‡

The origin of the Abyssinians is involved in some perplexity. "In their handsome forms, their long hair, and their features, they approach to the Euro-

* Salt's Abyssinia, p. 350.

† See Jowett's Christ. Researches in the Mediterranean, p. 204.

‡ Ibid. p. 197. Bruce, vol. ii. App. 3.

pean; but they are distinguished from all known races by a complexion altogether peculiar, which Mr. Bruce compares sometimes to that of pale ink, sometimes to an olive brown, and which, according to the French Institute of Egypt, seems to partake of a bronze colour. The portraits of the Abyssinians, given by Ludolf and Bruce, betray, however, some traits of similarity to the negroes." * The learned Editor of Bruce's Travels contends, with much plausibility, that "the ruling and greatest part of the inhabitants" of ancient Abyssinia "were of Arab origin, the descendants of a colony from the Yemen or Arabia Felix." "The Hamyarite Arabs and their colony, the Abyssinians," he remarks, "are copper coloured." † They belonged to the great Cushite family, whose original seat bordered on the Persian Gulf, and subsequently extended over the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, whence they crossed over to the African Ethiopia; but they were distinct from the Cushites of Meroë, who were characterised by their short and curled hair. Mr. Salt, however, maintains the opinion, "that the Abyssinians, or Axomites, are descended from a race of the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, composed of native Ethiopians, who became in the course of time mixed with settlers from Egypt, ‡ and that they do

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 135.

† Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 267, 8; vol. iii. p. 3.

‡ Herodotus mentions an emigration from Egypt into Ethiopia, which took place in the reign of Psammetichus, consisting of 240,000 males, who went as far from Meroë as that place is from Elephantine. Whether they were properly Egyptians or Ethiopians, is perhaps, doubtful. (See vol. i. p. 87.) There is, indeed, some ground for the supposition that they may possibly have been Jews. "Of all the inhabitants of Abyssinia, the Jews called *Falasja*, or the exiled, present the most extraordinary historical curiosity. That nation seems to have formed for ages, a state

not exhibit any claims to an Arabian descent. It is true, that, in the intercourse carried on with the opposite coast, vast numbers of Arabians have in process of time become mingled with them; but still, it appears to me, that, both in feature, colour, habit, and manners, they form a perfectly distinct race." * It is, however, quite clear, that the Abyssinians are not a Berber or African race. It is certain also, that not only the name Cush, but that of Saba also, as the appellation of a powerful kingdom, are applied both to Arabia Felix and to the country now known under the name of Abyssinia. The ancient Arabs were a people not less mixed than the inhabitants of Habesh.

more or less independent, in the province of Samen, under a dynasty, the kings of which always bore the name of Gideon, and the queens, that of Judith. That family being now extinct, the Falasja submit to the King of Abyssinia.... The greater part of them live on the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, among the Shillooks. This is the very country that was occupied by the Egyptian exiles, the *Asmach* and *Sebridæ*." —MALTE BRUN, vol. ii. p. 143. The learned Writer supposes that a company of Egyptian Jews followed the steps of these emigrants. This seems far less likely, than that they were all Jewish exiles.

* Some of the Author's arguments, drawn from their written character, dress, &c., are not of much weight; but the following remarks are important. In the history of Arabia Felix, collected by Schultens from various native authors, there are several accounts of the conquest of that country by the Abyssinians; and the epithets continually applied to them are, blacks (which Schultens translates *Æthiopes*) and people with crisped hair (*crispâ tortilique comâ*). One of their princes, suing to the Persian emperor, entreats him to drive out these crows (*corvi*), who were hateful to his countrymen. One of the earliest of the Byzantine writers distinguishes the Axomites, by the appellation of *Æthiopes*, from the Homerites or Hamyarite Arabs; and other writers, who apply the word *Indi* to both people, confine the epithet Æthiopes to the Axomites.—Salt's Travels, pp. 458, 9. Valentia (8vo.), vol. iii. pp. 232—4. The Sheygya Arabs, however, and other tribes of Bedouin origin, are quite as black as these Æthiop crows could be; and the crisp hair describes the Berber, not the Abyssinian race.

The Sabeans, the Dedanites, and other Cushite tribes, were much intermingled with the *Beni Joctan* in the south of the Arabian peninsula, some of whom pursued similar occupations. They were, in fact, a maritime and mercantile people, "the carriers of the Indian Ocean," who must, at the earliest period, have formed settlements on the African coast,* and to whom, perhaps as conducting the Indian trade, the ancients appear to have given the name of *Indi*, which at length became transferred to the country which they colonized.†

In the early history of nations, no small confusion often arises from not distinguishing between the origin and native character of the people and the changeful and often foreign character of successive dynasties. In almost all countries, we find a population composed of an ascendant, often an intrusive class, who are the priests or nobles, the rulers and proprietors, and of various inferior castes who constitute the bulk of the people. Abyssinia has undergone repeated revolutions in its political condition; and its history exhibits an almost perpetual state of civil war and intestine confusion, which has so far counteracted the humanizing influence of Christianity, as to produce a peculiar barbarity and dissoluteness of manners. They are now, in every sense and in every respect, a mixed people. Jewish rites, Christian doctrines, and idolatrous practices,‡ an Ethiopic language, Persian

* See vol. i. p. 63, *note*; and pp. 66, 7.

† It is to Abyssinia that Virgil must be considered as alluding in his Georgics, when he speaks of the Nile—

"*Usque coloratos Nilus devexus ad* INDOS."

‡ They observe both the Jewish sabbath and the Lord's day, and practice circumcision. In the great schism, the Church of Abyssinia sided with the Monophyites. Yet, in their numerous festivals, the adoration of saints and angels, and the honours paid to the Virgin, they approach the Romish superstition.

customs, and Galla barbarism, are all strangely blended in their national characteristics. "What may be called, in familiar language, the etiquette and costume of the Abyssinian court, is evidently of Persic origin. It was borrowed in early times from Hamyar, then subject to the Persians, by the kings of Axum, who strove to emulate the magnificence and retired majesty of the *Great King*."* The arts and mechanical professions are for the most part in the hands of foreigners and native Jews: the latter are the smiths, masons, and thatchers of the country. Besides the Abyssinians or Axomites of history, then, whom we may distinguish as the Ethiopic race, the long-haired *Indi* of the ancients, modern Abyssinia contains, the Amharic Abyssinians, who are, perhaps, of mixed origin; the *Falasjas* or Abyssinian Jews; Moggrebins or Moors; the Gallas, a powerful race of southern central Africa, distinguished from the negroes by their low stature, deep brown complexion, and long hair;† the Shangallas, a woolly-headed race, the troglodytes, and ostrich-eaters, and elephant-eaters of the ancients;‡ the Agows, who live near the sources

* Bruce, vol. iii. p. 12. (Murray's Pref.) The national vanity ascribes their origin to the son of King Solomon by Queen Sheba.

† "These African Tatars, who first made their appearance in the countries to the S.E. of Abyssinia, now occupy five or six great provinces of the empire. They are divided into many tribes.... They worship trees, stones, the moon, and some of the stars."—Malte Brun.

‡ "The Shankala are the native inhabitants of ancient Ethiopia, woolly-headed, deep black, archers from their infancy, of a pastoral wandering life, and perhaps the descendants of the parent race of negroes in all Africa. These black tribes inhabit a larger space of ground than all Abyssinia and Nubia together. They encircle the whole western length of the former country from 11° to 16° N. lat.; join the Galla on the S., and coast down the White River to Sennaar, where they rule under the name of Fungi. To the N.

of the Tacazze and the *Bahr el Azrek*, and who are said to have been, so late as the seventeenth century, worshippers of the Nile;* and other savage tribes. The following are understood to be the provincial subdivisions of the country.†

I. TIGRE.

1. Tigre Proper (or Axum).
2. Agamé (chief town, Genata).
3. Enderta (——— Antálo).
4. Wojjerat (or Wogara).
5. Wofila.
6. Lasta.
7. Avergale.
8. Samen.
9. Temben.
10. Sireh (or Shiré).
11. *Midre Bahar-negash* (district of the province of the sea).

II. AMHARA.

1. Amhara Proper [now almost entirely in the hands of the Edjow Gallas].
2. Dembea (capital, Gondar).
3. Damot.
4. Gojam (or *Agow-midre*).
5. Begemder (sheep country).

III.

Southern Independent States of Shoah, Efat, &c.

AXUM.

THE kingdom of Tigre, Mr. Salt informs us, is bounded, on the north, by the Bekla, Boja, Takué, and several wild tribes of Shangalla; on the west, by the mountains of Samen; and by the Danakil, Doba,

of Abyssinia, they are mixed with Arabs, the Beja, and the Belowé."—MURRAY in BRUCE, vol. iii. pp. 3, 4. See also BRUCE, vol. ii. pp. 28—45. SALT, pp. 378—81.

* "To a stranger, there appears to exist a slight difference only between this people and the Abyssinians, except that the Agows are, perhaps, on the whole, a stouter race of men, and, in general, not so active in their habits: their language is, nevertheless, perfectly distinct."—SALT, p. 351.

† Edinb. Gazetteer. Ency. Metrop., art. Abyssinia. Bruce, vol. iii. pp. 4—9. Salt's Abyssinia, pp. 488—495. Malte-Brun, vol. iv. pp. 130—135.

and Galla territories on the east and south: comprehending an extent of about four degrees of latitude, and about the same in a longitudinal direction. The high range of the Samen mountains, extending from Waldubha to the S. of Lasta, together with the line of the Tacazze, flowing in a north-easterly course along its base, sufficiently point out the natural boundary between the grand divisions of Tigré and Amhara. Tigré Proper is bounded on the N. by the river Mareb; E. by Agame; W. by Shiré; and S. by the river Warré, which flows into the Tacazze.

Axum, the ancient capital, "stands partly in, and partly at the mouth of, a nook formed by two hills, on the north-west end of an extensive (and fertile) valley," in lat. 14° 6′ 36″ N., about 120 miles from the Red Sea.* "On approaching it, the first object which excites attention, is a small, plain obelisk at the foot of a hill on the right, at the top of which stands the monastery of Abba Pantaleon; and immediately opposite, is a large square stone with a Greek inscription.† After passing between these, the town and church begin to make their appearance; and, upon inclining to the northward, leaving a number of broken pedestals on the left hand, a full view of the large

* Valentia, vol. iii. p. 89. Bruce, vol. iv. p. 324. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 130.

† This curious inscription sets forth, that "Aeizanas, king of the Axomites, and of the Homerites, and of Raeidan, and of the Ethiopians, and of the Sabeans, and of Zeyla" (formerly the emporium of the country to the south), "and of Tiamo, (Tehama?) and of the Boja, and of the Taguie, king of kings, son of the invincible god Mars,"—having succeeded in quelling a rebellion of the Bojas, in grateful acknowledgment to his parent the invincible Mars, had dedicated to him one golden statue, one of silver, and three of brass. (Salt's Abyssinia, p. 411.) Aeizana was king of the Axomites in the reign of the Emperor Constantius, which fixes the date of the inscription about A.D. 330.

obelisk is presented, standing close to an immense *daro*-tree. This highly-wrought and very magnificent work of art, formed of a single block of granite, measures full 60 feet in height. All its ornaments are very boldly relieved, which, together with the hollow space running up the centre, and the patera at top, give a lightness and elegance to the whole form that is probably unrivalled. Several other obelisks lie broken on the ground, at no great distance, one of which is of still larger dimensions." * The tradition of the country ascribes them to the reign of the Emperor Aeizanas, about B.C. 300. There can be no doubt, Mr. Salt says, that they were erected by Grecian workmen from Egypt, as it is known to have been the universal practice of the Abyssinian emperors, to employ foreign artificers from that country; a circumstance proved by the excavations in Lasta and other parts of Abyssinia.

The church, which stands at the northern extremity of the present town, "seems in part to occupy the situation of an ancient temple." The first impression on beholding it, is the resemblance it bears to the Gothic seats of noblemen in England. A flight of twelve steps, 180 feet in length, leads up to a sort of landing-place, 16 feet in depth, from which a second flight of eight steps, 36 feet in length, conduct to the porch. A row of broken pedestals still indicates the principal entrance. The church itself is 40 feet in height, 111 feet in length, and 51 in breadth. It is of modern date,† and has nothing in its architecture to recommend it to particular attention. It has a flat

* Salt, p. 404.

† The first Christian church at Axum is stated to have been built 1150 years ago, and to have been destroyed A.D. 1536. The present church was built A.D. 1657.

OBELISK AT AXUM.

H.Adlard. sculp

KINGS SEAT AT AXUM.

roof, covered with mortar and stucco, and surrounded with Gothic ornaments. The establishment is on a scale far superior to that of any other church in Tigré, except that at Chelicut, the favourite church of the reigning *Ras*. Although Axum has ceased to be the capital, it is still looked up to with reverence as the ancient seat of royalty, and its chief priest claims a very high precedence over all the churches eastward of the Tacazze. The priests wear a close vest of white linen next the skin, descending to the knees, in addition to the large folding mantle and close drawers which constitute the simple dress of the Abyssinians; they also wrap round their heads a thin shawl of cotton, leaving the crown exposed.

At a short distance from the church is a small square enclosure, surrounded with pillars, within which is a seat, on which the ancient kings used to be crowned. The seat itself and the footstool are both of granite. Behind it are scattered other remains, in different directions, and on one is a short inscription in Ethiopic characters.* On a narrow projecting stone in a wall to the right, is another short inscription, said to be very ancient, which Mr. Salt translates: "This is the sepulchral stone of Bazen"—the name of several of the Abyssinian kings.† "It is a singular circumstance," he adds, "that this stone contains *the only* epitaph which I have met with in Abyssinia."

About three furlongs to the S.W. of the obelisk,

* The import of this inscription, in part supplied by conjecture, Mr. Salt supposes to be: "The Abuna David removed and broke to pieces here: he thought within himself the Lord was pleased that he should do so." "If this explanation be just," he adds, "it accounts satisfactorily for the destruction of the temple and obelisks."—VALENTIA, vol. iii. p. 86.

† Salt, p. 408. In the eighth year of Za Baesi Bazen, our Lord was born. *Ib.* p. 460.

Mr. Salt found some large stones of granite, regularly cut, and piled two and two, at regular distances, which appear to have formed part of the foundation of some ancient edifice. About 200 yards south of this, he was shewn, in an enclosure of one of the houses, what appeared to be the entrance of some subterraneous edifice, the upper stones being on a level with the earth. He could neither perceive nor hear of any other inscription. "All the monuments round the church," he adds, "form a groupe, and are probably part of one great edifice; but it is impossible to make out what might have been the plan of this ancient building, because the houses of the modern town are crowded all round the south and western sides of the church. The attending priests informed me, on the authority of their books, that all the ancient monuments and obelisks, originally fifty-five in number, of which four were of the size now standing, were built by Ethiopus, the father of Abyssinia, about 1544 years ago; and, which is probably entitled to more credit, that the great reservoir from which every house in the town was formerly supplied with water, was constructed during the reign of Isaac, king of Abyssinia, by the Aboona Samuel, who died at Axum 392 years ago, and was buried under the daroo-tree still remaining near the church; that, in the year 1070, a female named *Gadit*, in great authority, came from Amhara, and, from a superstitious motive, destroyed, as far as she was able, these remains of ancient art, threw down the obelisks, and laid the whole place in ruins; an account by no means improbable, as there is every appearance of many of the largest altars having been broken by great force and removed from their places. The Ethiopic inscription makes it doubtful, however,

whether this was not done by the Aboona David himself." *

Axum does not appear to have been known to either Herodotus or Strabo: it is first mentioned by Arrian, in his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. In the second century, when he wrote, it was a place of great trade in ivory; and its flourishing condition in the fourteenth and following two centuries, is attested by the Byzantine writers. The Portuguese missionaries describe it as containing the remains of magnificent temples and palaces; but little dependence can be placed on the accuracy of their statements. The contents of the Greek inscription already referred to, prove that, in the fourth century of the Christian era, Axom was the capital of a powerful empire, the sovereign of which laid claim at least to dominion over a great part of Arabia; that the Greek language had become familiar as either the court or the learned language of the kingdom; and that, with that language, the Axomites had adopted the gods of Greece.† It is highly probable, that this dynasty was of foreign origin; and Mr. Salt suggests, that such a revolution may have been effected by the Syrian colony who are stated to have been placed by Alexander to the south of the Axomites, near the mouth of the Red Sea.‡

About a mile to the N.E. of Axum, at a place called

* Valentia, vol. iii. pp. 92, 3.

† This remarkable inscription throws new light upon one found at Adulis, relating, probably, to the conquests of a preceding monarch. See Valentia's Travels, pp. 174---193. Salt, p. lxxv. of Appendix, and p. 465.

‡ See authorities in Salt, p. 461. "This circumstance, if established, would," it is added, "in some degree, account for the introduction of the Geez language into the country, without seeking for its origin in Arabia." But the language of a Syro-Grecian colony could not be Ethiopic.

Calam Negus (King Calam), are two sepulchral excavations, cased and covered with large blocks of granite, inclosing three plain tombs. These, Mr. Salt supposed to be the catacombs of the ancient city: they were probably intended as royal sepulchres, but no inscriptions or other remains attest their date or purpose. The credulous natives believe that they lead to the road by which Calam Negus went to Jerusalem.*

But the antiquities of Abyssinia, so far as at present known, are modern in comparison with those of Egypt and Northern Ethiopia. We trust, therefore, that our readers will not blame us for having dwelt so long on the wonders of those countries, as to be compelled to content ourselves with this general account of Abyssinia and its original capital. Had our limits (which we have already exceeded) admitted of pursuing the description of the country, it must have been chiefly upon the faith of the statements and representations of a writer whose volumes bear a nearer relation to romance, than to genuine topography and history.

This country deserves to be better known. Its physical features might tempt the researches of a Humboldt. If it presents little to the antiquary, it opens a boundless field to the naturalist. The strong claims of the people, too, as a Christian nation, to the sympathy and assistance of Protestant churches, are enforced by the very critical state of Abyssinia at this period. Nearly twenty years ago, Lord Valentia and Mr Salt pointed out the importance of opening a

* Caleb Negash reigned about A.D. 522, and was contemporary with the Emperor Justin. "He was celebrated for a successful incursion into Arabia against the Homerites, and on his return, sent his crown to Jerusalem."—SALT.

direct communication between Abyssinia and this country. "I cannot," said his Lordship, "but flatter myself, that Christianity in its more pure forms, if offered to their acceptance with caution and moderation, would meet with a favourable reception: at any rate, the improvements in arts and sciences which follow trade, would meliorate the national character, and assist in bringing back their own religion to a degree of purity which it has long lost. The restoring of tranquillity to the provinces, and a legal trade to the empire, would also have the very important effect of putting an end *to the exportation of slaves*, which here is not only liable to the same objections as on the western coast of Africa, but to the still greater one, that the slaves exported are Christians, and that they are carried into Arabia, where they inevitably lose, not only their liberty but their religion." *

"At the present moment," says Mr. Salt, "the nation with its religion is fast verging to ruin. The Galla and Mussulman tribes around are daily becoming more powerful; and there is reason to fear that, in a short time, the very name of Christ may be lost among them." † It is remarkable that, wearied at length of their fruitless dependence on the Coptic Patriarch, the Abyssinians are at this time looking to the Armenian Church for a supply of religious instructors; and there is reason to believe that a British *abuna*

Valentia, vol. iii. p. 256. Abyssinia would open to our commerce one important avenue to the interior. Kobbé, the capital of Dar Four, which is 900 miles from Siout, is only between 500 and 600 miles from Gondar, and the greater part of the road is through a fertile country instead of inhospitable deserts.—*Ib.*, p. 261.

† Ibid., p. 247.

would be hailed with gladness.* Ethiopia has long "stretched out her hands" in homage to Christ :† she now extends them in the attitude of a suppliant, offering, in exchange for the blessings of civilization and Scriptural knowledge, the ivory and gold of Sheba and the gratitude of unborn generations.

* See Miss. Register, May 1827, p. 250. Also Jowett's Researches, p. 216.

† Psalm lxviii. 31.

END OF ABYSSINIA.

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THE END.

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